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SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

THE CENTURY SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES

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SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

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PREFACE

This work is an attempt to treat social maladjustments in a framework of sociological theory. Sociological theory and social pathology have been too long separated. As long as sociology was conceived of as a philosophy of history, or as an interpretation of the evolution of society from a primitive to a civilized condition, social pathology remained in sociological outer darkness. Only a few of the leading sociologists have conceived that the maladjustments to be seen in any society were to be interpreted in terms of sociological theory. By one of these the malfunctioning of social arrangements was even dismissed with this generalization: "the costs of progress." To other systematic sociologists that maladjustment did not exist for their systems. In the meantime those especially concerned with "social problems," with poverty and its allied problems, and with crime went their own way, either innocent of what social theory could do for their subjects or repelled from sociology as an ally in their attempt to resolve the riddle presented by the results of social derangements—repelled by the contempt of some sociologists for "social reformers." A few, however, of the sociological systematizers in America, among them Cooley, Ross, and Thomas, made a place in their systems for social pathology.

As early as 1914, when I was writing my first book in sociology (in collaboration with Professor Blackmar), I felt the importance of considering the pathological aspects of social life in the scheme of things sociological. In the years which have followed I have tried to work out more thoroughly the place of social pathology in sociological theory. I could not be satisfied with the treatment of social maladjustments dissociated from the social organization and processes out of which they grew, or at least with which they were associated. This book is an attempt to unite in theory what are actually joined in life.

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WHAT IS SOCIAL PATHOLOGY?

CHAPTER 1

WHAT IS SOCIAL PATHOLOGY?

Life from birth to death is a struggle for adjustment. We come into existence with a certain inherent endowment, physical and mental. We are born into a world with which it is necessary to come to terms. Through unknown ages man in his very inherited qualities has become adapted to it—but not perfectly. The struggle for existence has weeded out those individuals too widely variant from an ideal norm to meet the conditions of survival. Nevertheless, such selection has not yet produced a stock perfectly fitted to meet all the differences of climate, of food supply, of sunshine and storm, of bacterial parasites, and a thousand other variable conditions in different parts of the globe. Moreover, these physical conditions are complicated by the modifications of them which have been brought about by human efforts, and by the social arrangements which man has devised. In any given part of the world physical conditions change—for example, from season to season, from wind and rain to calm and sunshine, from heat to cold, from dryness to humidity. Conditions in one part of the earth differ vastly from those in other parts. Yet these differences and changes form by no means so large a class of change and difference as do the variations in the cultures of people. In view of the complexity of conditions to which the human being must make adjustment, is it any wonder that some people fail? The miracle is that so many fairly well succeed. No greater tribute to the capacity of human nature could be cited than the fact that man—without an understanding of the nature of the physical universe, and, but for his exceptional brain, less adequately endowed with means of self-defense and attack than the predatory animals about him—has successfully competed with the animal world, has overcome an often hostile physical environment, and has filled the earth with his kind.

However, man's history is a trail of blood. The struggle for survival has left along the road the bones of those who have fallen in the fight. It has also imprinted indelibly upon the very nature of man and upon his institutions certain qualities which make for success under some conditions of life, but make for failure under others. Strength and cunning, ruthless self-seeking and hypocrisy, hatred and envy that struggle has engendered. But also out of it have come friendship, parental love, pity, sympathy, and mutual aid

Above all there has developed the intelligence which enables man to adapt means to ends, and thus to meet the conditions of survival *Social pathology is the study of man's failure to adjust himself and his institutions to the necessities of existence to the end that he may survive and meet fairly well the felt needs of his nature* Let us begin our consideration of social pathology with a case

The Joe Grabarski Family. Joe Grabarski came from Poland to a steel center of Pennsylvania when he was a lad of seventeen years He was large for his age and had run away from home because he and his father had been unable to get along together Joe would not keep the places his father had found for him as an apprentice and he had tired of the methods taken to keep him in control Since he had learned from a young man who had returned from a sojourn in the United States that there was plenty of work there at good wages, Joe decided to get away to that promised land After considerable difficulty he got out of Poland and across to this country He found work among other Poles in a Pennsylvania community He was sturdy and industrious, saved his money, soon learned to speak some English, and got along very well for a number of years

At twenty-two Joe married the daughter of an Austrian-German family of rather low economic and social standards The father, like Joe, worked in the mills, he was a hard drinker, not a very steady worker, generally in debt, and abusive to his family Joe's wife was the third child in her family Her oldest sister had run away from home and was reported to be a common prostitute in a large city further west The next older sister had difficulty in getting as far as the sixth grade by her sixteenth year The brother, next younger, had been committed to an institution for the feeble-minded at the age of fourteen The next younger child, a girl, is an epileptic now in the State institution for epileptics Two younger children died in infancy

The mother of Joe's wife, now an old lady, in her younger days was a domestic servant She had married Joe's wife's father after the birth of an illegitimate child which died in infancy

From all that could be learned from Joe about his own family, they were respectable peasants in the old country Joe says there was no evidence of any mental defect or disturbance in the family, although he claims that his father was very irascible and strict with the children However, his report of conditions may reflect only his own reaction to the family situation during his adolescence

A strike occurred in the steel mills and continued for a long time Joe had no reserve funds and when the strikers' funds gave out, it became necessary for him to find some means of supporting his family. He decided to go West

and look for work, beating his way on the train He got as far as Ohio, found work with a farmer, who after trying him out for several months, decided to allow him to send for his family and gave him a tenant house in which to live Here he did very well for about two years, being able to save most of his wages because the farmer gave him a patch of ground on which to raise vegetables and also supplied the family milk and eggs The farmer persuaded him to buy an eighty-acre farm, taking as a first payment eight hundred dollars which Joe had been able to save He sold him a team of horses, three cows, a number of pigs, and enough chickens to stock his farm He also spoke well of him to the implement dealer in the nearby town, and this dealer let him have the necessary implements on time

For the next two years Joe and his family got along very nicely He was able to meet the interest on his mortgage, and to make partial payments upon the implements and the stock The farmer took a good deal of interest in him, advising him with regard to the management of the farm and urging him to keep the children in school until they had each reached the age of fourteen By this time Joe and his wife had six children, four of them born back in the steel town, the other two born on the farm

About the end of Joe's fourth year in Ohio his farmer friend suddenly died The farmer's wife was not in accord with her husband's efforts to help Joe, and furthermore, had taken a violent dislike to Mrs Grabarski She had even refused to help Joe's wife when the two children were born

In the settlement of the estate which had been left to her by will the farmer's wife insisted that the mortgage on the stock, which came due the spring after her husband died, should be paid Joe did his best to have the mortgage renewed, but she refused When she insisted that the balance be paid, Joe borrowed from some of his neighboring farmers enough to finish the payment on this chattel mortgage

In illustration of the truism that often troubles do not come singly, other difficulties followed The baby suddenly became sick and after some weeks of illness died A short time later the oldest boy, sixteen years of age, who had been his father's chief stand-by on the farm, was killed by a runaway team Naturally Mrs Grabarski was very much upset by these tragic events She had never been a good housekeeper, was careless in her personal appearance, and the house was rather disorderly She now became listless and often the meals were not prepared when Joe came in from the farm work The oldest girl, fourteen years of age, had most of the responsibility for the care of the house and for the younger children Mrs Grabarski then developed an ailment which the doctor said necessitated going to the nearby hospital for an operation She was there for eight weeks In the meantime Joe and the two

girls, fourteen and twelve, got along as best they could with the two younger children

When Mrs Grabarski returned home she was in a bad mental state and could do no work In addition she developed an irritability which manifested itself in finding fault constantly with the two girls and with Joe Suddenly one day she developed a mania and attempted to kill the two younger children She was committed by the court to the State institution for the insane Meantime Joe was doing the best he could with the farm His mortgage was due the next spring Owing to his recent heavy expenses he had not been able to meet the interest charges in the autumn when the first instalment was due The widow of the farmer was very ugly about the matter Under a clause of the mortgage she could foreclose She threatened to but was finally persuaded to let the matter go until spring when the mortgage was due

The older girl had stopped school in order to look after the house, but she became interested in a farm hand in the community and seemed to lose interest in the condition of the home

Joe, very much worried by his financial affairs and by the condition of his wife, tried to make arrangements at a bank in a neighboring city to borrow the amount of the unpaid mortgage in order that he might meet the widow's demands on March first. However, in 1921 farm prices and values had sunk to a very low level, and the bank could not lend him the amount which he needed He tried to get the farmer's widow to accept what he could borrow and take a second mortgage for what he still owed her This she refused to do He tried in every way possible to borrow of friends, but they all had their own troubles and could not help him During the winter Joe found that the oldest girl was pregnant by the hired man with whom she had been keeping company This situation created considerable strain between father and daughter and the girl threatened to run away with the man Her father urged her to marry her suitor and thus solve the problem But when the farm hand learned the situation he suddenly left the country The county welfare worker, who had become acquainted with the family, discovered the situation and finally persuaded Joe to give his daughter the care which her condition required rather than to make life too hard for her The worker provided for the girl's lying-in at the neighboring hospital and tried to keep Joe's morale bolstered up From that time on she came into the family frequently, since she saw that conditions were very bad

Not long after this the eight-year-old boy was discovered stealing things at school On investigation it was ascertained that he had been doing so for some time Traced down, the difficulty seemed to be that this boy, who had grown up without being taught anything concerning sex, was suffering an

intense emotional disturbance over sex stories told him by older boys at school Fortunately the teacher and the social worker were able to get a young man in the neighborhood who was interested in boys to take an interest in this lad and by informal conferences and hikes with him and other boys straighten the matter out

About the same time the ten-year-old girl began to show peculiarities She became morose, irritable, disobedient in school, and abusive to the younger brother at home The father had no insight into her difficulties and his scolding only made matters worse The sister with the illegitimate child had returned home in an unhappy state of mind which complicated the relations within the home It took considerable time for the social worker and the teacher, working together on the case, to unravel the difficulties They discovered that the younger girl was perplexed over her older sister, the illegitimate baby, and the social position into which the family had been put Finally the matter was adjusted by a frank and tactful explanation to the ten-year-old girl of the whole matter of illegitimacy and its consequences

The social worker and the teacher had more difficulty with Joe When the oldest girl was lying in Joe had to hire some one to keep house in order that the younger girl might go to school The children took a strong dislike to the Polish woman who became the housekeeper, a dislike which led to difficulties not only between the housekeeper and the children, but between the children and their father When the oldest girl returned with her baby from the hospital, she was especially resentful She suspected that there might be undue intimacy between her father and the housekeeper As soon as the daughter was able to look after the house, the social worker induced Joe to dismiss the housekeeper

On top of all these troubles, the widow of the farmer foreclosed the mortgage and in due time Joe's farm was sold at sheriff's sale to another farmer in the neighborhood This man, however, was interested in seeing that Joe kept the farm and worked it Arrangements were made whereby he rented it for a year, hoping to redeem it within that time.

Joe did well with the crops, and he was able at the end of the year to pay five hundred dollars down on a land contract to the farmer who had bought the farm at the sheriff's sale He also had money enough to pay the interest and the taxes when they came due the next spring However, the second year's crop was a total failure due to rain and early frost In addition, hog cholera was very prevalent in the neighborhood and swept off all but five of Joe's promising herd of hogs During the winter the cattle in the neighborhood were tested for tuberculosis for the first time To Joe's consternation,

six of his ten cows were condemned This meant that his expected income from milk and cream during the winter was largely reduced

Joe became so discouraged with the total situation that he begged the farmer to take back the farm, sold the small amount of stuff he had left, paid his doctor bills, and decided to go to a neighboring manufacturing city with the family and get work

Joe got the family settled in a cheap house in one of the poorer sections of the city and earnestly sought work He succeeded in getting a job at common labor The income was very low and the family were struggling with all kinds of difficulties when Joe came down with the flu and was sick for several weeks About the same time the mother returned from the hospital for the insane very much improved, but she was of no great help in the household

It was at this time that the family came to the attention of the Family Welfare Association in the city, which gradually helped them to work out of their bad situation That part of the story does not concern us here I have given the main features of this case only to show how overwhelming are the difficulties which strike some families This was an exceptional case, but many times some of these problems arise in a family, and not always are they able to make the adjustments unassisted

MALADJUSTMENT BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS GROUP

The individual lives in social relationships There is no such thing in human society as living in a social vacuum As Cooley has pointed out, human nature is created in human relationships Many of the characteristics which popularly are supposed to be innate are socially created More than is generally supposed the personality characteristics are the results of the individual's reaction to the social stimuli which play upon him

When the individual is not fairly well adjusted to his fellows he becomes a problem If, under certain circumstances, he does not react in the way approved by his associates, he is looked upon as queer, is not accepted in some circles, and is denied certain satisfactions which depend upon his relationships to his fellowmen Oftentimes he is not able to achieve goals which are held to be desirable by the group to which he belongs Consequently he becomes a serious problem to his fellows and sometimes to himself If the maladjustment goes far enough and he is thwarted seriously enough in his aims to prevent emotional satisfaction, he is likely to become psychopathic On the other hand, in the attempt to make adjustments to these social standards provided for him in the accepted social pattern, an individual may become parasitic. The sycophant is an illustration Not able to break away for himself and attain distinction, not able to command respect by his own

qualities, he secures protection and social approval by toadying to a stronger person. Like the sycophant, the economically unsuccessful person who becomes dependent upon those better able to make their way in the world, and the criminal who reacts against the social standards in a revolutionary way, represent parasitic individuals.

All of this implies that society has established more or less definite standards for conduct in each social situation. These standards are not absolute and there is usually a rather wide range around what might be called the "norm." To be socially approved, one's conduct must come within this area. An individual who does not approximate these standards is said to be *maladjusted*. If he does not concern himself with living up to them, he is said to be *demoralized* or *disorganized*. The very word *demoralized* indicates that we recognize that such an individual is not controlled by the group mores or standards.

There are two terms in use among sociologists which bear upon this matter of standards. They were introduced into sociology by Professor Sumner, they are *folkways* and *mores*. The *folkways* are the result of the "frequent repetition of petty acts often by great numbers acting in concert or at least acting in the same way when face to face with the same need." This repetition leads to what we call *habit* in the individual and to what we call *custom* in the group. The folkways are largely the result of unconscious experiment in satisfying certain desires, whether for food or for other necessities of life. *Mores* are a development from the folkways which occur when these folkways or methods of doing certain things necessary to the life of the group are conceived to be related to group welfare.[1] The mores are of more importance to our subject than the folkways, because the mores establish standards of conduct on the basis of beliefs about conduct.

The Social Structure and Social Pathology. The social structure may be said to be made up of folkways, mores, ideals, standards, traditions, institutions, and organization. If the social structure is well adapted to the needs of the individual, there is a sense of satisfaction on the part of the constituent members of society and socially pathological conditions are at the minimum. Even though there be some individuals handicapped by native incapacity, if the structure of society is so organized as to be well adapted to such individuals, they will not suffer. If there is a sense of satisfaction on the part of all the members of the group, individual interests and social standards are then harmonized. Such harmony is frequent in a *static* society, i.e., one in which few changes are taking place or in which changes occur very slowly. In such a society the adaptation of the individual to the social institutions

[1] Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 3.

and of the social institutions to the varying types of individual tends to become complete Classes are formed whose relations to each other, established over long periods of time, become customary One sees such a situation in the caste system of India, where so long as no rapid changes take place there is no painful consciousness of disharmony When the individual becomes habituated to social customs, traditions, and institutions, he does not feel uncomfortable in his relationships with other individuals and in relation to the established social institutions He accepts his place as a matter of course and feels no heartburnings over the fact that he does not occupy the more desirable position of some one else

On the other hand, the social structure may become ill adapted to the felt needs of the individual, it may cease to achieve for him the accepted purposes of social life Then there is a sense of strain in the individual, both with relation to other individuals and with relation to the whole social structure This situation is most likely to arise in a *dynamic* society, i e, one in which changes of one sort or another are being introduced, especially if these changes are coming about rapidly or if they radically affect established ways of living

Changes in social arrangements, however produced, affect old institutions and relationships, destroy the harmony existing between individuals and the social structure, and cause strain in the individual which leads to all kinds of difficulties in the integration of his personality Such changes are illustrated by the discovery of the New World in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by the technological inventions which introduced what we know as the Industrial Revolution and changed the whole basis of the production of goods from the home to the factory, by the technological and organizational changes going on in industry at the present time

When these changes are taking place rapidly only the more adaptable are able to meet the new conditions However, while they find ways to take advantage of changes to their own profit and satisfaction, their success only brings in new changes and places new strains upon the established social structure They find it easy to exploit the least adaptable members of society. The whole relationship of status is destroyed For example, the worker, instead of living in his master's house, lives in the factory district, while the factory owner has his dwelling in a better part of the city If these changes are rapid, the individual in his own career lives through a whole cycle of variations in social relationships He experiences in his own history the loss of his old position on the one hand or the advance he has been able to make on the other If the former, personal demoralization takes place He loses hope, his social standards break down, he swells the number of the inefficient

either through his own negligence, or through the misplaced kindness of others

The result upon the social structure of this maladjustment in relationships and of the increasing numbers of unadapted is very important In America, where a situation such as I have been describing sometimes occurs, we can see what happens Consider how great has been the multiplication of our social machinery to meet the new conditions Not only have we reorganized the whole business structure in the last thirty years, but we have greatly developed that social machinery which is comprised of hospitals, schools, social agencies, of legislation relating to marriage, divorce, care of children, juvenile courts, and of the regulation of relationships between employer and employee in industry This development of the social structure is an attempt on the part of society to adapt its machinery to the individual

In addition to the setting up of such visible agencies there goes on also the gradual growth of new standards and codes of conduct to take the place of the crumbling old ones Such standards relate to the place of women in social life, the care of children, and the methods of their upbringing There are also standards as to the relationships between the sexes, as to the dissolution of family life, size of families, fashions in clothes, etc

Furthermore, new philosophies develop to fit the changed conditions Eugenics grows up when the demoralization of individuals has called attention to the importance of individual differences Socialism arises as a philosophy of a disorganized society and as a platform for its reorganization All sorts of panaceas for social ills arise and various experiments in readjustment are attempted

In summary, is it not clear that social pathology arises out of the maladjustment between the individual and the social structure? The influences which break the adjustment between the individual and society may come either from the individual or from changes which affect the social order Through the individual these changes are introduced by modifications of the hereditary qualities of the individual in ways which are not entirely clear From the social structure the changes come by reason of new inventions, the discovery of new natural resources, and by the organization of new methods in political, economic, and social life Let us proceed to study the pathology of social relationships of different types and kinds

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Define social pathology
2. In the case of Joe Grabarski and his family was it lack of capacity to adjust to the economic conditions, or was it hard luck, or was it a combination of both which resulted in the social maladjustment?
3. Could the social relationships of a girl who, against her parents' wishes, stayed out late at night and ran with a "wild" group be termed pathological? What if her parents did not object?
4. Why are the relationships of some people of low grade intelligence fairly normal in a rural community, but pathological when they move to a city?
5. Why is there more conflict between young people and their elders in an age of rapidly changing than in one of slowly changing conditions?
6. Why has the introduction of machinery into our industrial life produced pathological family relationships, e g , divorce, conflict between parents and children, etc.

PART I

THE PATHOLOGY OF THE INDIVIDUAL

FOREWORD TO PART I

By the "pathology of the individual" is meant the failure of the individual to adjust his life-reactions to the conditions which exist in the society in which he lives. This failure to adjust may be due to a number of factors. He may come into the world inadequately equipped in body or mind to make the adjustments required by society. He may be the victim of sickness or of a poor or inadequate education. He may have acquired habits which mark him off from his fellows—habits which signalize him as queer and so interfere with a satisfactory life-adjustment. He may become so disturbed in his emotional reactions to life that he cannot meet the requirements of society. He may become addicted to drugs, such as alcohol or opium or some other habit-forming drug, and thus be rendered incapable of functioning as a member of society. Or, he may be the victim of economic conditions. If he is unable to support himself and those dependent on him, he may finally become so hopeless and demoralized that he no longer cares to what depths he may fall. Whatever the cause, the individual may be said to be pathological from the sociological point of view when he is unable to function adequately in the social system in which he happens to live.

CHAPTER 2

SICKNESS

One of the chief forms of individual maladjustment is sickness. As we saw in the case cited in the previous chapter—the case of Joe Grabarski—perhaps the most important root of his difficulties was sickness. This leads to incapacity to earn and when the income stops, all sorts of evils follow. A train of circumstances is set in motion whose effect may disintegrate the whole personality.

Sickness, if long continued, also produces in its victim a sense of failure as a member of society. No wonder Grabarski finally gave up the fight when sickness destroyed the hope of overcoming the other difficulties!

Sickness, moreover, destroys hope and ambition after a time. There is a good deal of truth in Irving Fisher's contention that, other things being equal, exuberant health lies behind inventiveness and courage. While some sick people maintain their hopefulness and their ambition, the general run of individuals lose these two social characteristics through long-continued sickness plus financial and other discouragement.

How often sickness, long continued, results in self-pity and personal demoralization! Hope gone, courage destroyed, the individual, contrasting himself with more fortunate beings, begins to pity himself and many of his fine personal characteristics disappear. He becomes dependent in spirit, complaining and hopeless.

Health is not only wealth, it is the foundation of social usefulness and personal capacity. Consider the economic value of the health assets of the 125 millions of people in this country. One cannot evaluate human life, of course, in terms of money alone, yet healthful human beings have a very high economic value. Dublin has worked out the economics of health for this country. He finds that the cost of raising a child to the age of self-support in families whose total income is about $2,500 a year amounts to a little more than $10,000, aside from the money value of the mother's care. This amount is more than the sum necessary to raise to adulthood any other animal. Cynics, looking over the general run of people, have suggested that on the average they are not worth it. However, it is shown by other calculations that the value of a man as a wage-earner is very much greater than the cost of his

rearing Dublin calculates that the present worth of a man's future earnings at the age of eighteen is well beyond $41,000 The present discounted worth of his future personal expenditures is less than $13,000 Therefore, his value at the age of eighteen is close to $29,000 However, if this man lives to be twenty-five years of age, the net worth of his future earnings is more than $32,000 After that, with advancing age, his net worth declines. It is easy to see that the value of a man whose maximum earnings are $5,000 a year is very much greater Hence if we take these calculations and assume that the average value of the males is that of the $2,500 income class, and figure that there are sixty millions of male persons in the United States, and if we further calculate that the economic value of the women is only half as much, our national wealth existing in the energies of our 125 millions of people amounts to over 1,500 billions of dollars Since, in 1922, the national material wealth amounted to 321 billions, the vital assets of the nation surpassed the ordinary material wealth in a ratio of about five to one This figure corresponds closely to the estimate of Professor Nicholson of England concerning the relative value of the vital and material assets of the United Kingdom in 1891

Consider the inroad on this national asset made by sickness Studies have been made which enable us to have quite a good picture of the economic toll taken by illness. Dr Frankel and Dr Dublin made a study among a half million insured persons which showed that about 2 per cent were constantly sick. Other studies confirm this The average individual in the United States loses from his work about seven days a year on account of sickness to say nothing of the many days when he is not at his best on account of illness.

Converted into economic terms this seven-days-a-year loss amounts to a tax of a billion and a quarter dollars annually To this should be added the cost of medical care, hospital service, etc It is estimated, therefore, that sickness costs directly in lost wages, reduced production, and necessary care two billion and a quarter dollars a year Fisher calculated that about 45 per cent of the sickness was preventable Dublin has arrived at the conclusion that about one third of the deaths which occur every year are preventable On the basis of his studies he estimates that the total capital value of the lives which could be saved annually through the application of modern preventive medicine and public health measures is over six billion dollars

Though this picture is at first disconcerting, the fact that disease has been brought under some control suggests that the fight for good health is hopeful In 1901 a baby born in the United States registration area had a life expectation of forty-nine years Now, because of the saving of life in the early years, this expectation has risen to fifty-seven and three-fourths years In the

last twenty years infant mortality has been cut 60 per cent Moreover, typhoid fever, which was once a common cause of sickness and death throughout the United States, and which even as late as 1900 produced a death-rate of 36 per hundred thousand of population, has almost disappeared in the northern and urban sections of the country The death-rate from tuberculosis in 1900 was 195 per hundred thousand It is now less than one-half that In 1900, diphtheria, one of the most important causes of death among children, caused a death-rate of 43 3 per hundred thousand In 1926 the rate had dropped to 7 5 and it is constantly being lowered

CAUSES OF DEATH WHICH ARE WAXING

On the other hand, certain other causes of death have been gaining With the increasing use of the automobile and of machinery in industry fatal accidents have become more frequent Dublin calculated that the elimination of accidents would add more than a year to the average expectation of life Furthermore, heart disease has been on the increase However, considering the fact that in the United States the total per capita expenditure for public health is less than fifty cents, we are doing wonders Public health officials indicate that an expenditure of $2 50 per capita, wisely directed through organized channels for the control of preventable diseases and for public health education, would reduce the annual death-rate and increase the average expectation of life from five to seven years

In spite of the progress which has been made by the application of science to disease, some diseases are on the increase Those which we have learned to control are especially the diseases of childhood and certain others due to a known specific germ which has been isolated On the other hand, the diseases which have shown a tendency to increase are chiefly those for which a specific bacterial cause has not been discovered—largely the diseases of middle-age and old-age

Accidents. Deaths from accident are becoming steadily more numerous In 1928 accidents accounted for the death of 96,000 persons in the United States. by automobiles, 28 per cent, falls, 18 per cent, drowning, 9 per cent, burns, 7 per cent, and railroad accidents, 6 per cent[1] Whether death from accident will continue to increase with the further industrialization of the country and with the increase in the number of automobiles and airplanes, remains to be seen The increase of fatal auto accidents from 2 9 per hundred thousand of population in 1912 to 29 8 per hundred thousand in 1928, indicates the importance of accidental death from this source.

Heart Disease. At the present time heart disease stands first in the list

[1] *World Almanac*, 1931, p 454

of the causes of death. Dublin says it is also first in the amount of disability and invalidism it causes. Nearly 200,000 persons a year die from heart disease If the present situation continues, one out of every five of the present population will die from this disease At the present time the death of a person at the age of ten is three times as likely to occur from heart disease as from tuberculosis; at thirty a male is four times as likely to die of heart disease as from tuberculosis, and for a woman at that age the probability is five times as great. Moreover, it is probable that for every death from heart disease ten persons are suffering from impaired and deficient heart action. In short, Dublin estimates that about 2 per cent of the entire population suffer from some form of heart trouble

Death from heart disease is not limited to the aged. Although that class has shown the greatest increase in recent years, many young and middle-aged people are suffering from malfunctioning of the heart Diseases of the valves of the heart are quite common, they are usually caused by scarlet fever, serious infection of the teeth, tonsillitis, acute rheumatic fever, and more rarely by syphilis Dublin estimates that acute rheumatic fever alone is responsible for 25 per cent of all cases of heart disease and that syphilis accounts for 10 per cent more Forty per cent of all cases of heart disease are associated with the hardening of the arteries or with high blood pressure.

The enormous increase of heart disease during the last twenty-five years seems to have occurred among those of older years It is now preeminently a condition of the middle and later periods of life Tuberculosis, typhoid, and certain of the children's diseases were once important exits from life Since these doors have been closed, more people die of heart disease and the degenerative diseases of later life [2]

Cancer. Cancer is another mounting disease Investigations by the United States Public Health Service and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company show similar results Once it was thought that the apparent increase in the death-rate from cancer was due to improved diagnosis of the causes of diseases in recent years That can no longer be held In 1920 cancer stood fifth on the list Among the industrial policy-holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in 1925, only heart disease and tuberculosis had higher rates than cancer In recent years it has been increasing at the rate of seven deaths per million persons each year The increase has been chiefly among males, both white and colored, rather than among females Furthermore, cancer has not been increasing uniformly at the several age periods of life The more advanced the age the greatet the increase Thirty-six per cent of the total deaths from cancer is to be assigned to cancer of the

[2] Dublin, *Health and Wealth* (New York, 1928), Ch IV.

stomach and liver, while cancer of the female genital organs accounts for 20.8 per cent of the total cancer mortality and 30.4 per cent of the total number of cancer deaths among females. This class of cancer, however, has not increased significantly. Cancer of the intestinal tract as the cause of death has shown a decided increase amounting to almost 2 per cent per year. This has been more pronounced among white than among colored people, and among white males than among white females. Cancer of the skin has not increased.

In the case of cancer, as in that of heart disease, some of the increase is due to the fact that more of us get past the waning diseases. Since cancer is a disease of middle and later life, more people are exposed to the possibility of contracting cancer than once was the case. Among males the death-rate has gone up especially after fifty.

Up to the present time efforts to deal with cancer have proved rather disappointing in their results. About all medical men can tell us is that a cancerous growth should be excised as soon as it manifests itself.

Kidney Disease. Deaths from some types of kidney disease seem to be on the increase. Diabetes, according to the Bureau of the Census, increased from 15 per hundred thousand population in 1912 to 19 in 1928. On the other hand, acute Bright's Disease decreased from 103.2 per hundred thousand in 1912 to 95 in 1928. While organic diseases of the heart stand out as the first cause of death in old age, Bright's Disease stands third, accounting for 12.8 per cent of the deaths of those above sixty-five years.[3]

Cerebral Hemorrhage. Closely connected with heart disease and kidney diseases is another degenerative disease, cerebral hemorrhage (apoplexy). This disease accounted for 13.6 per cent of all causes of death after sixty-five years of age, and in 1925 stood next highest to organic diseases of the heart. Cerebral hemorrhages also register the effects of industrial life among workers. The death-rates from the degenerative diseases, including cerebral hemorrhage, are two or three times as high among industrial groups during the active working years of life as among others. Dublin thinks it probable that these high rates among workers reflect the conditions of long-continued strenuous labor, of heat, of marked changes in temperature, and, in some cases, of specific occupational poisoning. Degenerative diseases, it is estimated, curtail the expectation of life about four years.

So far as is known the rising mortality from these diseases is partly the reflection of the lessened death-rate from other causes at earlier periods in life and partly the effect of the strenuous life-conditions and unhygienic ways of living which mark our modern civilization.[4]

[3] Dublin, op. cit., p. 158.
[4] Dublin, op. cit., pp. 158, 253, 265, 338.

VARIATION IN INCIDENCE OF SICKNESS AND DEATH BETWEEN VARIOUS GROUPS

The study of sickness and death has revealed that people belonging to certain groups are much more likely to be sick than those belonging to other groups. Long ago, before statistics had been brought to bear upon the subject, common observation had shown that in childhood and late life sickness had a greater incidence than it had in middle life. Many other points of variability have been revealed by the modern statistical study of health, disease, and death.

Sickness and death are relatively less in the country than they are in the city. Sorokin and Zimmerman's studies of the differences between country and city show that in the World War, the health of the rural recruits was, as a rule, better than that of city recruits. In general, their conclusions are that in spite of some differences from country to country, the venereal diseases, alcoholism, drug addiction, general paralysis, progressive paralysis, organic heart diseases, arteriosclerosis, cancer, several malignant tumors, nephritis, and Bright's Disease are more common among urban than among rural populations. Moreover, teeth defects, overweight, underweight, errors of refraction in the eyes, diseases of the digestive organs, and diabetes mellitus are more common within the city than they are in the country. On the other hand, pellagra and some other relatively unimportant and not widely spread diseases are more common among the country population. The majority of the infectious diseases, also hernia, enlarged inguinal rings, defects of the eye, ear, trunk, upper and lower extremities, rheumatic diseases, tonsillitis, goitre, diseases connected with child-bearing, and so on are rather evenly distributed between the country and the city populations.

On the whole, therefore, they conclude that health conditions in the country are better than they are in the city.[6]

There is a high incidence of sickness and premature death in poorly paid occupations and dusty trades. This applies especially to tuberculosis which ravages negroes more than whites. There is also considerable variation in the tuberculosis death-rate among people of different nationalities. From a study of six or seven principal racial stocks in the population of New York and Pennsylvania it was found that the death-rate from tuberculosis was smallest among those born in Russia. Most of them were Jews and other studies have shown that they are comparatively immune to this disease. In these two states Austro-Hungarians, most of whom were also Jews, showed a like resistance to this disease. The rates were also very low among the Italians. In fact, the

[6] Sorokin and Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural Urban Sociology* (New York, 1929), Chs. V and VI.

Jews from Russia, the Jews from Austria-Hungary, and those born in Italy, showed lower rates than the native whites. The highest rates are found among both males and females born in Ireland. At some of the age periods Irish males have as high a tuberculosis death-rate as have colored males.[6]

Heart disease seems to be increasing, as we have already seen, with the growing number of people in the higher age groups. Like tuberculosis, it varies by race. The foreign groups with a low death-rate from heart disease are those born in the former Austro-Hungarian empire, the Russians, most of whom are Jews, and the Italians. A high rate for heart disease is found among those born in England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, and Ireland. Here, again, the rate for the Irish is particularly high, very close to the death-rate for the colored people.[7]

Cancer varies chiefly by age groups. In the late middle-age group are found most of the victims of cancer.

Many other variations might be studied with profit, but these will probably be sufficient to indicate the main factors of sickness and death which bear upon the pathology of the individual. Can there be any question that illness has a most important bearing upon the collapse of the individual's life-plans and that it is a great factor in producing pathology of the social relations?[8]

METHODS OF COMBATING SICKNESS AND DEATH

Most hopeful is the progress which has been made in conquering or at least controlling some of these most important diseases. Once yellow fever ravaged the port cities of this country. Year after year thousands died as far north as Philadelphia and Boston. To-day, thanks to the courageous investigations of those who risked their lives to study the way in which yellow fever was transmitted, it has been stamped out of the United States and Cuba and can be eradicated as effectively everywhere else. Typhoid fever, diphtheria, and smallpox formerly swept off millions. To-day, where the results of medical science are applied, they are practically non-existent. Scientists are attacking other diseases, ascertaining which of them are bacterial in origin, isolating the specific germ if possible, studying the conditions under which these diseases spread, and it will probably not be long before many of the other diseases will be brought under control.

Long ago it was discovered that the community must provide certain resources to combat sickness. Even in the days of the Roman Empire some types of hospitals were to be found. The Christian Church made the care of

[6] Dublin, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–106, 173, 121.
[7] Dublin, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 75, 76.
[8] Death from mental diseases is discussed in Chapter VII.

the sick one of its important tasks Modern medicine, demanding controlled conditions for the treatment of the sick, has been instrumental in greatly increasing such community resources as nurses, trained physicians, hospitals and clinics

Recent studies have shown, however, that community provisions for the care of the sick are very unevenly distributed Cities are well supplied in contrast with country districts, and the Eastern geographic divisions of this country are very much better provided for than the Southern sections or the Mountain region [1]

Certain agencies are already used to spread the knowledge of the means of preventing disease Newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and books are available and there is some small use of radio and certain visual methods of presenting facts, such as posters and lantern slides Very much more, however, is needed to make available to the man on the street the knowledge which science has made accessible The fact that we still have outbreaks of smallpox and that in certain sections of the country malaria is still widespread, indicates the need of more active propagation of the knowledge of how to prevent disease Private associations like anti-tuberculosis associations, organizations for the prevention of heart disease and cancer, are illustrations of the beginnings of measures to educate the public with respect to disease The United States Public Health Service, the health boards of the individual States, and the health departments of the cities are beginning to carry on disease-prevention programs The public schools are giving a great deal of attention to teaching the children health rules

As long as sickness exists and preventable death occurs, means are needed whereby every one who should have medical or surgical attention may secure it with the least possible difficulty At present we have free medical and surgical service, and free hospital and nursing service for those who cannot afford to pay Doctors and hospitals have also provided for a graded scale of payments according to the financial ability of the patient It has been urged that there should be a health service movement similar to the educational movement for children Theoretically it is just as important that we keep people well as it is to educate them There are certain practical difficulties, however, both in the present plan to provide health service to those in need, and in that to provide free service for every one The medical profession makes its living by charging individuals for service, naturally it opposes any proposal which might cut down the income of its members Then,

[1] For further details see my *Poverty and Dependency*, rev ed (New York, 1916), Ch XXV

too, if free medical service were provided, doubtless many people would abuse the privilege

That the importance of proper care of health is increasingly recognized by various classes of the population is indicated by the fact that there is a steady growth of *industrial medicine* Various commercial and industrial concerns now provide a certain amount of medical attention for their employees and sometimes for their families In a few States industrial accident and disease have been made compensable under the labor laws In many school systems free medical service is given to the pupils Furthermore, "group sickness insurance" has been adopted by many industries and by the labor unions In addition there has been in recent years an enormous growth of health insurance by the commercial insurance companies Some European countries have gone so far as to provide compulsory public health insurance for certain classes of the population No doubt some of the insured malinger, while the attending doctor is not always solicitous to have his patient recover quickly Nevertheless, even under the imperfect scheme of England, the testimony indicates that the health of those insured has very greatly improved, the number of poor relief cases has decreased, and the number of free tuberculosis sanatoria has risen by leaps and bounds

One thing is certain, whether or not we come to "State medicine" as health insurance is called in this country, facilities for the care of the health of the people will certainly be multiplied The growing expense of medical and surgical care, of hospitalization and of nursing service, it has been shown, prevents many people who need care from getting it at the proper time For a number of the chronic ailments of mankind early treatment is the only hope The logic of modern medicine that early treatment is best means that methods must be devised by which people will be encouraged to secure early treatment rather than postpone seeking it until it is too late.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1 In what different ways does ill health affect the social relationships of individuals?

2 What has happened to the personality of the individual who takes great interest in telling other people about his own pains, aches, operations, and other bodily afflictions ("enjoying his miseries")?

3 How were Joe Grabarski's maladjustments produced by sickness in his family?

4 Discuss the pros and cons of the statement that it is more important for society that the death-rate of people should be reduced than that the problem of unemployment should be solved

5 Show the effect of a low income upon sickness

6 How does the fact that the death-rate from children's diseases and from such diseases of early adulthood as tuberculosis and typhoid has been lowered affect the death-rate from heart disease in middle-age, or from cancer in later life?

7 What are the theoretical difficulties of the proposal that every one should be furnished a minimum of provision against ill health just as every one is given a minimum education at public expense?

8 From some case book (e g , Breckenridge) or from a hospital or family welfare society record select a case which shows how sickness disturbs social and economic relationships

CHAPTER 3

BLINDNESS AND DEAFNESS

Why is it that the cases of Laura Bridgman and Helen Keller have excited the interest and wonder of mankind? Is it not due to the fact that society does not expect individuals thus afflicted to overcome their deficiencies so brilliantly? For centuries mankind has accepted the inevitability of blindness and deafness in a certain contingent. In the history of the repression of mendicity the last class to be denied the right to beg was the blind. Even to-day in a great many places, in spite of law, obliging subterfuges, such as the permission to sell small articles, are invented in the interest of the blind person. Historically the deaf have been less pitiable. Even the deaf-mute has been looked upon as less disabled than the blind. In our modern complex civilization, however, both defects are a very decided handicap.

The Blind

Definition of Blindness. In order to understand the bearing of blindness upon the social pathology of the individual, it is necessary to define *blindness*. Not all people are equally blind. Some possess defective vision which does not seriously interfere with their social and economic effectiveness. Others have a slight impairment of vision which vitiates their efficiency. Still others have such impaired eyesight that they are handicapped in their social relations and find it almost impossible to make a living. Hence, in this country, there has been an attempt to define educational blindness and vocational blindness. For children "one-tenth vision" or less means educational blindness. An impairment of vision between one tenth and one third in the child means that special sight-saving classes are necessary to permit the individual thus afflicted to partake of the opportunities offered by the school. For adults one-tenth vision or less means vocational blindness, and even those with more than one-tenth vision are often vocationally limited and have to be helped by special agencies. Consequently, we can say that blindness is that degree of impairment of the sight which interferes with the education of children and with the vocational efficiency of adults. Usually it varies from no vision up to one-tenth normal vision. Within this range lie the most serious problems in connection with blindness.

Extent of Blindness. We do not know the total number of the blind in the world at large, because in vast areas no census of the population has been taken The estimates which have been made vary widely, since they are based only upon sample reports from various communities They place the total number of blind in the world between three and five millions In some of the western countries where more or less careful censuses are taken we have an approximation to the truth In the United States, for example, it is estimated that there is about one blind person to a thousand of the population "Blind" in this sense means that the eyesight is seriously impaired

Distribution of Blindness. According to the United States Census of 1920 the age distribution of blind people was as follows [1]

Age Group	*Per Cent*
Under 5 years	0 7
5 to 19 years	11 9
20 to 34 years	11 5
35 to 49 years	15 6
50 to 64 years	20 8
65 years and over	39 5

Probably the distribution shown by this 1920 Census is not entirely exact for it is likely that more of the blind were found between five and nineteen years than of any other age, since more between those ages are in residential schools for the blind and, therefore, more easily discoverable It is probable that the number under five years of age is most incompletely reported owing to the census enumerators' difficulty in discovering the blindness of young children in the homes where they call

Those under five years of age are pre-school children They would probably represent, if we had a complete enumeration, a picture of the trend of the prevention of blindness in the new-born—a practice which has been proceeding with great strides since the use of silver nitrate for the eyes of new-born babes was introduced Over one tenth of the estimated total of the blind in this country are of school age, and they represent the proportion to whom educational treasures may be most hopefully applied It is in this group that the most important work is being done by society for the amelioration of this social handicap In the age group from twenty to thirty-four years, we have those who possibly are employable, but who have reached the stage at which they must be adjusted through vocational training and placement to the strains of economic demands. By the time they have reached the age of thirty-five they have probably found their place in life, if not they are likely never to find it As the table above shows, nearly one sixth of the blind are

[1] *Social Work Year Book, 1929* (New York, 1930), p 40

in the age group from thirty-five to forty-nine. Here, too, something can be done to adjust some individuals to an economic career. In the age group from fifty to sixty-four years are some who are possibly employable, but whose economic opportunities are limited by age. Here over one fifth of the blind are to be found. In the last age group, sixty-five and over, we have practically two fifths of all the blind. Most of them are unemployable and they constitute the most hopeless class from the standpoint of social and economic reconstruction. While only 7.5 per cent of the general population is above sixty years of age, nearly half of the blind population is above sixty. While under five years of age there are only thirty-two blind persons per one million of population, at the age of eighty-five there are 15,858. Sixty-five per cent of the blind reported in 1920 seem to have lost their sight after the school age.

The tragedy of the situation lies in the fact that almost three fifths of the blind in this country are beyond employment age, and whatever adjustment was possible to them has been made. In the other two fifths, however, we have a challenge to our educational and social agencies to train and place them as advantageously as possible. It is to this two fifths that the public should direct its attention and apply its most ingenious educational methods.

The number of blind varies also with the *sexes*. There are 134.6 male blind to every hundred females in the United States. The probabilities are that the preponderance of blindness among males comes from the greater industrial hazards to their eyesight and from their greater liability to venereal disease.

Blindness also varies by *race* in the United States. Negroes have a very much higher rate than have white people. This is probably due in part, at least, to the lack of proper medical care.

Causes of Blindness. All the facts available indicate that the causes of blindness differ in proportion in various parts of the world. In some countries *trachoma* is rife, in others accidents seem to play the major part. In civilized countries two of the causes of blindness are decreasing in importance, viz., blindness of the new-born (*ophthalmia neonatorum*) and *trachoma*. The former is caused chiefly by the infection of the eye at the time of birth with the germ of one of the venereal diseases, and the latter is caused by a specific germ transmitted to the eye from some person afflicted with trachoma. In Egypt and certain other countries of the Orient I saw large numbers of people afflicted with trachoma. Personal filthiness and the ever-present swarms of flies on the faces and around the eyes of infants contribute to the spread of the infection.

In the United States in 1920 nearly three fourths of the cases of reported blindness were due to disease. Of this proportion two thirds were due to some

specific disease of the eye, the rest were caused by some disease of more general character The other one third of the cases were due to accidents, or poisoning, or the introduction of a foreign substance into the eye, or malformations

The table on page 31 shows the distribution of causes

Of the diseases causing blindness cataract was of first importance, then glaucoma, then atrophy of the nerve Last in importance was *ophthalmia neonatorum* Formerly it was estimated that one fourth of the blindness was caused by the latter disease The decreasing rate of blindness at birth shows what degree of prevention has been made possible by the use of silver nitrate in the eyes of the new-born Accidental causes account for over 12 per cent of the cases of blindness This high rate continues in spite of "Safety First" campaigns and the introduction of all kinds of safety devices for the protection of the eye in industry What the reports call "hereditary causes" account for about one fourth of the cases This category of causation may cover ignorance which modern science has not yet been able to dispel

Education among the Blind in the United States Of the blind over five years of age reported in 1920 only about one half had attended school The proportion in the older age groups was even less Probably this points to the increasing use of various means of educating the blind Less than one third of the total reported in that census had attended a school for the blind Perhaps this proportion will increase as further facilities are provided for their education Statistics already cited, indicating that large proportions of people become blind after school age, suggest that the number attending schools for the blind does not of itself show inadequate provision of such institutions The fact remains that we have made very little provision in our school system for the special education of those who become blind after the public school age Instance after instance could be cited to show the difficulty which blind people experience in securing, for example, a college education

Occupations of the Blind. Bad as is the situation of the blind with respect to education, their situation with respect to employment is very much worse The Census reports only 7,177 gainfully employed Of this number one half were in manufacturing, 1,264 in trade, 1,005 in musical and similar professions About three fifths were engaged in broom-making, farming, retail dealing, piano tuning, playing and teaching of music, chair-caning, and huckstering A number in general and in professional occupations had simply continued their callings after they became blind Many of those listed as in agriculture and manufacturing were employed in some simple handicraft possible to their condition It follows that there were a large number not self-supporting The greater part of these were cared for by their family,

CAUSE OF BLINDNESS AND AGE AT WHICH VISION WAS LOST

(Blind persons for whom special schedules were returned, 1920)[1]

Cause of blindness	Total	Blind at birth	Age at which vision was lost: Less than 5 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 19 years	20 to 44 years	45 to 64 years	65 years or over	Age not reported
All causes	40,913	3,978	4,362	2,478	3,259	8,445	8,713	7,853	1,825
Congenital	2,635	2,635	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ophthalmia neonatorum	1,198	128	825	10	11	3	—	—	121
Meningitis	526	1	203	151	97	46	9	2	17
Scarlet fever	416	1	159	111	66	49	13	6	11
Measles	797	2	197	134	136	171	83	47	27
Trachoma	555	3	37	43	90	164	130	53	35
Atrophy of the nerve	1,756	112	79	80	170	577	514	227	47
Accidental injury	5,913	25	340	655	973	2,181	1,156	482	151
Disease of the retina	497	13	25	13	38	134	159	97	18
Glaucoma	1,932	14	27	11	54	259	898	621	48
Cataract	4,896	400	181	100	147	449	1,169	2,274	176
All other and unknown	19,892	544	2,289	1,170	1,377	2,412	4,582	4,044	1,174

[1] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1930* (Washington, 1930), p. 68

friends, or relatives A small number, chiefly old people, were cared for in special homes for the blind Some were supporting themselves in special industrial establishments provided by private charity Of the remainder the majority were directly dependent wholly or in part upon public or private charitable agencies [3]

The poor industrial condition of the blind has led to the establishment of special institutions to provide them gainful occupation Often a State Commission for the Blind is active in trying to provide means whereby they may achieve self-support It is reported that the most active commissions exist in Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut [4] Sometimes workshops for the adult blind are established where they may find employment at occupations suitable to their condition, such as making articles for sale Frequently the State assumes the responsibility for disposing of these articles Again, the State commission or board endeavors to find positions adapted to the disabilities of blind patients However, when one reviews what has been accomplished he must confess that the problem of employment for the blind is by no means solved

In many States there are to be found pensions for the blind, when the question of occupation for them is not, or cannot, be solved These pensions, in 1929, varied from a maximum of $600 a year in Kansas to as little as $180 a year in California In twenty-one States reported on in 1929 by the American Foundation for the Blind, the so-called pension usually excluded from its benefits those who had an income of more than a certain amount This amount varied from $300 in Iowa and Nebraska to as high as $600 in Missouri In some States if the person is married the minimum is higher Thus in Illinois the minimum is $1,000 per annum if the pensioner is married and living with a spouse In Wisconsin the person who has an income of less than $780, if both blind and deaf, is entitled to a pension In other States the law is more general, as in New York State, where a blind person without means of support and incapable of self-support, is entitled to a pension [5]

ONE STATE'S METHOD OF DEALING WITH THE BLIND

As a concrete illustration of methods of dealing with the blind in this country let us take the system followed in the State of Wisconsin In addition to the provision made in the State School for the Blind which is intended especially for children, there are a number of other provisions for this afflicted

[3] *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1930, p 69, *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, article "Blind"

[4] *The Social Work Year Book*, 1929, p 44

[5] *Blind Relief Laws, Their Theory and Practice*, Legislation Series No 2 (American Foundation for the Blind, Inc, 1929), Appendix C

class of people In order to give the adult blind some advantages from the State School, an eight weeks' summer session for this class is conducted there Every effort is made to get blind adults to attend These unable to read and write braille are taught, while instruction is given in certain trades adapted to an individual's condition

Of more immediate interest to us are the measures provided by the State for the teaching and employment of the adult blind

The Census of the Blind. The State School under the Board of Control made a census of the blind in Wisconsin They discovered that in 1928 there were 2,629 blind people in the State, of whom 49 4 per cent were sixty years of age or older Of the total number 57 5 per cent were male and 42 5 per cent were female This is many more than the United States Census of 1926 revealed and the probabilities are that if each State took as careful a census of its blind, the total number in the United States would be shown to be very much larger than we suspect

Home Teaching The Board of Control, through the School for the Blind, has established a force of four home teachers who travel about the State They instruct in such subjects as finger reading, braille writing, typewriting, hand and machine sewing, fancy work, basketry, and household tasks, as well as in the common branches of arithmetic, geography, spelling, grammar, etc The purpose is to provide opportunities for the adult blind who, because they lost their eyesight after growing up, have been denied access to the regular sessions of the School for the Blind Although the home teachers always try to enlist their interest, it is often impossible for many of these to attend the adult school for the blind during the summer Some of them would have to leave their work upon the farms which they cannot do during the summer months Some are in ill health or have other handicaps Through these traveling teachers hundreds of old people have been taught to read braille and their later days have thus been brightened In four years, from 1924 to 1927, these teachers gave instruction in the home to 115 individuals, made 356 investigations, and made 2,445 calls They always endeavor to assist in every possible way those whom they visit, helping them to secure pensions, and connecting them with helpful agencies in the community.

The Field Agency for the Adult Blind has, as one department of its work, the sale of goods made by the blind in their homes This agency is under the Board of Control and is established by State law It has a salesman who manages that business Special sales are put on before the holidays and at other propitious times Exhibits of the work of the blind are made at the State fair and at some of the county fairs Furthermore, this department

makes special arrangements with women's clubs to promote the sale of articles produced by the blind The sales agent also arranged for the organization of a sales company under the name of the Wisconsin Blind Products, which sells from house to house articles made by the blind all over the State Rugs made by blind weavers have proved to be one of the most profitable articles produced, though brooms and baskets are made and sold, as are other articles in less proportion Weavers are often trained by the agency and hence the State undertakes the disposal of their articles, turning all of the receipts above the cost of materials over to the blind as wages Thus in the period from January, 1927, to July, 1928, brooms, rugs, and other articles to the amount of 28,677 were disposed of

Employment Secretary. The Agency also provides a secretary whose business it is to secure employment for adult blind persons able to fit into the industrial world In 1928 the Agency secured employment for twenty-two blind persons in factories in Milwaukee, and for seven in offices and stores

As a result of these economic activities on behalf of the adult blind of the State, aside from the activities of the Wisconsin Workshop for the Blind, nearly $30,000 worth of goods made by the blind was disposed of

The Wisconsin Workshop for the Blind The Wisconsin Workshop for the Blind, organized under the law and administered by the Board of Control, is located in Milwaukee Originally planned to be operated as a separate institution, it has since been combined with the State Agency for the Adult Blind The Workshop is intended to provide a place where the blind in the city of Milwaukee may find employment, while the State Agency is intended to dispose of the products made by the blind in their homes In 1928 there were thirty-seven enrolled in this workshop for the blind A number of these are so mentally and physically incapacitated that they could earn nothing unless they were supervised in this Workshop They constitute a class which in many cases would be totally dependent upon charity and would be idle, discontented, and miserable, were they not employed This institution also serves as a training school where blind men can be taught a trade and fitted as shop laborers The State provides an allowance to take care of their maintenance while they are being trained

In this Workshop from July 1, 1927 to June 30, 1928, products of a total value of $30,884 00 were produced In that year the weekly average wage paid to the workmen was $9 90

Pensions for the Blind. Wisconsin also has provisions for pensioning the blind In 1927, of the 2,627 blind persons in the State, 1,097 were receiving pensions of an average amount of $241 The total amount paid in pensions in that year was $264,943 Though the efforts made by this State have not

succeeded in giving training or employment to all its blind, it must be said that they represent a unified attack upon the problems of blindness. In some States the provisions may be better, but in most of them they are not so good.

Public Attitude toward the Blind. The public's thoughtless attitude toward the blind is a survival of immemorial custom. Homer, the blind minstrel, singing his way in immortal verse from city to city in ancient Greece, is symbolical of an attitude which has obtained from that time to this. The begging practices of the blind as revealed in the New Testament and in histories of Medieval Europe show the same thoughtlessness with regard to constructive efforts in behalf of this class. The monasteries often provided for their temporary care but did nothing fundamental. In Europe following the close of the Middle Ages, the blind and the sick were the two classes allowed to beg after the national governments set up stringent laws to repress mendicity. The blind beggars and street salesmen of to-day are permitted because the public has not constructively thought through the problems they present. They testify to the public attitude of conceding them passing notice and throwing them a coin without giving serious consideration to constructive treatment for them. Happily the schools for the blind and these other measures we have described are significant of the new tendencies of the present day. Inadequate as they are, they at least show an awakening of the social consciousness to the necessity of training this class of handicapped in a constructive fashion.

Development of the Care of the Blind. A hundred years ago movements for the education and care of the blind were begun in this country. The New York Institute for the Education of the Blind, the Pennsylvania Institute for the Instruction of the Blind, and the Perkins Institute and Massachusetts School for the Blind were organized at nearly the same time, about 1832. The most famous of these institutes is the Perkins Institute, made known throughout the world by the work of Dr. Samuel G. Howe, a young medical student who felt that he could not practice medicine for pay. A Boston merchant prince by the name of Col. Thos. H. Perkins gave his old home in South Boston for the education of the blind. Dr. Howe, who had been with Byron in the war to free the Greeks from Turkish miscule, returned and took charge of the Perkins Institute and there developed new methods for the education of the blind. Originally intended for all sorts of defectives, it gradually became an institute for the blind or the blind and the deaf. Its two most famous pupils are Laura Bridgman and Helen Keller. The success of the Perkins Institute in devising methods for their education gave it an international reputation.

The first State school for the Blind was Ohio's established in 1837. At

present every State in the Union either has its own institute for the blind or subsidizes the work of a private institution. The first day school for the blind in a public school system was organized by Chicago about 1900. Since that time twenty cities have followed Chicago's example. In 1929 these schools enrolled about 440 pupils. No institutions of higher learning for the blind alone—corresponding to the Gallaudet College for the deaf under the Federal Government in Washington—has been founded. In 1907 New York led the way in providing $300 a year to employ readers for blind students attending institutions of higher learning. To-day twenty-one States have scholarships of like kind, varying in amount from $100 up.

The cost of educating the blind is serious. It has been estimated that in Pennsylvania it costs ten times as much to educate a blind child as a seeing child.[4] However, society is justified in going to such an expense, if the social results are considered.

The Deaf

Definition. The term *deaf* in popular parlance connotes two different classes of people—deaf-mutes and the hard-of-hearing. The latter class is composed of two divisions—those who have become hard-of-hearing from some disease or accident, but who are able to hear a little. The other class is composed of the perfectly deaf who have become so after learning to talk. Both these subdivisions of the hard-of-hearing usually are not mutes and therefore are subsumed under the class of the "hard-of-hearing." Deaf-mutes have become deaf before learning to talk. These divisions are based upon symptoms rather than causes.

Extent of Deafness. In the United States we have figures only for those deaf who are also mute. There are probably from 45,000 to 50,000 deaf-mutes in the United States. In the enumeration of the 1920 Census there were 42.5 per 100,000 population.[5] The hard-of-hearing and the deaf who have become so after learning to talk are estimated at from 5 to 20 per cent of the population with probabilities that the correct figure is nearer the latter than the former.[6]

Causes of Deafness. Of 35,026 deaf-mutes enumerated in the 1920 Census, one third (13,513) were deaf at birth from congenital causes. "Congenital causes" is only a convenient category to hide a multitude of little known or unknown factors.

[4] G. E. de Schweinitz, "Conservation of Vision and Prevention of Blindness," *Journal, American Medical Association*, February 5, 1916, p. 391.

[5] *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1930, p. 66; *Social Work Year Book*, 1929, p. 129.

[6] *Social Work Year Book*, 1929, p. 178.

The next important causes were scarlet fever and meningitis with over 3,000 cases each. Hence, if congenital causes, scarlet fever and meningitis can be controlled, the problem will be very much narrowed.

Age of Onset of Deafness. The 1920 Census sent out a special questionnaire in order to ascertain the age at which deafness begins Of the 35,000 specially enumerated under this inquiry not quite half (16,458) became deaf at an age of less than five years Ten per cent (3,516) became deaf at between the ages of five and nine As we have already seen, 13,513 were born deaf We have no figures on the age at which the hard-of-hearing became deaf, as the above figures apply only to the deaf-mutes From all the evidence we have, however, it is clear that the really important factors in producing deafness come early in life

Education of the Deaf-Mutes. In 1920, of the deaf-mutes (44,885) five years of age and over, enumerated by the Census, 30,565 had attended school—most of them a school for the deaf However, over 10 per cent had not attended any school, a measure of society's want of attention to this handicapped class

Of the 31,230 deaf-mutes ten years of age or over, more than 50 per cent were able to read lips Forty per cent communicated by speech and other means, while over half (17,434) communicated only by other means than that of speech [9] Rapid changes are going on in teaching methods of communication Probably later censuses will show an increasing number who use speech

Occupations Of 31,230 reported on a special enumeration by the 1920 Census, a little more than half (18,552) were not gainfully employed Of the gainfully employed (12,678) manufacturing in its various branches absorbed over one half Most of the remainder were engaged in agriculture and forestry [10] Domestic and personal service had the next largest number.

Educational Institutions The earliest institution for the deaf in the United States was established at Hartford, Connecticut, about 1817 Others soon followed At first all such institutions were supported by private funds, but soon, because of their success and a growing consciousness of the importance of educating this class of defectives, the States began to assume part of the support Most of these private institutions are now subsidized by State funds All of the States of the Union except New Hampshire, Delaware, Nevada, and Wyoming now have special institutions for the education of deaf children At the present time, therefore, it can be said that society has accepted responsibility for a measure of care of the deaf More recently

[9] *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1930, p 67
[10] *Ibid*, p 67

day schools for the deaf have been started as a part of the public school system. In addition, classes for children with defective hearing, now being developed in the public schools, are showing great promise. There are still many private schools for the deaf, most of them under religious organizations. The Federal Government has established one institution of standard college grade for the education of the deaf, Gallaudet College in Washington, D. C., where about 130 deaf-mutes are receiving a college education.

In 1929, in all schools for the deaf in the United States, there were a total of 17,554 pupils. Of these 13,239 were in the 64 special institutions, 3,503 were in day schools in 114 cities, and 812 were to be found in the 18 private schools. Practically all of these institutions give vocational training.[11] In 1929, at a meeting of the superintendents and principals of the schools interested in the deaf, it was decided to abolish the use of the sign language in the classroom. This was the outgrowth of experience which shows that deaf children can be taught to read lips and to speak. Such a measure means an enormous widening of the range of communication for deaf people.

Prevention. Only recently has any study been made which would tend to lead to the prevention of deafness. The diseases which cause deafness in early life are obscure, and the means of their prevention little known. No specific preventives for scarlet fever and meningitis have yet been found. The most recent attempt to establish a foundation for the study of the causes of deafness and the means of preventing it is the Coolidge Fund, which is seeking an endowment of $2,000,000. Started under the Clark School for the Deaf at Northampton, Massachusetts, it is intended to promote various types of work for the deaf, including research studies. The National Research Council has also been conducting extensive studies in institutions for the deaf. In recent discussions, owing to the rise of psychology and psychiatry, special attention has been given to the bearing of deafness upon the psychology of the individual and to personality difficulties growing out of the social isolation incident to deafness.

Social Pathology of the Blind and the Deaf. The terrible calamity of blindness and deafness cannot be overemphasized. Even those who can see, hear, and speak often find difficulties in adjusting themselves to modern conditions. Multiply these difficulties by the deprivation of two important senses, limit the means of communication with fellowmen, handicap a person by inability to make a living in ordinary ways, and you have a picture of the enormous difficulties under which these people labor in adjusting themselves to present-day conditions. Isolation is the most important fact from the social point of view. They are cut off from the socializing influences which

[11] *Social Work Year Book*, 1929, p. 120.

play upon normal individuals No wonder their personalities sometimes are unbalanced, their outlook on life narrow and distorted The marvel is that they are able to penetrate at all these walls which shut them off from their fellowmen and become social personalities to any appreciable degree

From the economic point of view their inability to make a living is their greatest handicap Consider again the effect of this inability upon their personalities To-day we are particularly conscious of the disaster to personality involved in unemployment How much more difficult is the situation of the person who is the victim not only of a passing economic depression, but of a handicap which makes it very difficult for him to have that sense of independence and self-respect which is the goal of well adjusted individuals

If sickness often creates self pity in an individual, how much more easily may such a permanent condition as blindness or deaf-mutism create it? Too often the pity of people who can see induces self-pity in the blind It is especially important that blind children should be taught to adjust themselves to life-conditions without self-pity and with as little dependence upon others as possible At the best they are necessarily more dependent than those who see The fine struggle of some blind children and youth who understand the importance of learning to depend upon themselves is well worth observing I remember a blind college student once in my classes whose struggles to overcome his handicap were really heroic I had never appreciated how difficult was the task of the blind to meet life-situations without surrendering that most priceless asset of personality—the consciousness that he could do most things as well as others although at the cost of heroic effort He refused to carry a stick, he went everywhere, he danced, he typed his own notes He had to hire some one to read for him for little of the study material was in braille, and he had to request the privilege of writing his examinations on the typewriter His struggle to adjust himself with his serious handicap to the requirements of a seeing population was inspiring The personal disorganization of the blind and deaf in early life is the most serious aspect of the social pathology of blindness and deafness One must not forget that it is the social mores of the populace which produces that personal disorganization The sooner we expect that every blind and deaf person will do his utmost to adjust himself to life as do others, the earlier will society do its part to provide them with opportunities to enable them to overcome their handicaps

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Twenty years ago it was estimated that one quarter of the blindness in this country was due to blindness of the new-born (*ophthalmia neonatorum*) From the percentage of the blind below five years of age in

1920 as compared with that estimate twenty years ago what would you say has been the effect of treating the eyes of new-born babes with silver nitrate?

2 Why are males more prone to blindness than females? Negroes than whites?

3 How does total blindness affect one's economic adjustment? Partial blindness?

4 Suppose that you had a child in school who did not get on well in his studies and who held the book very close to his eyes, what would you do?

5 How might blindness develop an unsocial personality?

6 Are the deaf as seriously handicapped as the blind? Are the deaf-mutes? Give reasons

7 Suggest reasons for the "queerness" of some blind and deaf you have known

8 What are the effects on the personality of the consciousness that oneself is considered "queer"?

9 Should one drop coins into a blind man's cup? Why? Should one buy pencils, shoestrings, gum, etc., of blind street-peddlers? Why?

CHAPTER 4

DISABLEMENT

My memory goes back to a boy I knew when I was in the eighth grade and in high school His legs were badly crippled He shuffled about with the aid of a cane When I first knew him he was about fifteen years of age He was a member of a family of five children with a widowed mother All the other children were fine physical specimens Bert himself was full of energy, of a happy disposition, and eager to enter into all the sports of the boys with whom he went to school He showed no sourness of disposition because of his handicap He insisted on playing ball with the other boys He could not run bases in a ball game, but he had powerful arms and shoulders, developed doubtless in the effort to compensate for his crippled legs He became a very good batter and some other boy always ran the bases for him He also did his best to play his part when his team was "out" As shortstop or as catcher he was not the most useful member of the team, but the other boys overlooked his disability because of his fine spirit He shone at swimming where he could hold his own with the best by reason of his powerful arms He insisted on going coasting with us, handicapped as he was in getting back uphill Many a time we boys insisted, against his remonstrance, that he get on the sled as we pulled it uphill What Bert lacked in physical agility he made up in head work for the games we played

As I now see it his bad conduct in school—he was one of the most mischievous—was a compensation for his physical disability Shine he must somewhere He could not in physical activities except in swimming Hence, in accordance with boys' code he was the leader in pestering the teacher, a crotchety old maid who was the bane of all the boys I shall never forget his reply to this teacher who flew back to Bert's seat one drowsy afternoon to learn the source of the smoke which was hovering over his desk Just as she was peering his desk he let out a great puff of smoke To her inquiry as to the whereabouts of that cigar or cigarette he replied that he had no such thing about him When she asked where the smoke came from he replied that it came from inside himself and added, "Teacher, I can't help it if I am on fire inside" He had obtained one of those ancient atomizer inhalers which produced a kind of smoke In spite of this youthful spirit of mischief Bert later became minister of a leading church.

Here we see an indomitable spirit, conditioned to its heroic mold by a fine understanding in Bert's family and in the group of boys with whom he played. This case reveals the fortunate outcome to a child of his own experimental compensations for his physical deficiency. These experiments in compensation might have resulted under some conditions in antisocial actions. But in the environment in which they were tried they were sublimated to social activities through the influence of wholesome friends and teachers. Only too often families and friends do not help those with such serious disabilities to find a satisfactory adjustment to the demands of social life. Consequently they react to their disabilities in ways which are quite natural but which do not fit them to the social group. They appreciate that they are different from other people. Nature has not been kind to them. They cannot, when they are children, play as others play. They see many avenues to success closed to them. The economic and social possibilities open to them are limited. They are shut out from experiencing that thrill which comes from achievement. On the one hand those around them often taunt them thoughtlessly or maliciously or, on the other out of pity, but without understanding, shield them from their own attempts to accomplish things usually done by normal children or people of equal age and social position. These well-meaning people unwittingly develop in the handicapped a sense of inferiority which prevents them from knowing the glorious satisfaction of overcoming obstacles. Happy the cripple who has friends wise enough to help him achieve a satisfactory adjustment to life in the face of physical handicap.

The problem of the cripple is not new, but the present approach to it differs from older approaches. Both war and labor have pushed the disabled into the foreground. Ever since war has been waged on a national scale and the Industrial Revolution began to gather men into factories wherein machinery was power-driven, we have seen upon the streets appealing to the charity of passers-by, the man lacking an arm or a leg. But, in the present generation, labor statistics have brought us the realization of the extent of the problem in a way never before possible.

DEFINITION

The cripple through accident often needs different treatment from the disabled through disease. The latter often suffers from a mental distortion consequent upon long illness and self-pity. He easily becomes dependent in spirit, since his physical rehabilitation may be slow or impossible.

In 1911 the cripples of Birmingham, England, were studied. The committee which made the study defined a cripple as "a person whose (muscular) movements are so far restricted by accident, or disease, as to affect his capacity for

support"[1] In 1915 the Cleveland Committee, when formulating its definition for a study of the physically disabled, decided that the double test of physical and economic handicap would result in a selective census, since what was an economic handicap in one case was not in another. Therefore they decided on a definition which would be inclusive of all persons "who are handicapped because they lack the normal use of skeleton or skeletal muscles."[2]

The New York State Commission for the Survey of Crippled Children has a better definition for the child. It is, "A crippled child is one whose activity is, or due to a progressive disease may become, so far restricted by loss, defect or deformity of bones or muscles as to reduce his normal capacity for education or for self-support."[3]

EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

While the extent of the problem of "disabled" is not as great as that of sickness, its importance is indicated by the tendency of the physically handicapped to slump into dependency under the attitude which society has hitherto taken towards them. Who has not seen the crippled beggar upon the streets appealing by his armless sleeve, or his crutches, to the charity of his more fortunate fellows? How difficult is the problem he has, no matter how stiff his resolution, of earning his bread by honest toil rather than by degrading charity! How we all teach him that it is easier to beg than to earn a living by the service yet possible to his mutilated body!

The United States Census has made no study of the disabled, except of the deaf and dumb, and the blind. Nor have we any accurate statistics as to the number of disabled in the various countries of the world. For the present we must be content with estimates based upon intensive studies of the problem in certain communities.

Studies made of different places give us a good idea of the incidence of disablement by crippling. In the Birmingham study the number found was 3.29 per thousand of population,[4] the Cleveland study, 6 per thousand,[5] the Massachusetts study, 5.7.[6] Among children the number of crippled under

[1] Quoted in Wright and Hamburger's *Education and Occupations of Cripples, Juvenile and Adult, A Survey of All the Cripples of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1918* (New York, 1918), p. 12.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[3] Quoted in Sullivan and Snortum, *Disabled Persons, Their Education and Rehabilitation* (New York and London, 1916), p. 60.

[4] Rubinow, *A Statistical Consideration of the Number of Men Crippled in War and Disabled in Industry*, Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men (New York, 1918), p. 8.

[5] Wright and Hamburger, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

eighteen in New York State was 3 per thousand of population, while in Massachusetts those under sixteen numbered 2 8 per thousand[7]

CAUSE OF DISABLEMENT

What are the outstanding causes of the existence of this army of cripples? There have been a number of studies of the matter, but perhaps the best is that made in 1924 by the International Society for Crippled Children The cases on which the following figures are based were found in eighteen hospitals and fifteen convalescent homes On the whole, they accord with studies of crippled children at home, e g , studies made by the New York City Survey of 1920, the Ohio Department of Health, and the Community Trust of Chicago

Infantile paralysis	27 25%
Bone and joint tuberculosis	23 65
Congenital deformities	13 15
Rachitic	8 05
Traumatic conditions	4 2
Osteomyelitis	3 67
Other conditions	20 2

Other studies have shown higher percentages for infantile paralysis For the country as a whole that disease seems to stand first in importance The Chicago study showed that 58 per cent of the cases included were crippled by the above named causes during the first five years of life

If one considers crippled adults attention must be given not only to these disablements of childhood which hold over into adult life, but also to the industrial hazards of mature life

In 1918, Rubinow, using chiefly the statistics of the various State industrial commissions or department reports, found that there are about 28,000 dismemberments annually, and between 70,000 and 80,000 industrial injuries which are either permanent or result in long time disability[8]

DEVELOPMENT OF CARE OF THE DISABLED

Like the brutes, primitive man was apathetic to the suffering of his fellows He abandoned and sometimes expelled the crippled member of the group Some tribes put to death their disabled and deformed members In ancient times these unfortunates might be turned out to wander in the wilderness In India they were sometimes cast into the Ganges The Spartans flung them

[7] Sullivan and Southum, op cit, p 60
[8] Rubinow, op cit, p 17

over a precipice Others exposed deformed and weakly infants to the wild beasts This harshness was the result of superstition or of economic stress Any person who could not do his share was useless, therefore the sooner he perished the better for the group Sometimes religion was linked up with this harshness The Levitical legislation of the Hebrews provided that one disabled should not "approach to offer the bread of his God" [8]

With the development of ethical ideas, however, this harsh attitude began to be modified While in most places in antiquity the cripple was an outcast, he was permitted to beg The idea grew up that one should give to the beggar We see evidence of this not only in the literature of the Hebrews, but in the customs and legislation of the Greeks For example, in Athens, after careful examination by the authorities, the Senate provided that enough should be given to the disabled for a bare existence

The attitude of Jesus and His disciples was one of helpfulness How numerous in the Gospels are the stories of His healing the lame, the blind, or other disabled individuals! Similar stories fill the pages of the book of *Acts* concerning His early followers

Inspired by pity the Christian Church developed the care of the infirm Among these, of course, were helpless cripples When no other provision was made for them and when able-bodied beggars were proceeded against, the "impotent beggars" were permitted to beg

Moreover, in feudal times the disabled found a place of usefulness around the feudal castle Often the king's fool was a hunchback, or cripple of some sort Hand in hand, however, with this attitude of tolerant helpfulness went the attitude of brutal harshness Ridicule and exploitation as well as pity characterized the treatment of the cripple during the Middle Ages Large numbers of them were accustomed to resort to shrines of the Saints for healing In a word, the attitude toward the cripple was first extinction, then banishment, then permission to beg, then care in connection with monasteries or feudal castles, and attempts at healing

Even before the development of modern medical and surgical treatment there grew up institutions for the care and education of cripples The beginning of a new attitude is to be seen in the writings of the Catholic Vives in the sixteenth century He divided the poor into three classes those in hospitals and poorhouses, the public homeless beggars, and the poor at home He proposed a census of all these classes for the purpose of ascertaining the causes of distress and planned a central organization for their relief under the municipal magistrates Work was to be provided for the beggars, the cripples as well as the sturdy. In 1657 an asylum in which suitable work was

[8] *Leviticus* xxi 16-24

provided for the infirm was established in France After the Reformation this became the Salpêtrière Many of the monasteries were taken over for the use of the sick, the insane, and prisoners Occasionally one was used as an asylum for the handicapped In 1722 Count Luitgard of Baden established at Pforzheim a hospital for pauper invalids, which was later devoted exclusively to cripples [10]

With the rise of modern orthopedics in the first part of the nineteenth century, institutions were founded at Munich, Vienna, Paris, Stockholm, Copenhagen, London, Leipzig, Lubeck, and Berlin The first was that established at Munich in 1832, devoted especially to the care of crippled children The next was founded in Copenhagen in 1872 Practically all of these institutions were for the treatment and care of children, to whom their chief attention is given even to this hour

PRINCIPLES OF CARE AND TREATMENT OF THE DISABLED

The haphazard provisions for the crippled have been inadequate They have often been without large vision, merely palliative, and without any thoroughgoing plan for the solution of the problem Too often they have resulted only in confirming the hopelessness and dependency of their wards

Purpose of Social Treatment. What objectives should we have in mind in treating the disabled? Summed up in two words our purpose should be, *first*, the happiness of the individual who has been denied the opportunities of the able-bodied, and *second*, the welfare of society Certainly the cripple cannot enjoy such a sense of capacity and usefulness as the able-bodied How often have we seen physical disability result in misanthropy! It is said that Lord Byron's sensitive nature became soured largely because of his crippled condition Pope's disability without doubt contributed not a little to his unhappiness Shakespeare attributes the malevolence of Richard III to his resentment of society's attitude towards him on account of his deformity Schiller's Franz Moor rebels at the trick nature played him in his physical make-up Moreover, most men wish not only to be looked upon as physically well-formed, but to be independent of others for their support If they possess the souls of men, they rebel at being objects of pity

Furthermore, we should treat cripples in a constructive fashion in order to relieve the public of their support Let society assist them to a place of usefulness in the world rather than keep them in idleness It is cheaper in every way If a disabled person can learn to support himself, it is much better for him than to live in idleness, even though he has compensation from the company in whose employ he has received his injury The whole purpose of

[10] The Cripple Department was abolished in 1822 to make room for the insane

the social treatment of cripples, then, is to get them to be as nearly self-supporting as possible in the shortest possible time

The Problem of the Crippled Child. Crippled children and adults present slightly different problems. With the child most disabilities arise from disease which, if taken in time, can often be cured With the adult, injuries are more often the result of accidents, and there is less possibility of cure The child is growing, and if proper medical and surgical attention be given in time, he has a chance to grow out of the disability This rarely occurs with adults, except when an injury has resulted in disuse of an organ which can be functionally restored by therapeutical exercise, or in case of certain diseases like tuberculosis Again, the child's disability raises the question of education including vocational training, while with the adult it is a question of reeducation.

In the first place, then, the disabled child should have attention, medical and surgical The sooner such attention is given after the disability arises, the greater the chance of correction [11]

The crippled child may be ruined by the well-meant efforts of his family and friends Out of pity for his condition they are apt to favor him too much and do many things for him which he should be taught to do for himself Their pity for him is likely to generate self-pity within him What he needs is encouragement to adapt himself constructively as best he may to the conditions of life in order to develop in himself a conscious ability to overcome his handicap and to enable him to experience the joy of accomplishment How many crimes have been perpetrated against the physically handicapped by overprotection! While wise handling is of supreme importance with reference to the crippled child, it is also of the utmost importance in the case of the crippled adult

In the next place, we must see that the child does not miss his education Why should a child under a physical handicap suffer also an educational handicap? Certainly when he cannot enjoy the physical well-being of other children there is all the more reason for careful attention to his education At best his crippled condition sets him aside from his fellows Moreover, he must have that socialization which is one of the best results of a common school education If he can be provided with such education by the simple device of having him conveyed to and from the school, in which are special seats and such other simple arrangements as will enable him to share in the common school life, it should by all means be done On the other hand, if he needs special attention in his education, special classes in the schools will pro-

[11] "Education and Care of the Crippled Child," *American Journal of Care for Cripples*, III, 81

vide him the opportunity If he must live somewhat outside the activities of life, why should he be denied the pleasures which come from acquaintance with the accumulated knowledge of the world and the treasures of literature and art?

Again, if his disability shuts him out of the usual avenues to self-support, he should have an education which will fit him in some degree for such special occupations as a cripple can successfully follow Society's task is to give him every chance to make himself useful in the world He must be prepared, so far as the school can go in the matter, to compete with his fellows and deliver a service to the world for which society can pay him a good return without charity or condescension Moreover, as a handicapped person, he is entitled to such vocational guidance as will place at his disposal all the knowledge society possesses as to the occupations which are best suited to his condition and advice as to the one which best fits his particular disability.

Finally, when he is at last ready for it, employment must be found for him The school can best judge of his limitations and should know best the place unto which he can fit It should not dismiss him as its problem until he has been properly placed in such a position Cooperation with his family, of course, should mark every step in these processes

The Problem of the Disabled Adult. The problem of the disabled adult is, first, one of physical treatment Lost power in the injured member must be restored as far as possible In modern surgery and therapy great advances have been made recently in the restoration of lost functions Massage, electrical treatments, persistence in trying to use the injured member through occupational therapy and similar measures have done wonders in restoring lost powers Moreover, artificial limbs, trusses, braces and like devices have done much to remove industrial handicap

Along with physical treatment goes the process of strengthening the ambition and determination of the injured person to make the most serious efforts to overcome his disability For this purpose it has been found that teachers and attendants who themselves have overcome handicaps are most stimulating to the injured Hence, many institutions dealing with the crippled employ disabled men who have fought their way to self-support Moving pictures, showing what disabled men can do, have been used to good effect in stimulating by example the hopefulness and determination which has so much to do with recovery and the use of the powers still retained, and with the attempt to educate the injured to develop other organs as substitutes In this connection it has been found that social service after discharge can be of great value in helping the disabled man, so prone to become discouraged, to retain his determination to succeed The social worker visits him frequently

suggesting success and so rekindling his flagging zeal The social worker can also educate the family or fellow workers to take an encouraging attitude Since so much depends on the man's own mental attitude towards his handicap, the social worker can be of the greatest value

After everything possible has been done for the physical treatment of the disabled individual the next step is his reeducation If his disability has been of a nature which makes it impossible for him to follow his previous occupation, he must be trained for a job suited to his disability Careful study of the man's capacity and of the occupations open to one of his handicap should precede the training In such matters foreign countries have gone much farther than the United States Even before the World War England, France and Germany were beginning to reeducate their industrial cripples Hence, they were not entirely unprepared when the War threw on their hands a great number of cripples Since the War brought this problem to the attention of the United States we have begun retraining injured soldiers Such reeducation is no less necessary, however, for the industrial cripple

The State, however, should not stop with the cripple's reeducation It should provide for his replacement in industry If he is left to place himself, he will often become discouraged and give up his fight He does not know so much about positions as the institution which is dealing with the problem He has not the contact with industry that the school which is training him has Our training institutions for non-cripples place their graduates, why not the institution which is reeducating the disabled? The experience of the rehabilitation departments, State and Federal, since 1920, demonstrates the practicability of such a plan in the placement of retrained handicapped

In the case of the disabled, however, placement is a most difficult and delicate task Says Miss Stern, "Clerks in public employment offices, who are attending to hundreds of cases in a week, can accomplish little for the cripple Crippled men have been going around without success from one bureau to another and finally in discouragement they have taken, as a last resource, to some form of begging" [12]

Experience has shown that careful attention to the matter of placement can accomplish very good results With the subdivision of processes characteristic of mass production in industry the matter is much simplified Perhaps the Ford Motor Company furnishes the best example of the use of crippled men in factories It is possible for handicapped people to be useful in many posi-

[12] *Placement Technique in Employment Work of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men*, Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men (May 6, 1918), p 3 See also Sullivan and Smoltson, *op cit*, Ch XIV

tions to industry and business, if the jobs are carefully analyzed and the people placed in those which they can do as well as any one else [18]

Furthermore, the placement bureau must keep in touch with the crippled They have many difficulties which must be solved at once or the work has been done in vain The placement officials of the State rehabilitation service must follow up these men very closely Often a social worker goes out to the disabled in their homes and to the factories where they are working If the cripple is not followed up persistently, he will slump into dependency In such cases hope is weak, ambition is easily impaired New adjustments often are necessary at a time of life when readjustment is very difficult Habits must be re-formed, frequently a new occupation must be found The individual must have the backing of every helpful influence for a new career and that backing must be both sympathetic and wise It must last until he has again made a place for himself in life, until he has learned self-confidence through successful effort and is able to look the world manfully in the face because he is useful

A much more difficult problem in the placement of the industrial cripple is that of getting the man to take reeducation, if he is a compensable case If by reeducation he loses his disability even to a small degree, he fears that he will lose his compensation As they now stand State compensation laws often place a premium on idleness for the compensable man In States having compensation laws like that of Wisconsin, this difficulty does not arise In that State the amount of compensation is based upon the nature of the injury and does not depend upon the wages the person may be able to earn later, as in some of our States Good administration by the body charged with the administration of workmen's compensation should follow up each case and see that every argument for reeducation and future usefulness be presented If the law is such that the individual receives the compensation due him according to the disability received, then social service by the administrative body should follow him until he has been reeducated and replaced in a suitable position

SYSTEMS OF CARE AND TREATMENT OF THE DISABLED

At the present time there are three systems of caring for the disabled (1) private institutions chiefly for the care and treatment of crippled children and disabled men, (2) State systems for the treatment and education of crippled children, (3) a Federal subsidy for states which provide industrial education for cripples

Private Institutions. At the outbreak of the World War Germany had made more provision for the care and reeducation of crippled men than any

[18] Mead, *The Salvage of Men* (Detroit, 1919), p 5

other nation She had fifty-eight homes for cripples under private auspices Under her employers' accident insurance companies she had established a number of sanatoria and reeducation workshops for industrial cripples. A considerable number of orthopedic hospitals were provided by municipalities There were besides numerous trade schools and employment bureaus under various governmental authorities[14] France had a few private homes for cripples, and also trade schools which, as her experience with wounded soldiers showed, could be adapted to the education of injured men Italy, on the other hand, had given almost no attention to the care of cripples After the outbreak of the World War, and before she herself entered, Italy began to study the question and private initiative began to establish institutions for the care and training of cripples England, like Germany, had long before established schools giving trade training, but without special reference to the needs of cripples Private organizations had also supplied scholarships to poor crippled children As with all the other countries of Western Europe, England developed facilities for the training of mutilated soldiers after the World War had sent home numbers of such men That terrible experience revealed to all the world the necessity of giving more attention to the rehabilitation of the crippled

In the United States what had been done before the World War was chiefly in the interest of crippled children In 1916 there were in the United States 112 institutions and associations giving special attention to the treatment, care, and education of cripples, chiefly children Most of these were private, some, like the special classes for crippled children in the public schools, were under public auspices Some of these were for medical and surgical treatment like the New York Hospital for Ruptured and Crippled Children Some were directed to the education of crippled children, like the pioneer school established in New York City by the Children's Aid Society And certain of them under private control were for convalescents.[15]

State Institutions In 1917 there were eleven States which had provided for the treatment and education of crippled children seven by the establishment of special institutions, two by treatment in special departments of institutions for children, and two by treatment given in connection with the Medical School of the State University[16] In some of the States only indigent

[14] Underhill, *Provision for War Cripples in Germany*, Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men (June 8, 1918), p 3

[15] Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, Nos 8, 12, 13 (New York, 1918) *American Journal of Care for Cripples*, III, 66-69, V, 214, 217, 303

[16] The maximum age at which children are admitted to these institutions varies, from fourteen years in Wisconsin to eighteen in Ohio In Nebraska, Minnesota, and Illinois

children were received, in others all crippled or deformed, in Nebraska those children who were suffering from diseases from which they were liable to be deformed or crippled

The method of payment for this service also varied Usually the laws provided that if the parents or the patients were able to pay for the treatment and care they must do so Otherwise the county or town in which they have their residence or legal settlement must pay In Florida the expense was paid by the State Board of Health, in Oregon by the county, in Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, and Nebraska by the State [17]

Before the World War no State had made special provisions for the treatment and education of crippled adults aside from the States of Nebraska, Minnesota, and Iowa cited above We allowed the cripple to get along as best he could, except as he was protected by the compensation laws Such laws represented a most constructive and far-reaching protection for industrial cripples, but since they applied only to those injured in industry, not a few other cripples were entirely unprovided for in a constructive fashion

State Rehabilitation of Civilian Cripples The World War obliged our country to face the problem of the disabled adult Thousands of our boys returned from France so injured that they could not possibly follow their wonted occupations Moreover, we were not inattentive to what the warring countries of Europe were doing with their disabled Hence, we not only put into operation a most extensive system for the rehabilitation of war cripples, but a number of the States and finally the Federal Government undertook the rehabilitation of the man and woman disabled in civil life [18] Thus was hastened a movement which had been growing before the World War

Seven of these States noticed only those injured in industry or those who came under the provisions of the State compensation laws [19] The rest provided for any handicapped person A number limited the benefits to those who had lived a year within the State, while others limited them to those

admission is limited to those children who have resided in the State one year, seemingly a survival of the pauper law of settlement In Michigan certain blind children below the age of six are also admitted In Nebraska, Minnesota, and Iowa adults are also admitted to treatment

[17] *American Journal of Care for Cripples*, V, 380-395

[18] This movement on the part of the States of the Union was started by Massachusetts, which passed its act May 28, 1918 Massachusetts was followed by Nevada on February 28, 1919 The third State was North Dakota, which passed her act March 5, 1919 Then followed New Jersey, April 10, 1919, Minnesota, April 23, Rhode Island the same date, California, May 5, Illinois, June 28, Pennsylvania, July 18, Oregon, January 12, 1920, New York, March 18, and Virginia, March 20 All these acts were passed before the passage of the federal act, June 2, 1920

[19] Massachusetts, California, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Oregon, and Virginia.

injured in the State Maintenance while being trained was provided for beneficiaries in several of these States The agencies to administer the act varied also In a number the State board having in charge the administration of the compensation laws administers this act, in others the State Board of Vocational Education In some States maintenance is limited to one year, or as much of it as may be necessary, while in others no limit of time is fixed [58]

Federal Aid The experience of our country with men disabled in the World War emphasized the importance of constructive treatment of disabled civilians, already recognized because of the results of modern machine industry It was seen that efforts to rehabilitate the injured soldier and sailor were economical, it raised the question Why not also our civilians? Hence, as early as June 21, 1919, the Senate passed an act providing for cooperation with the States of the Union in the vocational rehabilitation of "any persons, who by reason of a physical defect or infirmity, whether congenital or acquired by accident, injury or disease, is, or may be expected to be, totally or partially incapacitated for remunerative occupations" The Senate bill was concurred in by the House and was approved by the President on June 2, 1920

Vocational rehabilitation is contemplated by the act for all persons disabled in any way whatsoever, whose disability interferes with remunerative occupation, and is not restricted, as in some State acts, to those who have been injured in industry It includes both men and women Its operation is limited only by the acceptation by the several States of its cooperative provisions, and by the definition of the persons who may be rehabilitated It is a question which has not yet been settled whether those States which have provided only for the vocational education of those who have been injured while in employment, can take advantage of its provisions The act provides for a subsidy to those States which accept by legislative enactment the dollar for dollar cooperation plan That is, each State must provide as much money as will come from the Federal Government on the basis of population The amount appropriated out of the United States Treasury under this act was $750,000 for the year ending June 30, 1921, $1,000,000 for the year ending June 30, 1922, and the same amount for each of the next two years Moreover, the plans of administration, courses and methods of instruction, qualifications of teachers, directors, etc, must receive the approval of the Federal Board of Vocational Education Furthermore, the Federal Board was given $75,000 a year for four years for the purpose of making studies as to the rehabilitation of the disabled

[58] *Vocational Summary*, Federal Board for Vocational Education (Washington, October, 1920), p 85 See also *Monthly Labor Review* (Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, April, 1920), pp 202-206, also (August, 1920), p 130

and their placement in suitable or gainful occupations and for the expenses of administration of the act

This legislation of the United States for far-sighted wisdom and liberality has not been surpassed It follows the same principles of cooperation with the States of the Union as obtains in agricultural and vocational education provided for in the Smith-Lever and the Smith-Hughes Acts It contemplates that the *laissez faire* policy of the government concerning cripples shall be definitely abandoned, and a constructive effort made to place them on a self-supporting basis In 1929 forty-four States had accepted the provision of this law Followed out for a few years it is probable that this law will show such constructive results that every State in the Union will accept it, and thus we shall have a nation-wide attempt to rehabilitate the injured person, rather than leave him to the mercies of a dole-giving public

Since 1926 all vocational rehabilitation has been civilian in character In that year the Veterans' Bureau ceased its activities in rehabilitation for disabled soldiers and sailors Since that time, although service men have available additional cooperating agencies, soldiers and sailors are vocationally rehabilitated through the same channels as are civilians

The extent of this work is indicated by the following figures for 1928-1929 In the 41 states engaging in rehabilitation work that year the Federal Government expended $664,739 and the States $824,948 During that year 4,645 persons were rehabilitated, i e, fitted for remunerative work and actually engaged in a job Nearly two thirds of this number were under the age of thirty, and the largest proportion of them had been injured in civilian employment About half of this number (2,379) were trained in schools, 644 on the job, and, 1,622 by other methods, including placement. In 1929 a most important change of policy was inaugurated by extending rehabilitation to the tuberculous [41]

RÔLE OF DISABLEMENT IN SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

Disablement makes a very decisive impression upon the personality It constitutes a crisis in the life cycle of the individual which focusses his attention upon himself in a very striking way It requires that he think about his rôle in society, it raises the question of his economic future, it breaks the steady and oftimes unconscious development of his personality and provides the occasion for either self-pity or for the birth of a determination to adjust himself to the changed circumstances of his life Consider the child who has romped and played as other children do and then suffered impairment of his body by infantile paralysis No longer can he run and play with his as-

[41] Sullivan, "Rehabilitation," *Social Work Year Book 1929* (New York, 1930)

sociates Perhaps the impairment of function is sufficient to demand the use of crutches or a stick, so that he becomes conscious that his disability has made him different from others.

Even more serious in many cases is the shock which comes to the adult who has been disabled by disease or accident Children are plastic, they are able to adjust themselves quite easily to changed conditions, if they are not too seriously injured Their habit patterns have not been so solidly established as those of adults On the other hand, the adult often has become somewhat fixed in his habits, he may have a family dependent upon him, he has assumed a certain rôle in life and he has larger responsibilities Then accident or disease has smitten him and, after a more or less prolonged illness, he finds himself face to face with changed conditions, to which he must adjust himself in some manner Perhaps he has experienced the pity of people, and this has generated self-pity which he has never before experienced Perhaps he realizes that it is impossible for him to follow the trade or profession in which he has been engaged If he has a family the responsibility for its care weighs heavily upon his mind How shall he find another job? How shall he prepare himself for a new kind of economic activity? What is there left for him in life? Such questions as these are quite likely to arise as he looks frankly at his condition and faces the future which may seem to him uncertain and dark This crisis, therefore, brings to both the child and the man situations which test their resourcefulness, their courage, and their optimism In some cases the result is personal demoralization of a very serious nature Emotional disturbance will vary in accordance with the seriousness of the sufferer's injury and also in accordance with his intellectual and emotional nature That disablement constitutes a crisis of the most serious import to many cripples cannot be denied, that it has possibilities for infinite damage to the cripple's personality is evidenced by the history of thousands of cases But there are individuals who—because of their nature, their previous training, and the encouragement they receive at the hands of friends and others concerned in their critical situation—react to the crisis with hope and find in it a challenge. Hence, in every survey of disabled persons, you find two large classes, those who become demoralized and those who come through the crisis with greater determination, more optimism and a confidence born of the experience.

Consider now the effect of disablement upon the balance between the social organization and the individual If it be assumed that the individual was quite well adjusted to his circumstances before the disability existed, readjustment is nonetheless necessary If adjustment previous to accident or illness has not been good, there is a possibility that the cripple may have even greater difficulty in adjusting himself to life If personal demoralization occurs

as the result of disability, the adjustment of the individual to his life circumstances may be very much more difficult, his ambitions may be destroyed, the edge may be taken off his courage, and he may slump into complete dependence Even if the crisis brings about the generation of a superior fighting spirit the handicaps under which the individual labors, for a time at least, may disturb his family relationships, may result in his dropping into a lower economic class and may interfere seriously with his function as a cooperating citizen of his community As the number of cripples increases a burden is placed upon society which other well-adjusted individuals must help to bear It is not difficult to see, therefore, the importance of taking every possible step to prevent the crippling of the members of our population This is true not only from the standpoint of sound, well-adjusted personalities, but also from the standpoint of the proper relationship between the individuals who constitute the various parts of the social organization If further disablement can be prevented and a better means for the adjustment of those who are crippled can be brought to pass, social relationships will be improved and *conditions socially pathological* will be prevented.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1 What two occurrences in modern civilization have rendered acute the social problems of the crippled?
2 State the Cleveland Committee's definition of a cripple
3 What has been society's attitude toward the cripple?
4 Discuss the statement "The cripple's ability to live by begging evidences society's neglect of the social problem involved in disablement"
5 Interpret the fact that the United States Census Bureau has collected statistics on the blind, the deaf, the paupers, the insane, and the feeble-minded but not on cripples
6 About what is the rate of disablement in the United States? In England? In the United States what proportion of these are under eighteen years of age?
7 What are the three outstanding causes of disablement?
8 What are the chief problems in case of disabled adults? Of crippled children?
9 Evaluate the work of the Federal Board of Vocational Education in the rehabilitation of civilian cripples
10 In what respects does disablement contribute to pathological social relationships?

CHAPTER 5

DRUG ADDICTION

Ever since the discovery that certain plants had stimulating or narcotic qualities the world has had the problem of the drug habit How early this was we do not exactly know Evidence of the use of intoxicating substances is to be found long before the Christian era The medical use of opium is known to go back at least to 4000 B C In some nations stimulants have been used in the form of drink, in others, it was the custom to chew a leaf or nut which contained the toxic substance

Alcoholic liquors received attention much earlier and to much more considerable extent than did any other habit-forming drug At least as early as the time of the prophet Isaiah we find indications that thinkers appreciated the evils of alcoholism [1] A thoroughgoing struggle with the problem of alcoholism outside of Islam, however, belongs to our own day The problem of other narcotic drugs, such as morphine, opium, and the like has risen only within the last century While the evils of the practices were apparent long ago, exact knowledge concerning the effects of stimulants and narcotics upon the human body had to wait upon the development of scientific research It is probable that the aggressive fight against liquor would not have risen in the Western World if it had not been for the development of a body of knowledge as to the physiological as well as the moral and social effects of overindulgence With the study of the effect of alcohol went that of narcotics, for one is often the equivalent of the other From the standpoint of social treatment they may be considered together

EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

No careful survey has disclosed the extent of this evil Officials in New York City are quoted as saying that in that city alone in 1919 there were upwards of 200,000 drug addicts [2] The United States Treasury Department in 1918 issued a report, made by a special investigating committee, in which it was estimated that the number of drug addicts, including the habitual users of morphine, cocaine, heroin, and preparations containing other narcotic

[1] Isaiah xxviii 1

[2] *The Survey*, February 22, 1920, p 708

drugs, was one and one half millions The same report estimates that one million of these were known as drug addicts in their own communities The rest were secret users[3] This estimate Dr Thomas S Blair of Pennsylvania thinks preposterous He goes into an extended argument to prove that such a number was impossible Part of his argument is based upon the amount of narcotic drugs imported into the United States in a given year He estimates the amount which was smuggled in and draws the conclusion that even with liberal additions the total would not have been enough to supply the demands of one million habitual drug users[4] One can agree with his words "No one knows how many addicts to narcotic drugs there are in the United States There are far too many—but let us not exaggerate as most propaganda literature does"

Whatever the number may be, the problem is serious Even before the Harrison Law of 1915 went into effect in the United States the habitual drug user was a serious problem He was to be found in all kinds of institutions insane asylums, poorhouses, penitentiaries, jails, and other places of refuge for the socially helpless

As knowledge has widened concerning the use of narcotics, the world has become the field of study of measures to control the evil With the growing ease of international communication, it is recognized that in order to control the use of drugs international measures are necessary

CLASSES OF DRUG ADDICTS

The drug addict is not always to be considered only as an habitual user of drugs, at the same time he presents other social problems In general we may say that there are four different classes of habitual drug users

1 There is the normal person who has contracted the habit accidentally and who in his social relations has not lost caste Except to a limited degree he performs his social duties just as any other normal person

2 There is the prostitute or other immoral addict who has lived an irregular life and who demands some kind of narcotic to produce a feeling of well-being

3 There is the criminal drug addict, irregular in habits, who contracts the habit, usually by imitation of fellow criminals, in order to gain a feeling of well-being, or to prepare himself for a hazardous crime

4 There is the psychotic user of drugs This individual is, by reason of heredity or disease, abnormal in his mental nature. Many of classes 2 and 3 also belong to this class

[3] *Ibid*, September 21, 1918, p 701
[4] *Ibid*, April 3, 1920, p 10

Because the drug habit is so often associated with other conditions affecting the social relations of the addict, the problem of his treatment is complicated and difficult

CONDITIONS PRODUCING THE DRUG HABIT

Without taking into account primitive man's superstitious veneration of any article which, taken into the system, makes one experience hallucinations, we can perceive in modern social life conditions which favor the excessive use of narcotics

Prominent among these conditions is the practice of *self-treatment in illness by patent medicines* Investigations have shown that most patent medicines have either an alcoholic or a narcotic content—often both The use of these remedies, therefore, often is habit-forming and leads to the use of alcohol or opiates in larger doses The very idea that physical ailments can be cured by taking a medicine is in itself now known to be conducive to the formation of a habit

Only less harmful in producing drug habits is the *palliative treatment of symptoms by physicians not well trained in medicine* The easiest method by which the physician can make money is to prescribe a remedy which will give immediate relief although that is not possible when deep-seated causes of long duration are responsible for an illness However, the poorly trained physician finds in morphine and other narcotics the quickest way to contribute to the relief of the sufferer Along that way, however, lies only temporary relief The sufferer comes back to the doctor's office again and again and thus, in time, the drug habit is formed

Closely connected with the lack of well-trained physicians is *the lack of sufficient hospitals for the thorough treatment of diseases*, with provision for free service for those who cannot afford to pay Only as the country gets good doctors who are not satisfied with merely easing pain, but who insist on thorough diagnosis of an illness and the removal of its causes, and only as these physicians are provided hospitals in which to give thorough treatment, will the danger of forming the drug habit through the use of patent medicines or the prescriptions of dope-selling physicians be obviated

More important than these, perhaps, is the *lack of proper control of dope selling by the State and the nation* People who can make a profit from the selling of drugs to helpless users and thus commercialize the weakness of their fellows are the chief sinners Through them drugs are supplied and with their frequent use the habit is formed

Some conditions of our economic and social life contribute to the formation of drug habits Drudgery and monotony of life among large classes of the in-

dustrial population and in isolated country districts create a demand for drugs which lift the user out of the dead level of existence Moreover, in the back districts of the country, where medical service is hard to obtain and costly, there is a constant temptation to use patent medicines The same thing is true among the poorly paid industrial workers, unless dispensaries are abundant and free

The *devitalizing conditions of factory work and of homes* both in the city and in the open country produce a fatigue which is lightened temporarily by narcotics *Sensual excesses* often create an irritability which is allayed by drugs *Inherited psychological conditions* likewise provide opportunities for the dope seller

In New York, the Mayor's Committee on Narcotic Addictions, appointed in November, 1927, studied some of the drug addicts who enter New York City prisons to the number of 1,500 annually It found that only 13 per cent of 318 studied were of normal personality, 50 per cent were "constitutionally psychopathic," and 30 per cent were on the borderline [5]

SOCIAL TREATMENT OF THE DRUG HABIT

The attempt of physicians in private practice to treat individuals addicted to alcohol or narcotics has been a failure Moreover, the attempts to treat them in public institutions have not succeeded Is there, then, no hope for such cases? What have been the reasons for failure? What methods promise success?

Dr Terry, the health officer of Jacksonville, Florida, who in 1914 made a survey of the drug users in that city, urges that these wretched people should be provided free treatment, since many of them are unable to pay for it and it is simply cruel to deprive them of the drug without treatment [6]

The physician in private practice has failed because, even when he has been a man of the highest professional attainments and incorruptible medical ethics, he could not control all the factors in the case He can prescribe the medicines, perhaps, but he cannot so control the patient that the other and no less important elements in the treatment, the mental and the social, may operate effectively Says Dr Petty "It is a mistake for any physician to attempt to treat narcotic drug patients at their homes or in the wards of a general hospital Under such surroundings failure is more likely than success"

Dr Blair has mentioned several *causes of failure of public institutions* *First*, as a rule they have not had the services of experts in this line of medicine, because they have not paid the high salaries necessary to get and hold

[5] "Mental Aspects of Drug Addiction," *Mental Hygiene Bulletin*, September, 1930
[6] *The Survey*, October 24, 1914

such experts. Drug patients cannot be cured without that study and administrative skill which only large salaries can command for public service. *Second*, these institutions have not carefully classified the patients which have come to them; they have mingled the psychotic and non-psychotic cases, and have allowed addicts with criminal tendencies to associate freely with others. Permitted such indiscriminate contacts the patients hold "experience meetings" which are utterly demoralizing in their influence, especially when there is added the psychopathic and criminal elements. *Third*, such institutions have failed to have complete control of the patients from the very start. Voluntary commitment cannot furnish this control, and even when the patients have been sent by a court it has been easy for them to run away. Moreover, public sentiment has not favored their forcible return. *Fourth*, the cost of treating these patients has been so great that public appropriations have been either too niggardly to allow good treatment, or the appropriations have been cut off and the institution closed. *Fifth*, after-care of the discharged patient has been neglected. Says Dr. Blair, "A neglected but necessary factor is the definite and persistent follow-up of the persons discharged as cured or improved."[7]

Therefore, if these pitiable and menacing victims of an uninformed attempt to alleviate their miseries are to be successfully treated, there must be established proper institutions either under private management, with personnel and methods carefully controlled by the public, or under public support and control. As to the importance of an institution in treating this class of cases Dr. Pettey has said: "Among the accessories which contribute to success in the treatment of narcotic conditions, none has so much importance as a *well-equipped institution* in which the patient must reside during the period of treatment and convalescence. Control of the patient to every detail is essential to success."[8]

Proper Medical Treatment. Without adequate institutions proper medical treatment is impossible. That victims of such habits can be cured is evidenced by medical literature. With the methods used it is not the purpose of the sociologist to deal. With the equipment needed by the well-trained physician in treating these cases society must deal, for upon society is the burden of providing institutions. The public alone can provide the money necessary to secure the most competent and experienced men in the medical profession for the treatment of such addicts.[9] Whether the public can afford the heavy expense for the cure of these derelicts and also provide the funds necessary to

[7] "The Institutional Management of the Drug Addict," *The Survey*, September 15, 1920, p. 750.

[8] Pettey, *Narcotic Drug Diseases and Allied Ailments* (Philadelphia, 1913), p. 193.

[9] Pettey, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

care for the less blameworthy social incapables is a matter which the taxpayers must decide.

Classification of Patients. If the institutions treating this class of incapables are not to fail miserably, the patients must be classified according to their mental and social conditions, for often their trouble is not merely addiction to drugs, but habits of anti-social conduct and mental conditions which greatly complicate the problem. If the user of narcotics and alcohol has a *criminal* history he should be placed in a correctional institution where his addiction to drugs would be treated by an expert. Or, within the institution for the treatment of drug addicts, there should be a special cottage for patients with criminal tendencies. Likewise, the *psychopathic* narcotist should either be treated in a separate ward of an institution for the mentally deranged or in a special ward for such cases in the institution for drug addicts. The person who has become addicted to narcotics because of some *physical ailment* should be treated in the proper ward of a general hospital, or in a cottage or ward of the institution for drug addicts which is devoted to the removal of the physical causes of the habit. *Prostitutes and other immoral persons*, who have formed the habit by reason of their irregular lives, should either be treated in a special ward of the institution for narcotics or in a correctional institution. *Law-abiding but poor persons* should be cared for in a ward of the general institution for drug users set apart from the other classes mentioned, and with none of the stigma of crime or immorality attached. Or, if the criminal and insane classes are treated in correctional institutions or hospitals for the insane, then the special institution for drug addicts would be divided into two parts—one for those who can pay for their treatment and the other for those who must be treated at the expense of the public.

Such an institution for drug addicts *should be conducted by the State* through one of its departments, such as the health department, the State board of charities, or board of control of State institutions. It should be arranged so that it should have farm land for outdoor work, and a place for industrial work for the seasons when outdoor work cannot be well carried on. It should be built on the cottage plan so that individual attention can be given to each patient.[16]

Without more experience than is at present available, it is impossible to say which of the two plans outlined above should be adopted—a general institution in which all the different classes of drug users are treated in separate departments, or an institution solely for law-abiding victims of the habit, with provision for the insane and criminal in special institutions elsewhere. Classi-

[16] Blair, *The Survey*, September 15, 1910, p. 720.

fication there must be Which is the best method of securing that desirable object is a matter to be decided by further experience

How should public provision for the narcotist and alcoholic be coordinated with the private institutions? The latest information available shows that there are at present *181 private hospitals, sanitoria, and other institutions* which give attention to this class of cases [14] Many of these institutions are well conducted, and perhaps are doing better clinical work than the public institutions A large proportion, however, are commercial ventures, poorly equipped and often poorly directed All of them should be under State supervision in order to insure certain standards of management and to protect the patients If the State has no institution in which to care for those of its citizens who are cursed with the drug habit, private institutions, properly supervised by the State, might well be used for their treatment under a proper commitment law

A difficulty in the institutional treatment of narcotic and alcoholic patients arises chiefly from the fact that there is a woeful lack of public institutional provision for their treatment At the present time, aside from a few public institutions, the only places where such patients can be treated are State hospitals for the insane, some few general State hospitals, or correctional institutions Confinement in these institutions, especially those for insane patients and for prisoners, carries a stigma and, therefore, they do not encourage voluntary commitment It has been pointed out that in New York City an indigent person who desires treatment for drug addiction must be fingerprinted and photographed by the police department, sentenced by the judge as an addict, and confined with felons or petty misdemeanants in some penal or correctional institution Recently an interesting experiment began in Michigan where the Narcotic Education Association of Michigan, Inc , supported by funds from private institutions and the Detroit Community Fund, has established a farm of 320 acres about sixty-five miles from Detroit In 1930 it had a capacity of one hundred patients This experiment has not been going long enough to enable us to say what results have been obtained It was planned to follow up the cases with social service so as to give the utmost possible care in their treatment

New Orleans in 1919, opened a narcotic clinic to provide drug addicts with narcotics in a legal way, while they were finding an opportunity for treatment. This procedure was to prevent the addicts from securing drugs illegally This clinic plan was followed later by about forty-two other cities, including New York City The Federal Narcotics Division, however, declared them illegal and closed them The consequence is that to-day we have very few institutions

[14] Blair, *ibid.*, p 720

to which these sadly afflicted people can resort unless they are committed to an institution for the insane or a penal institution

In 1927, California passed an act providing for the confinement, cure, and rehabilitation of drug addicts Those convicted of drug addiction in the courts of that State were to be committed to this institution for not less than eight months nor more than two years They were to be discharged at the discretion of the head of the institution Voluntary commitments are provided for in the law, although in such cases the patients must pay for their treatment They may be discharged when cured

The Federal Government in 1928 provided, by an act passed by Congress, for the establishment of two narcotic farms These were to be used for the confinement and treatment of individuals addicted to specified drugs who have been convicted of offenses under Federal law These two institutions were to be supervised by the Public Health Service This act says among other things "that the care, discipline, and treatment of persons admitted to or confined in a United States Narcotic Farm shall be designed to rehabilitate them, restore them to health, and where necessary train them to be self-supporting and self-reliant " The inmates are to be given industrial employment in useful occupations In these Federal institutions, likewise, voluntary commitments are made possible The treatment of people admitted by voluntary commitment is to remain confidential and is not to be used against them if they are later committed by any court of justice The voluntary admission is possible only in case the number of convicted addicts leaves room for others These institutions have not yet been completed, but plans are going forward and it is hoped that they will soon be ready for patients

Enactment of a State "Drug Habit" Act. Every State should have a "drug habit" act, which would provide for the commitment of habitual dope users and of confirmed alcoholics by a proper county court for a period to be determined by law This act would provide for the usual petitions, warrants, hearings, affidavits, review of the case on appeal, or on writs of habeas corpus, and for the payment of the costs of treatment and support by the patient himself, by his estate or proper relatives, or in the event of his financial inability, by the board of supervisors or commissioners of the county in which the patient had residence, or by the State in case he had no legal residence in a county [12] In case the State had an institution, such an act would provide for care in that institution, leaving the private institutions for those who could pay their own way or who preferred to go to them Such an act should provide for the retention of all persons so committed until complete convalescence had

[12] Blair, *The Survey*, September 15, 1920, p 710

been reached and a large measure of self-reliance had been developed Treatment has most often failed because patients have not been kept in the institution long enough to establish new habits At the present time all the States of the Union, as well as the District of Columbia, have laws dealing with the use of opium and any of its derivatives except when prescribed by a physician for medical purposes It was recognized, however, rather early that these State repressive laws had failed to meet the situation Consequently, in 1915, the Federal Government passed the Harrison Narcotic Act which was amended in certain important respects in 1922 and 1924 These amendments dealt chiefly with importations and set up a control board known as the Narcotic Division This board is charged with the function of determining the amount of crude drugs to be imported into this country for medical purposes The amendment of 1924 forbade the importation of opium for the manufacture of heroin

Follow-up Work It has been found that in the treatment of any disease after-care is a very necessary element in permanent cure So often the circumstances in which the person lives, his occupation, and his habits at home or in the community have brought about his condition This is no less true of addiction to drugs, including alcohol, than it is of other diseases Therefore, skilled after-care by expert social service workers, like the ones now to be found in connection with hospitals for the mentally unsound and with general hospitals, is an essential part of successful treatment Personal service is most necessary to secure the permanence of good resolutions and proper habits, to provide for the return to the institution in case of relapse into the old habit, and to educate the family to treat the addict helpfully

Control of the "Dope" Doctor and Peddler. Dr Blair has laid the chief blame for the dope habit upon the medical profession He says, "The writer has figured the matter up and down, across and back again, he has estimated available supplies and where they go in regular trade, he is in position to know with fair accuracy how much narcotic drugs are used in professional channels, he has investigated intimately the industrial situation, and he has visited the large proprietary medicine plants throughout the Union The result is that he is, with infinite regret, compelled to admit that the dope-selling professional man is the main narcotic menace in this country, though there are other traffickers in the illicit trade who procure part of their supplies from inveigled and stolen professional stocks and another proportion from smuggling"[18] In a study of the use of narcotics in Jacksonville, Florida, made by Dr Terry, in 1914, he found that 54 4 per cent of the addicts were led

[18] Blair, "The Dope Doctor," *The Survey*, April 3, 1920, p 18.

into the habit by physicians' prescriptions He believed that no corrective legislation will be effectual which does not take the practising physician into account [14]

Experience has shown that only a *State department or bureau* charged with the duty of enforcing such a State law can handle these practitioners Since the licensing of physicians is in the hands of each *State*, regulation must be a State matter Dr Blair has shown that such a bureau can handle the problem In Pennsylvania where such a bureau, organized under the State Department of Health, has been in existence for some time, the doctors who are using an excessive amount of dope can quickly be located, and when convicted can be deprived of their licenses to practise medicine Since the experience in that State indicates that it is the dope doctor who is at the bottom of the mischief, the evil can be attacked at its source Every State should have such a bureau in its department of health with a competent man at its head [15]

Along with such State laws *Federal laws* must cooperate, for State laws can do little with the problem of smuggling The Harrison Act, while lacking in some features which would stringently control the importation of drugs, yet has effected a reduction in the amounts imported In 1915, the year the law went into effect, 484,027 pounds of standard opium containing 9 per cent of morphine were imported In 1916 this amount was reduced under the operation of the Harrison Act, to 146,658 pounds and in 1917 to 86,812 pounds [16] That some narcotic drugs are smuggled in despite this law we may take for granted However, if the unscrupulous physician can be controlled, it is very difficult for users to obtain the drug, if the States pass proper laws, the sources of supply can be fairly well controlled

The *weak point in the Harrison Act* was that it permitted the dispensing of narcotic drugs to patients "by a physician, dentist, or veterinary surgeon registered under this act in the course of his professional practice" Until a *decision was handed down by the Supreme Court* early in 1919, interpreting the act, a loophole, very grave in its effects, was left in the administration of the law Since that decision was made no physician can dispense such drugs to a patient unless he does so as a part of a course of treatment for the purpose of curing him [17] Whether this interpretation will prevent the unscrupulous medical practitioner from selling "dope" under the pretense of treatment for cure remains to be seen

The inability of one nation to control the problem without the cooperation

[14] *The Survey*, October 14, 1914
[15] *Blair, op cit*, pp 16-18
[16] Blair, *op cit*, p 19
[17] "The Drug Situation," *The Survey*, March 15, 1919, p 867

of other nations led to *the Hague Opium Conference* in 1912 This conference, attended by representatives of twelve countries, finally produced a treaty dealing with the control of production and traffic in opium and other drugs In 1919-1920 this treaty was confirmed by the League of Nations at Versailles The League has since set up committees to study the problem and to provide a means for the control of the traffic It has been a difficult problem because of the economic interests involved Some nations are very loath to lose the revenue derived from the raising of opium and cocoa leaves, while others hesitate to lessen the economic opportunities of their people who raise or manufacture drugs Up to the present moment it must be said that no effective way has been found to control the production, manufacture, and distribution of narcotic drugs

MEASURES OF PREVENTION

As with every other social problem, the place to do effective work is in prevention The laws referred to above are intended to prevent the unprincipled physician and the dope peddler from securing their supplies Such laws also "put the fear of God" into the hearts of those who sell the drugs for gain

In addition to *punishing those who pander to the depraved habits* of the narcotists and *supplementary to the laws restricting the importation and selling of narcotics*, there must go the *better education of the physicians and the public* Dr Blair has shown that most of the dope doctors whom he discovered in his work in Pennsylvania were either old men who had been trained in the poorer medical schools or in an office or they were well-trained men who were themselves addicted to drugs With the development of medical education this aspect of the problem will disappear, for the well-trained physicians and surgeons to-day do not rely so much on narcotics in their practice as did the older men

Along with the education of the doctors should go the *education of the public* The public health movement has done much to teach people that medicine-taking is a broken reed on which to lean, and that the true way to health is right living The modern attacks on patent medicines have done something to educate the public against self-medication and against preparations which assuage pain, but do not remove the cause of illness Much, however, still remains to be done With increasing knowledge of hygiene and of the fallacy of drug treatment, except when practised by a well-trained physician, the ideas and practices leading to drug addiction will vanish The building of hospitals, providing for the careful treatment of sick people, and the establishment of dispensaries to which they may resort for consultation with the best medical advisers will lessen the demand for drugs The deepen-

ing conviction in the popular mind that pain is an indication of disorder which needs, not a prepared dope to silence the warning, but the skill of one who knows the delicate human machine and how to remove the difficulty, ought to decrease the misuse of drugs

That the medical profession is awake to the evils of the use of narcotic drugs is indicated by the discussions at its various annual meetings, and especially by the action of the American Medical Association at its meeting in New Orleans in April, 1920 It adopted a report recommending that the Federal Government take complete control of all importations of narcotic drugs, that it restrict the importation of such drugs to the amount actually required for legitimate purposes, and that such drugs be distributed only through the United States Public Health Service to "properly qualified and responsible persons" The report estimates that only 10 per cent of the opium now imported into the United States is used for medicinal purposes The house of delegates of this association also recommended that neither the importation, manufacture, nor sale of heroin, an opium product, should be allowed in the United States It also emphatically condemned the treatment of drug addicts outside of institutions designed for their care and urged the enactment of the France-Rainey bill introduced in the previous Congress This bill provided for Federal aid to the States which should build institutions for the hospitalization of drug addicts [18] Unfortunately this bill did not pass Congress Should such a bill pass, the United States Public Health Service could well lead in the campaign to educate the people and to cure the drug users The principle at the bottom of the movement is that which led the Federal Government to subsidize the States which have established agricultural colleges, and built good roads Hence, it has abundant precedent in our legislative history

Recently it has become apparent that we must know more about drug addiction before we can handle it in a scientific manner Research, therefore, is the more recent method of attack upon the problem In 1921, the Committee on Drug Addiction was organized to order to ascertain how much non-medical opium was being used and to suggest rational preventive and control measures The committee was also to find out how much of a social problem the chronic use of opium produced, and to determine more adequately the facts concerning its effect upon the individual This committee, in 1928, published a book called *The Opium Problem* in which the history and development of the problem involved in the narcotic habit, the nature of opium addiction, its extent in the United States, its causes, pathology, treatment and

[18] *The Survey*, June 5, 1920, p 349

control, were covered. The committee has also subsidized laboratory research as to the effect of morphine—both of dosage and of withdrawal—on animals. It has made studies in the medico-sociological field dealing with the legal use of opium and cocoa leaves in certain parts of America, and it has made some clinical study on human subjects. The results of the field study have recently been published. In 1929, a special committee, under the Division of the Medical Science of the National Research Counsel, started a study of the chemical and pharmacological projects, which was to be carried on for three years.[10]

The importance of the international control of narcotics was recognized as long ago as 1912 when, as the result of an international conference on opium at The Hague, a convention, or treaty, was signed, providing for the gradual suppression of international trade in prepared opium. The outbreak of the World War interfered with the plan. Article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations gave this body authority to supervise the agreements reached in 1912. Two conferences on opium have been convened under the auspices of the League. While differences of opinion developed between the countries represented which prevented agreement upon a definite program of control, progress was made. A central board was set up under the League to receive reports from the signatory nations concerning the amount of production in their territory and the amount required for their medicinal needs, and to give publicity to this information. A second convention also provided that the producing countries should agree within five years to control smuggling. By September, 1925, twenty-seven countries had signed the second convention.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1 What factors gave rise to the modern struggle against the evils of drug addiction?
2 Name four classes of drug addicts
3 What are the socially pathological results of drug addiction?
4. What conditions in modern civilization induce addiction to drugs?
5 What are the reasons why efforts to treat drug addicts successfully have failed?
6 Outline a promising program for the treatment of drug addicts
7 Outline the program of the United States Government for the treatment of drug addicts
8 Outline a State and Federal program for the prevention of drug addiction

CHAPTER 6

ALCOHOLISM

It is generally recognized at the present time that alcohol, like the opium products, is a narcotic But alcoholism constitutes a special problem because of the wider use of alcohol and by reason of its intrenchment in the social customs Until comparatively recent times alcoholic beverages were looked upon as a matter of course They were a regular part of a meal and an ever-present means of stimulating social intercourse It became as much a part of the social proprieties to serve alcoholic drinks as it is to-day to serve tea in Japan and China or coffee among the Arabs In spite of their frequent abuse large numbers of people indulged without visible serious consequences

Even before the manufacture and distribution of alcoholic beverages was commercialized there were drunkenness and social consequences which excited the attention of thoughtful people However, with the organization of the liquor traffic along modern commercial lines and the use of high-pressure salesmanship to increase profits, the evils became more apparent Coincident with the commercialization of the liquor traffic, research, especially in European countries, showed the deleterious effects of even the moderate use of alcohol This gave a scientific basis to the temperance agitation which until that time had been based largely upon moral and religious foundations In this country, therefore, three conditions led to the attack upon commercialized drink traffic They were (1) the temperance agitation based upon moral and religious grounds which was the earliest in the field, (2) the scientific study of the effects of immoderate use of alcohol upon the mental and physical welfare of the individual, and upon his economic and social functions, and (3) the rise of an aggressive traffic animated by the desire for profits on the part of manufacturers and distributors Incidentally there entered into the picture also the connection of the saloon with crime, criminal gangs, and with organized vice

Causes of Alcoholism. Only within the last quarter of a century have studies been made which throw a scientific light upon the question as to why people are addicted to the immoderate use of alcohol Formerly it was thought that it was due to the sinful nature of man This was a prescientific rationalization on the basis of certain observed social results of alcoholism

Recent study, however, has indicated that there are more *fundamental bases in the constitution of the individual* and in *the economic and social conditions* surrounding him

In studying chronic alcoholics in this country and in Europe, surprise has been registered at the discovery that *a certain percentage of inebriates are pathological individuals* Their nervous organization is such that alcohol provides satisfactions not attainable under ordinary circumstances A considerable number of them are mentally defective, while others are neurotic

The *industrialization of society and the mechanization of industry* have put upon the individual strains to which the previous experience of the race have not adapted him It is notorious that workers among the steel furnaces or in other fatiguing industries are addicted to the excessive use of alcohol Longshoremen, who work long stretches while boats are loading and then have periods of idleness in areas of the city devoted chiefly to drink and vice, are notorious for their inebriety

Other recent studies have shown that *the social conventions* act for the formation of alcoholic habits The probabilities are that the pressure of these social customs has exerted an important influence in the production of chronic alcoholism Jack London's story *John Barleycorn* indicates a class of cases in which the individual has no neural affinity for alcohol The story is based on the author's own experiences, yet social conventions made of Jack London a confirmed inebriate who could not write unless he was drunk

The Social Pathology of Alcoholism. Through years of experimentation it has become clear that alcohol, when indulged in to excess by the individual, produces certain pathological states which affect not only himself but his family and his social relationships to other people in the community Scientific study of the effects of alcohol upon the nervous organization shows that it is a menace to health, as Dr Rush pointed out in the latter part of the eighteenth century Practically every study of its effects upon the nervous system indicates that it tends to inhibit the higher centers of control Thus it affects religion and morals Many a man who, when not under the influence of drink is able to control himself, finds, once he has imbibed a little too much, that the ordinary social inhibitions are loosened and the lower impulses of his nature are released from restraint It was also discovered that in some cases the injection of even a small quantity of alcohol results in inability to coordinate the muscles Furthermore, both common observation and scientific study have shown that alcohol produces lack of control in social relationships Many a man who has been a good husband and father, interested in the welfare of his children when sober, becomes, under the influence of liquor,

irritable, peevish, quarrelsome, and heedless of the welfare of his family and of others in the community

With the development of commercial life and the introduction of machinery into industry the possession of a clear brain and a steady hand has become imperative Consequently long before State prohibition was very widely accomplished, the managers of industry and commerce had laid down for employees the rule of abstinence from drink while on duty Locomotive engineers and trainmen because of their vast responsibility were threatened with dismissal if they drank while on duty and in some cases even if they frequented saloons when off duty With the increasing mechanization of our industrial life, it has become more and more apparent that those who have charge of the important and dangerous machinery of our present-day civilization must not be under the influence of liquor With motor-cars filling our streets and roadways, the danger of alcoholic indulgence has been most clearly recognized Men of all shades of opinion concerning prohibition agree that modern society is menaced by addiction to alcohol They differ in theories relating to methods of control

Early Methods for the Control of Alcoholism. Through a hundred years of experimentation America has been trying to find a way out of the difficulty occasioned by the tendency of a certain proportion of the people to indulge to excess in alcoholic drinks *Individual self-restraint* through temperance agitation, the signing of temperance pledges, the *attempts to get liquor dealers to go out of the business*, and experimentation with *local option* and *State prohibition*—all these ways were tried by people seeking for the best way to control the traffic The pledge signers often were found to relapse under the pressure of social convention and the appeal of the ever-present saloon The importunate prayers of large numbers of women to liquor dealers failed to effect any considerable reduction of the number of saloons It was early recognized that the menace produced by alcoholism gave the State a right to step in and control the way in which the sale of alcohol was handled A *low license* tax was tried first, on the theory that it gave the government a chance to supervise the agencies for the sale of alcohol and incidentally to receive some return for the trouble The politician and the taxpayer soon became conscious of the fact that a *high license* would relieve the taxpayer of some burdens Hence a high license was tried In theory it was supposed that this would lead to a diminution in the amount of alcohol consumed Actually results showed that with the raising of the license fee the organization of the liquor business became necessary Methods of stimulating liquor consumption became imperative to the continued existence of the business, and as a result,

instead of decreasing the use of alcohol the high license indirectly increased it. Furthermore, if the political unit was to receive the amount of taxes it desired, a large amount of business was required.

Whether the license rate were high or low, measures to control the liquor business and reduce drunkenness continued to be taken. The hours during which saloons might sell were limited, their clientele was limited, minors and drunkards being excluded. But it was quickly apparent that these regulations could not be enforced. It was equally evident that under a high license bootlegging was more prevalent and more profitable. Saloon people were always under the incentive to break the hours or to sell to customers of forbidden age. It was also discovered that efforts to control the quality and the quantity of drink sold to any person were impractical. All of these measures failed to reduce drinking. The per capita consumption of drink increased from 13.21 gallons in about 1885 to 22.79 in 1911.

Local option was then tried and secured some good results. It failed in large part because people could bring liquor from other places into a community where it was forbidden to be sold. The practical impossibility of one community controlling the selling of liquor to its inhabitants when in another became apparent in the course of time.

Some students of the problem began to consider the possibility of taking the individual liquor dealer's profits out of the transaction by *putting the selling of alcoholic beverages into the hands of the State governments*. The experiment was first tried in some of the smaller cities and counties of Georgia and North Carolina. It was adopted by South Carolina in 1893 in the attempt to solve the problem which was everywhere becoming recognized. Under this plan the State of South Carolina set up liquor dispensaries in the counties which wanted them. Other counties were permitted to have prohibition. The private saloon was entirely outlawed and the State was given the monopoly of dispensing alcoholic drinks. Profits were divided between State and city, or State and county governments. The managers of these dispensaries were given a salary, the amount of which depended only indirectly on the amount of liquor sold. It was made difficult to buy liquor because the purchasers were required to make written application. It was sold only in bottles and was to be consumed elsewhere than upon the premises where it was bought.

After trying this experiment out for a number of years, South Carolina finally gave it up and even the man who had originally agitated for the proposal turned against it when he saw its results. The first few years' profits had averaged about $6,000 per month. It had been hoped that this plan would do away with illegal selling. However, the experiment showed an increase in illegal selling, especially at night after closing hours. In fact, boot-

legging was more widespread than it had been under either license or prohibition. Most of the bootleggers purchased their supply at the State dispensary, and then sold it in the community. Drinking and drunkenness increased and the State dispensary became a gigantic political machine dominating the politics of the State and leading to all kinds of political graft. So bad was the situation that South Carolina became known as the "Tammany of the South."[1]

After a hundred years of experimentation with educational measures, pledges of personal abstinence, local option, and State prohibition (discussed below), it gradually came to be believed by a majority of the people that the problem was a national one.

State Prohibition. Among the other experiments carried on during the past hundred years was State prohibition. In this country there were *three periods* of prohibition experimentation. The *first*, which may be said to have extended from 1851 to 1858, grew out of the experience of the temperance movement advocates in persuading people to sign the pledge. It was seen that thousands of these signers were drawn back into the maelstrom of drink by the licensed saloon. This legal movement began with the adoption of prohibition in Maine in 1851. So rapidly was her example copied that by 1855 there were thirteen dry States. However, within two years there came a reaction. It was found that education of the public to the support of prohibition had not been adequate and consequently, one by one, the prohibition States with the exception of three, had repealed their laws. Of these three, two continued to have prohibition until 1900, but Maine continued her law unbroken down to the passage of the Federal Amendment and the Volstead Act. Part of the reason for the backward movement in these States was the interest in the Civil War, which absorbed interest in everything else.

The *second* period of State prohibition may be said to have begun about 1875 and to have continued to the opening of the present century. This period is characterized by State laws providing for local option, no license, and special legislative measures for local needs in the various States. During this period five whole States and thousands of counties, smaller cities, and townships in others went dry. The new prohibition States were widely scattered from Vermont and New Hampshire to North Dakota and Kansas. Two of these States, Kansas and North Dakota, retained their prohibitory laws without repeal or modification up to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The *third* period of State prohibition began with the adoption of the policy in Georgia and Oklahoma in 1907. Mississippi and North Carolina followed

[1] Warner, *Prohibition, an Adventure in Freedom*, pp. 71-73.

in 1908 and Tennessee in 1909. Rapidly the number grew, until in 1918, when the Federal Prohibition Amendment came up for decision in Congress, twenty-five States in the Union had already adopted prohibition. By the time the amendment was endorsed, thirty-three States had enacted State prohibition laws. As a matter of fact, by the time the Eighteenth Amendment was passed, more than 90 per cent of the rural townships, 85 per cent of the counties, and more than 75 per cent of the villages of the United States were already under prohibition by State legislation. Two thirds of the members of the United States Senate and 70 per cent of the members of the House of Representatives were from States or districts already dry, 70 per cent of the population of the United States and more than 95 per cent of the land area were already under State prohibitory legislation. Therefore, when the Eighteenth Amendment was passed it covered, in addition to those already in dry territory, about 30 per cent of the population of the United States and less than 5 per cent of the land area.

National Prohibition. It should also be noted that for some time before the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment the Federal Government had experimented with national prohibition in various ways, and measures of a prohibitory character had been passed by the United States Congress, drying up Alaska, Porto Rico, and the District of Columbia. National legislation had also required the removal of the drink canteen from the Army and Navy. In 1913 the Webb-Kenyon Law was passed to forbid the sending of liquor from wet States into dry territory, whether State or local. This law, passed by Congress over the President's veto and later sustained in the United States Supreme Court by a vote of 7 to 2, helped materially to dry up certain wet spots in the midst of dry territory. This was followed on July 1, 1917, by the Reed Amendment to the Post Office Appropriation Bill, which forbade sending into prohibition areas, whether State or smaller units, any mail matter containing advertisements or solicitations for orders for intoxicants. On a case carried to the Supreme Court in 1919 the law was upheld. This was known as the Bone Dry Law, under which no less than twenty-three states became dry, while all others were partially affected.

Then, with the entrance of the United States into the World War, came wartime prohibition. The Food Control Act forbade the use of certain materials for the production of distilled spirits for beverage purposes and also empowered the President to restrict the manufacture of malt or vinous liquors. On November 18, 1918, the President signed the Emergency Agricultural Appropriation Act which carried a provision for wartime prohibition from July 1, 1919, until after the signing of peace and complete demobilization of the army.

On August 1, 1917, the Senate of the United States passed the Shepherd Resolution by a vote of 65 to 20 calling for a vote by the legislature of the forty-eight States on a Constitutional amendment for nation-wide prohibition The House of Representatives, by a vote of 282 to 128, on December Seventeenth of the same year passed the same resolution, slightly altered This amendment then went to the several States for ratification or rejection By January 16, 1919, the amendment had been ratified by thirty-six States and on January Twenty-ninth it was proclaimed as a part of the Constitution Later ten more states voted for the ratification As a matter of fact, the amendment received the approval of ninety-three out of a possible ninety-six legislative bodies, since one house in one of the two non-ratifying States (Rhode Island and Connecticut) passed the amendment Moreover, the aggregate votes in the various State legislatures showed an overwhelming number for the amendment In the lower houses of the State legislatures there was a majority of 78 per cent for ratification, while in the State senates there was a majority of 84 per cent for the amendment If we take all the votes of both the upper and lower houses of the State legislatures, there was a majority of 80 per cent for the amendment As a Justice of the Supreme Court has said, these votes constituted "an overwhelming constitutional expression of the people" It is apparent, therefore, from the history of the whole matter, that national prohibition came as a culmination of a long period of experiments in dealing with the drink problem It was not the result of war hysteria, it was not "put over by a fluke", it was not passed because the great majority of the voters were in France, or in cantonments, since, as a matter of fact, the representatives that voted for it had been elected for the most part from two to six years before Moreover, the votes in favor of it were not close votes Even the votes on the Volstead Act in the House of Representatives carried by 287 to 100 It was vetoed by the President, but passed over his veto by a vote of 176 to 55 in the House and by 65 to 20 in the Senate It became effective January 16, 1920 Furthermore, forty-five States passed State enforcement laws of the nature of concurrent legislation in support of the national prohibition law No amendment to the Federal Constitution ever passed by such a decided majority Not even the original Constitution was adopted by such a large portion of the States The first eleven amendments to the Constitution were ratified by only ten of the thirteen states There were four States which failed to ratify the Twelfth Amendment, five the Thirteenth, four the Fourteenth, and six the Fifteenth There were six States which failed to ratify the Sixteenth, twelve the Seventeenth, which provided for election of United States Senators by popular vote, and twelve

the Nineteenth, that franchising women Three of the thirteen States ratified the original Constitution unanimously Pennsylvania's legislature was reluctant to do so at all Virginia adopted it by but 10 votes, Massachusetts by 19, and New York by a plurality of 3, while several members of the New York legislature refused to vote Rhode Island would not even send a delegate to the Constitutional Convention and did not enter the Federal Union for months When she did so it was by a majority of only two votes in the legislature And yet there are people who have the temerity to suggest that the people of this country did not know what they were about when they adopted the Eighteenth Amendment If they did not it was not because our Constitution provides or allows hasty methods in the procedure of enacting an amendment to the Constitution The writers of our Constitution made it difficult to amend for the very reason that they desired any amendment to be the result of long and careful deliberation If the Eighteenth Amendment was not passed as a deliberate and carefully considered one, can we not say that no amendment to the Constitution was adopted by the method intended by the framers of that document?

The Arguments for and against National Prohibition

In order that we may frankly face the situation as it exists to-day under national prohibition, let us set forth the arguments for and against this method of controlling alcoholism in this country We shall first state as clearly and forcefully as we can the arguments against the national prohibition act It is to be understood that we start with the assumption that both sides of the controversy are agreed that the saloon as we have had it in the United States is an evil, and that the abuse of alcohol is pernicious in its effects, both on the individual and on society The main question at issue is whether the present plan is the best one under the circumstances in which we find ourselves, to solve the problem of alcoholism

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION ACT

1 It is claimed that *the moderate use of alcohol aids relaxation* It is also claimed that the present national prohibition law prohibits the moderate use of alcohol Large numbers of people have excellent self-control, they will not abuse alcoholic beverages, but under the present act they are restrained from indulging in the moderate use of alcoholic drinks Present conditions in our industry demand relaxation Alcohol provides that relaxation. Its moderate use rests the tired worker, and relieves the humdrum of existence induced by our high speed industry and social life Authorities are quoted to prove that certain individuals need alcohol in order to relax

2 *The national prohibition act violates personal liberty* From time immemorial, what one eats and drinks has been considered his own personal business and one of the liberties which ought not to be interfered with by society, except for some good reasons of social policy While the advocates of this argument admit that the drunkard has passed beyond the point at which personal liberty should not be restricted in the interests of society, they claim that prohibition is an infringement on personal liberty which cannot be justified in civilized society

3 It is claimed that the national prohibition act by interfering with the beliefs and principles held by large numbers of people has *increased drinking and immorality among youth* They point to the bootlegger and the illegal dispensing of drink and quote statistics to show that greater amounts of liquor are consumed now than before prohibition They point out the figures in New York City to show that under prohibition there was an increase in total arrests and convictions for drunkenness for first and other offenders It has also been pointed out that the arrest of minors for drunkenness in Washington, D C, has increased enormously since 1921 It has been pointed out by opponents of Federal prohibition that it is the testimony of the Salvation Army of the Middle West that since the coming of prohibition it has diverted its energies from the adult drunkard to boys and girls in their teens The New York Committee of Fourteen is quoted as stating that in New York the Volstead law has been responsible for an increase in commercial vice and that immorality thrives in night clubs and cabarets because the conditions of these establishments are more inviting than they were in the old saloons

4 *Prohibition interferes with the liberty of physicians in prescribing what alcoholic medicines they think necessary* The opponents of prohibition quote numerous doctors who claim that the practice of medicine has been seriously interfered with by the prohibition law because it limits the amount of alcoholic beverages which may be prescribed by a physician during any one week The argument is that they ought to be able to prescribe what they think is proper and necessary, unhampered by any law The *Journal of the American Medical Association* reported that the physicians were divided on the question as to the therapeutic value of whiskey in the practice of medicine About 26 per cent consider beer necessary and about 22 per cent consider wine necessary A careful study showed that physicians in the cities of 50,000 population or over are more apt to deem alcoholic beverages necessary than those in small cities and in rural communities

5 It is claimed that under prohibition *deaths from alcoholism and allied causes have increased* in comparison with those of countries which do not

have prohibition Dr Dublin, statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York, states from a study of the policy-holders of that organization that deaths from chronic alcoholism and cirrhosis of the liver have gradually been increasing under prohibition (since 1920) and that their Canadian policy-holders show a much lower rate of deaths from alcoholism and allied causes than their policy-holders in the United States

6 *Prohibition has increased poverty, crime and disease according to the opponents of national prohibition* Silas Strawn, retiring president of the American Bar Association in August, 1928, said that every survey made shows that crimes of violence, which are committed largely by bootleggers and beer-runners especially in the urban centers, have increased to an alarming extent Hudson Maxim claimed that the police and detectives were so busy trying to enforce prohibition that they did not have time to give attention to the ordinary criminals

7 It is also claimed that *under prohibition drunkenness has increased* Police records are said to indicate increased arrests for drunkenness in American cities The fact is cited that arrests for drunkenness in New York City, the center of the wet sentiment in the country, are very much less than in the dry centers, that States which lack laws in harmony with the Volstead Act stand next to New York City in the small number of arrests for drunkenness It is pointed out that seven cities of prohibition Kansas arrested 112 persons per 10,000 of population in 1925 against New York City's 20 and that eleven cities in prohibition Maine arrested an average of 158 per 10,000, with Lewiston, Maine, heading the list with 290 per 10,000 In other words wherever the prohibition law is enforced, the arrests for drunkenness have increased

Mr Stayton of the Association against Prohibition reports that the Keeley people were running only six institutions in 1919 and that now they are running twelve The institution at Dwight, Illinois, in 1920 had 186 inmates, 289 the next year, and then in succession 342, 392, 350 and 407 He quotes the superintendent of that institution as saying that during the period of regulation, 1917 to 1919, the business [el] off but gradually built up until in 1925 they treated more patients than in any year since 1917

With respect to arrests for drunken driving Mr Stayton asserts that from 1919 to 1925 the number of motor vehicles in the entire United States increased 163 per cent but that the arrests for drunken driving increased by 383 per cent in such towns as Boston and Washington, D C, and by as much as 753 per cent in New Haven, Connecticut

8 *Prohibition has not increased economic efficiency and has not reduced economic waste* This argument has been advanced by the opponents of prohibition in answer to the claim chiefly of Professor Irving Fisher that prohibition caused an economic gain of at least $6,000,000,000 a year through increased efficiency and decreased economic waste Mr Stayton points out that the laboratory experiments showing the effects of alcohol on efficiency cannot be taken at face value for men who take a glass of beer when they are working in a factory Therefore, he says it cannot be proved that prohibition has resulted in economic efficiency He also points out that there has been an enormous waste in the bootleg traffic which has assumed such tremendous proportions There is also the loss of the illegally diverted alcohol Consequently the Association against Prohibition is of the opinion that the present conditions under prohibition have led to increased waste rather than diminished waste

9 It is also argued that *under prohibition there has been an enormous increase in the corruption of public officials* The opponents of prohibition point out that under the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act we have seen the corruption not only of prohibition agents but police and others on a scale which has never been known before Hence they conclude that prohibition has made dishonest a large army of men who under previous conditions were not subject to the temptations of the illegal liquor trade

10 *With public sentiment as it is, it is impossible to enforce national prohibition* In certain parts of the country it has not been enforced during the twelve years it has been in operation, and on the basis of these facts it is claimed that it cannot be enforced

11 The opponents of prohibition claim that *it has not lessened the amount of alcohol manufactured and consumed* Smuggling on an unprecedented scale has gone forward, speak-easies of all kinds have arisen to take the place of the saloon, illicit stills are to be found everywhere, and in spite of all the efforts of the Federal enforcement office it is claimed that more liquor is being drunk in the United States at present than was consumed under the previous régime Mr Hugh S Fox, Secretary of the United States Growers Association, has estimated that from 1918 to 1926 there was an increase of per capita consumption of 0 575 gallons of actual alcohol This figure is very much higher than the estimate of Mr John C Gebhart who says, after making his lower estimate, that no one knows, of course, how much alcohol is consumed in the United States under prohibition

12 *Prohibition has broken down the gains made in dry states by local option and State prohibition.* The opponents of prohibition point out that

since the amendment went into effect there have been State-wide votes on questions pertaining to prohibition in eleven States. The claim is that as the result of these referenda there is a very marked shift of opinion away from bone-dryness toward some form of moisture. This includes some of the States which before national prohibition were dry. Polls taken by the *Literary Digest* showed a preponderating sentiment against the present prohibition law.

13. *National prohibition destroys the teaching of true temperance.* People should be taught to control themselves rather than to have their actions controlled by the nation. Reliance upon prohibition has weakened the effective temperance crusades of former years and, therefore, has checked the educational process which for nearly a century had gone forward.

14. *The opponents of prohibition have only one suggestion for a substitute.* They agree that the saloon must not come back and, therefore, they propose that some such system as the Canadian Government "Control" should be allowed in the wet States with protective measures enacted for the dry States, such as we had under the Webb-Kenyon law. This system they claim would very greatly improve conditions in the United States because it would allow those States with populations opposed to prohibition to have drink under government control with private profits removed therefrom, while the dry States could have prohibition.

ARGUMENTS FOR PROHIBITION

Most of the arguments for Federal prohibition up to the present time have been devoted to destroying the arguments of the wets against prohibition and to showing the advantages of prohibition even in its present state.

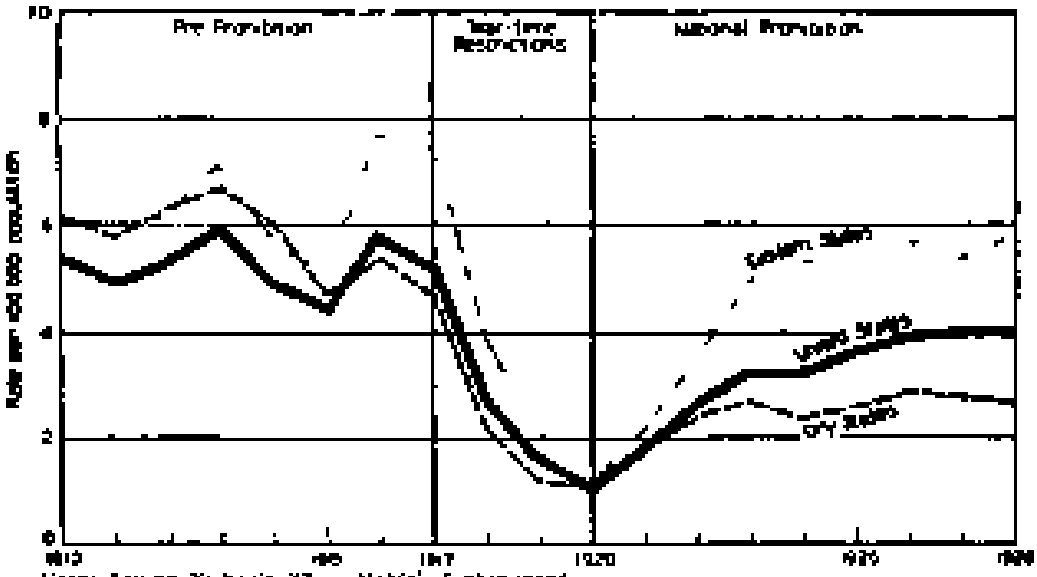
1. In reply to the arguments of the wets that alcohol provides relaxation which men need in our present state of civilization, it is argued that *relaxation by non-paralyzing means is better than by means of alcohol.* It is pointed out that to-day we have so many more means of providing recreation such as movies, radio, automobiles, playgrounds, clubs, etc., that we do not need the narcotic means of relaxation provided by alcohol. It is pointed out further that if we rely upon alcohol for relaxation we must pay the price in the consequences of overindulgence.

2. *In reply to the arguments that prohibition interferes with personal liberty the drys argue that all law is a violation of personal liberty.* The labor laws are invasions of the freedom of the manufacturer to conduct his business as he pleases. Compulsory school attendance laws are invasions of the liberty of the father with regard to his children. The real question is whether the results to be obtained by the removal of alcohol can better be

had by prohibition or by other means Local option and State prohibition are likewise invasions of personal liberty The Canadian method of control through government owned dispensaries is also an invasion of personal liberty Therefore, it is claimed that this argument is not to the point

3 As we have already seen *less than half of the physicians investigated by the Journal of the American Medical Association insisted that whiskey is important in the treatment of certain diseases* Consequently it is claimed that limitation of the amount physicians may use is in the direction of safety, and provides that the privilege will not be abused

FIG 1



From Irving Fisher's *The "Noble" Experiment*

ALCOHOLIC MORTALITY IN THE UNITED STATES, EASTERN STATES, AND DRY STATES

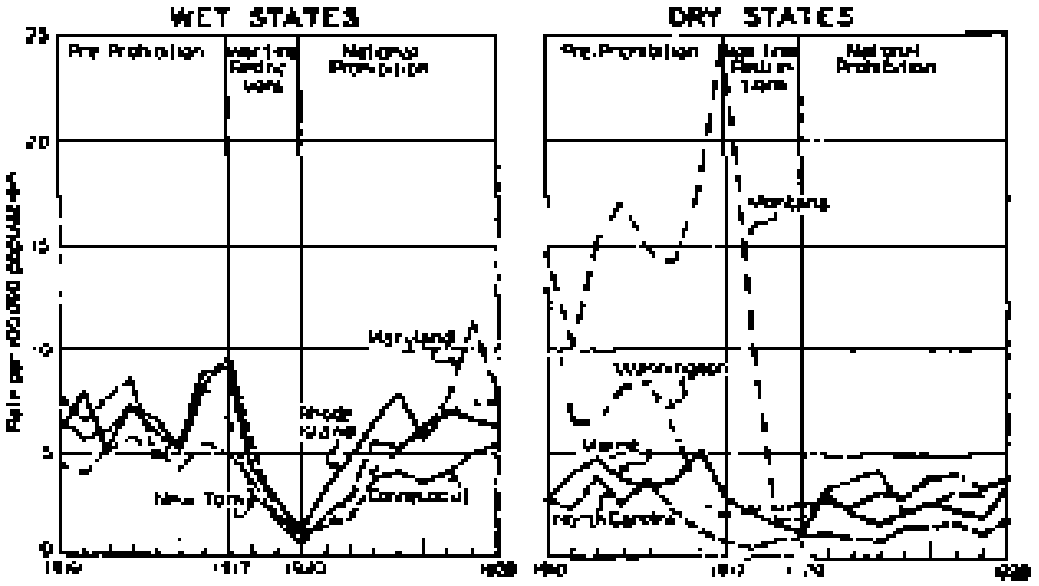
4 A careful study of the statistics available on *deaths from alcoholic diseases*, alleged to show that there has been more than proportionate increase from 1920 to 1928, *demonstrates that under prohibition the rates are not as high as they were before prohibition* Dr Haven Emerson, summarizing the situation as to health in the *Survey Graphic*, says that the death-rate from alcoholism fell to 19 per cent of the pre-prohibition rates and in spite of subsequent rises the rate is now less than 75 per cent of the pre-prohibition rates [2] Only in such nullification States as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, has the death-rate from alcoholism in any single prohibition year equalled the average rate for the last seven pre-prohibition years Furthermore, the death-rate from cirrhosis of the

[2] Haven Emerson, "Prohibition and Public Health," *Survey Graphic*, December, 1928

liver fell to 54 3 per cent of the pre-prohibition rate and never has been higher than 57 3 per cent Likewise the tuberculosis death-rate in the United States has fallen—at all ages for both sexes and for both whites and negroes—faster during the prohibition era than during any previous period The decrease has been especially marked in the case of children and women Even Dr Dublin admits that prohibition has probably been instrumental in furthering the decline[1]

The accompanying graphs from Irving Fisher's *The "Noble" Experiment* show the alcoholic mortality from 1910 to 1928 While the decrease of

FIG 7



From Irving Fisher's *The "Noble" Experiment*

ALCOHOLIC MORTALITY IN CERTAIN WET STATES AND DRY STATES

deaths from alcohol and alcoholic diseases has been marked throughout the country during the prohibition era, it has been more marked in the dry States where prohibition has been better enforced than in the wet States where nullification has been the public policy.

Much noise has been made in the public prints concerning the large number of deaths caused by poor liquor This widespread notion has been disproved by a number of careful students Dr George H Bigelow in a statement published in the New York *Times*, December 28, 1928, shows that laboratory analysis of thousands of samples of liquor annually has not shown the presence of any extraneous toxic substance since 1920 Whatever has

[1] Louis I Dublin, "Has Prohibition Improved Public Health?" *American Journal of Public Health*, February, 1928

been the mortality rate of alcoholism under prohibition, it has been due to the presence of alcohol, not to extraneous matters Poisonous liquor, therefore, is largely a myth invented by those who are interested in discrediting prohibition

5 *To the charge that poverty, crime, and disease have increased under prohibition the drys reply that statistics do not bear out this contention in all respects*

The number of prisoners received in penal institutions gradually decreased between 1910 and 1923 so that in the latter year commitments were 37 per cent less than they had been in the former However, with the last report issued by the Bureau of the Census, the data as of 1926 show that the criminal ratio per 100,000 of general population increased between 1923 and 1926 For men the homicide rate fell from 5 7 per 100,000 in 1923 to 4 5 in 1926 For assaults among men it fell from 5 5 in 1910 to 3 8 in 1926 Rape rose from 2 6 in 1923 to 3 per 100,000, robbery from 5 1 to 6 8, burglary from 11 1 to 13 4 Thus the only two crimes in which, according to the Census data, there was a drop from 1910 to 1926 were homicide and assaults[4] It must be remembered that these figures do not give the commitment to jails, workhouses and houses of correction, where 92 per cent of our offenders are sent These are not reported for 1926 Whether the increase in the number of commitments to Federal prisons, State prisons, and reformatories for most of the major crimes was due to prohibition is, of course, a disputed question

As to the bearing of prohibition upon dependency the facts are not very clear However, the Alcohol Information Committee compiled from the records of forty-four different relief organizations scattered throughout the country, a table which in most places shows a decreasing percentage of cases where intemperance was a factor[4]

The drys claim, on the basis of the Census data on marriage and divorce, that from 1916 to 1922 there was a steady drop in the number of divorces for which drunkenness was assigned as the reason Since 1922 there has been a gradual rise, but the percentage is still very much less than it was in the era before prohibition[5]

The commitments to hospitals for the insane due to alcoholic psychosis decreased perceptibly after national prohibition came in The rate, however, has risen slightly since 1920 In 1923 the Census data showed that the

[4] *Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories, 1926*, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1929), Table V

[4] Fisher and Brougham, *The "Noble" Experiment*, pp 102-103

[5] *Ibid.*, p 106

commitments to hospitals for alcoholic psychoses had fallen from 10 1 per cent in 1910 to 3 7 per cent in 1922

6 It is argued by the drys that *if growth of population is taken into account the arrests for drunkenness have very greatly decreased under prohibition* Making allowance for population, Fisher says that in 1916 there were over 191 arrests for drunkenness made for every 10,000 population In 1920, there were less than 66 arrests for intoxication for every 10,000 population Even with the growing reaction against prohibition the arrests for intoxication are still below the pre-prohibition period In addition it is urged that the reported total of arrests for drunkenness should be corrected to make allowance for the increased severity of policemen with respect to drunkenness in prohibition days as compared with pre-prohibition days [7]

The contention of the wets that there has been an increase in the number of Keeley institutes for the cure of alcoholics and in the number of their patients, is countered by the drys with the statement that investigation of the 6,807 hospitals and sanatoriums, registered by the *Journal of the American Medical Association* of March 24, 1928, showed only 8 institutions classified as specifically for treatment of alcohol and drug addicts These 8 institutions had a bed capacity of 183, but the average number of patients was only 90 Of these institutions, 3 were in New England, 2 in New York, 1 each in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Illinois, all of which are "wet" States It is claimed that the Federal prohibition unit had, on June 30, 1927, a list of 50 hospitals engaged in treating alcoholism and on that list there is no "Neal" Institute At one time there were 60 All State hospitals for inebriates have gone out of business, and of a list of 273 such private institutions compiled by Miss C F Stoddard in 1922, 91 made no reports, 117 were reported out of business, 14 were reported not found, and only 51 were reported in business Studies of the Washingtonian Home in Massachusetts show that the number of inmates is 40 per cent lower than in pre-prohibition days The Washingtonian Home of Chicago, originally for inebriates, was so reduced that it built a general hospital where it cares for such alcoholic patients as come to it

In answer to the charge that prohibition has increased drinking and drunkenness among youth, the drys point out that even in "wet" New York the statistics of arrest do not show this As a matter of fact, the rate of first convictions for drunkenness as revised from the records of the Fingerprint Bureau of the City Magistrates Court in New York fell from 35 3 for 10,000 of population in 1914 to 8 9 in 1919, rose to 13 in 1922, fell

[7] Fisher and Brougham, *op cit*, pp 119-128.

to 7 8 in 1927 and reached its low point of 7 6 in the year ending December 31, 1928 The drys also point out that the United States Children's Bureau showed that prior to prohibition, intemperance was present in the homes of 47 7 per cent of the families of 2,378 juvenile delinquents handled by the Massachusetts Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and in 1928 in only 16 8, in 1922, 1923, 1924 and 1925, the percentages of families in which intemperance was a factor were 20 2, 23 2, 21 9, and 18 9 respectively The Federal Children's Bureau also pointed out that there has been a relative decline in the number of delinquent children committed to institutions Moreover, to the contention of the wets that prohibition is responsible for the increasing youthfulness of those committed to correctional and penal institutions, the drys reply that according to the Federal Census reports only 9 4 per cent of the commitments of 1923 were of persons between the ages of 18 and 20 as compared with 9 8 in 1904 and 11 8 per cent and 12 1 in 1880 and 1890 respectively The Salvation Army, outside of certain cases supporting the contentions of the wets, shows a decrease of drinking by youth Testimony of the 192 social settlements studied by Mrs Martha Bensley Bruere shows no dangerous increase in drinking by young people A survey by the National Educational Association, covering 1,000,000 high school students reports that the use of liquor by such students is decreasing each year In addition the drys cite the rather universal testimony of deans of men and women in colleges and universities that, as compared with thirty years ago, much smaller numbers of young men are now drinking, although those who do, do so in a more spectacular manner

7 The drys stress *increased efficiency and thrift under prohibition* Irving Fisher estimates a saving of $6,000,000,000 a year to industry because of prohibition Three billions of this he claims is due to the increased efficiency of workmen under prohibition and the other three billions to the saving of that amount of money formerly spent on drink and now diverted into regular industrial channels Whether this estimate is correct or not, the drys contend that there has been a very great saving It is pointed out that even moderate drinking impairs a man as a risk for a life insurance company by 32 per cent over total abstinence If it can be shown, as the drys believe it can, that there has been a decrease in the amount of alcohol consumed in this country, then prohibition has prevented a number of premature deaths which otherwise would have occurred

Professor Herbert Feldman of Dartmouth College, in 1927, after a study of the effect of prohibition on industrial establishments, stated that a majority of the total number of the industrial concerns he visited testified that prohibition had aided industrial efficiency, while less than half a dozen

claimed the opposite Dr Paul H Nystrom, Professor of Marketing in the School of Business at Columbia University, believes that prohibition with all its defects of operation undoubtedly is diverting not less than $5,000,000,000 a year which would normally be expended on alcoholic drinks were it not for prohibition, to other classes of commodities and to saving [8]

8 The drys have to admit that the corruption of public officials, especially prohibition officials, has been very great They point out, however, that in every case in the history of the country when a new Federal liquor law has been passed, corruption of the officials has followed. *The drys contend that with the improvement of the prohibition force and with the building up of a public sentiment for law enforcement rather than nullification, police officials, judges, and others will yield less to the temptation to wink at violations of the law* They point out that the corruption of prohibition agents was to be expected in view of the way in which they were appointed as political henchmen, rather than under civil service Therefore, the argument of the drys on this matter is an explanation of a policy, rather than an argument

9 In regard to the wets' contention that public sentiment is against the enforcement of this law, the drys reply that *public sentiment can be changed* They point out that in the areas where prohibition sentiment has been established, the enforcement of the law is going forward quite satisfactorily, that education as to the benefits of the restriction of the use of alcohol can bring to pass favorable public sentiment in places where it is now unfavorable, and thus make the law more easily enforceable They also urge that those who are in favor of nullifying the amendment to the Volstead Act are themselves responsible for the violation of the law and for the resistance to the change of public sentiment

10 The drys argue that *even under prohibition as it is administered today there has been a diminution of the amount of alcohol consumed by the people* Mr Robert Corradini, Research Secretary of the World League against Alcoholism, has been quoted by Irving Fisher as showing that as compared with an estimated per capita consumption of absolute alcohol of 83 gallon in 1918, in 1927 the amount consumed had dropped to 38 gallon The reader will do well to compare the estimates claimed by the wet and the dry forces in Irving Fisher's chapter as there is not room here to submit them both [9]

[8] H Feldman, *Prohibition Its Industrial and Economic Aspects* (New York, 1927), Ch XXI, Nystrom, *Economic Principles of Consumption* (New York, 1929), p 534, Fisher, *op cit*, Ch VIII

[9] *Ibid*, Ch XIV

11 The drys claim that *prohibition should be continued because nothing will teach temperance so well as a demonstration* They argue that the experiment has not yet had time to make a complete demonstration and, therefore, further time should be given it

12 The argument of the wets that the present prohibition scheme should be done away with and Canadian control (which means government dispensaries) instituted in the wet states, in its stead, is answered by the drys, who point out that *the per capita amount of liquor consumed in the United States is less than that consumed in Canada, and the results of liquor consumption in the United States are less unfortunate under prohibition as it is at present than they are under Canada's system* They cite statistics showing that under government control in Canada the consumption of alcohol has increased, as compared with consumption during the previous prohibition period in the provinces of that country, the number of permits issued is greater, increased sales have been shown in the provinces, the drink bill has grown, bootlegging has not diminished but rather increased, the number of night clubs and road-houses has grown, in the cities the law is loosely observed, and the saloon has been nearly replaced by the tavern The rate of intoxication has increased over the rate in prohibition days in Canada Prostitution is worse under government liquor control than it was in the same provinces under prohibition or than it is in the present prohibition provinces Arrests for intoxication have increased in the provinces under government control as compared with the number of such arrests in the provinces under prohibition, or as compared with the number in the same provinces when they were under prohibition The vital statistics show that health conditions are worse since government control than before The United States under prohibition shows less prosecution for the violation of the liquor laws than does the Province of Quebec under government control

13 The drys argue that *there is no other course but to go ahead with prohibition and try to enforce it* The law cannot be repealed although the legal alcoholic content of beer could be changed under the Volstead Act Under our political system with the present public sentiment, as has been shown previously, there is no chance of repealing the amendment There is no way to modify our present law except by nullification The drys charge that those who are in favor of nullification have more influence in creating disrespect for law than prohibition No other course, claim the drys, is open to us than to try to make prohibition work, they insist that it will work if the people stand behind it and support it

14 It is argued by some of the drys that *the argument of the wets that*

alcohol should be permitted in order to provide relaxation and escape from the monotony of life, is fallacious because the chief value of alcohol in that connection is the creation of delusion. The drys point out that alcohol as a producer of delusion fits in with the psychopathic mechanism of escapes from reality against which all mental hygiene is struggling at the present time. The real cure for monotony, for weariness, for dismay at the hard conditions of existence, is not narcotic escape, but a control of the conditions of industry and of social life such that individuals will not feel the necessity of artificially escaping difficult situations, and a mental hygiene which will enable people to adjust themselves to the realities of life. Prohibition, they argue, attempts to remove at least one source of narcotic delusions.[19]

Whatever one's conclusion concerning the value of these arguments *pro* and *con* with reference to prohibition, all will agree that excessive use of alcohol and narcotics produces pathological conditions in the individual. It undermines his health, impairs his social relationships, diminishes his economic efficiency, tends to create habits from which it is very difficult to escape, undermines family life, and helps one to ignore rather than to face and solve the difficulties of life. It is especially dangerous to people with unstable nervous organization. Indirectly the profits in narcotics and alcohol lead to corruption of government officials, break down moral standards, and undermine concern for the general welfare. The problem is to decide what is the best method of control. The wets argue for a system something like the Canadian system of control. The drys believe that prohibition is the better. The social pathologist is concerned only with the elimination of the abuse of liquor by whatever method experience indicates is most effective.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1 What conditions gave rise to the modern movement against the excessive use of alcohol?

2 How has the mechanization of industry aggravated the liquor problem?

3 What socially pathological conditions result from the abuse of alcohol?

4 What different methods were tried to control the evils of alcoholism before national prohibition? Evaluate each method

5 Characterize the four periods of experimentation with prohibition before the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment

6 Explain the circumstances which led to the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment

7 State the chief arguments for and against national prohibition

CHAPTER 7

MENTAL DEFICIENCY

On the threshold of our consideration of mental abnormalities which impair social relationships let us rid our minds of certain misconceptions and grasp certain fundamental truths One of the erroneous notions we may have is that these abnormal mental conditions are so unusual that they set the people afflicted with them off from the general run of humanity as a species apart As a matter of fact the difference between a sane and an insane person, or between a mentally deficient person and one with superior mental ability, is only one of degree If, for instance, we are comparing the size of the leaves from a tree, we shall put them into different piles determined by, let us say, fractions of an inch in length We shall find a few at each extreme, while the mass of them we shall see piling up in the middle between the two extremes Moreover, we shall find some leaves which are just on the border between one class and the next, so gradually do they differ one from another Like the leaves of a tree people grade physically and mentally from one extreme of deviation to the other with reference to any characteristic we may select Likewise if we measured the stature of a population, we should find it falling into classes—relatively few among the tallest and the shortest, and most of the individuals falling into the classes between Those in the middle 50 per cent, or 60 per cent, we might call the "normal" On close examination, however, these are found to vary from one another by degrees So, in contrasting the "insane" or the mentally defective with the "normal," we should keep in mind that they differ from the rest of us only in degree Most of us have some of the characteristics found in the insane, in the feeble-minded, even in the epileptic Just as between the "sick" and the "well" the difference is only a matter of degree, so in the matter of "mental disease" the difference between the state of mind and emotions of the mentally "abnormal" and the "normal" is but one of degree

WHAT IS MENTAL DEFECT?

The term *feeble-mindedness* is comparatively new The condition, however, is probably as old as the race and has been recognized for ages. Long

ago mental defect was differentiated from other abnormal mental conditions The fact that the Greek furnishes us the root of our word *idiot* shows that thus early such a distinction had been made With the development of the study of disease and mental conditions, various other differentiations in abnormal mentality have been noted

The term *feeble-minded* is used to-day to include all varieties of mental defect In general three grades of feeble-mindedness are now recognized. The first or lowest grade is that of the *idiot*, ranging in intelligence from nothing up to the intelligence of a two-year-old child The second grade is that of the *imbecile*, ranging in mental age from three years to seven The third or highest grade, the *moron*, have intelligence ranging from that of a child of eight to that of a child of ten or twelve years

It should not be understood, of course, that the feeble-minded person, who, regardless of his physical age, may belong to one of the above groups, will have all of the characteristics and manifest the same kind of conduct as a child of the ages mentioned Children have a limited social experience. The feeble-minded, on the other hand, during the longer years of their lives, may have acquired certain habits and made certain adjustments which the child of more limited social experience has not reached Therefore, it should be understood that it is only in intellectual matters that the idiot, the imbecile, and the moron correspond to the child And, further, it should be understood that with respect to intellect, only native or inherent ability is referred to

Idiots do not have sufficient mentality to enable them properly to care for their own physical wants Imbeciles, while able to attend to their own wants, care for their person, dress to some extent, and comprehend fairly well what is said to them, show by the most elementary intelligence and social tests a subnormal mentality The morons include high-grade defectives who, but for careful tests, would not be rated as feeble-minded In each of these cases there are sub-classifications, determined not only by the degree of intelligence but by social tests of conduct Those of the third class are usually capable of some education They possess a degree of mentality only slightly lower than that of an adolescent child, but they are not able to progress beyond a certain point mentally Their chief difficulty seems to be in the lack of that coordination of faculties which makes the normal individual amenable to the ordinary social restraints They do not possess a proper discrimination in the quality of their actions

Feeble-mindedness is due either to inherited mental defect or to arrest of the normal development of the brain The latter may be due to prenatal causes, to accidents at birth, or to subsequent accidents or diseases It is

estimated that 50 to 60 per cent of the cases of feeble-mindedness are the result of defective heredity. We may define feeble-mindedness, therefore, as *mental defect, inherited, or produced by conditions preceding, at, or soon after birth which prevent the normal development of the mind, with the result that the person is not able to manage his personal and business affairs with ordinary prudence, and to conform his actions to the conventional standards of social morality*

Mental defect differs from mental disease in that the latter is due to some functional derangement of the brain which destroys the capacity for normal activity In mental defect, or feeble-mindedness, however, the brain capacity has never been present, or its development has been arrested so early that the individual has not been able to function normally While inheritance figures in both, either may be the result of causes other than heredity The difference lies in the fact that in mental disease of all sorts, there is a deterioration of function, whereas in mental defect the brain does not develop properly

EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

The recent prominence of the problem of feeble-mindedness is due in part to the introduction of more exact methods of measuring intelligence, such as the Binet-Simon tests and others based upon this standard series devised by the great French psychologists whose names it bears It is also due in part to the discovery, made possible by these tests, that mental defect is much more frequently correlated with social delinquency and dependency than we had suspected For centuries the "simpleton," the "idiot," and the "fool" have been recognized by observers These new tests, however, provide an easily applied method of determining mental capacity which is much more exact than the ordinary social tests These tests and the appreciation of the social significance of their results have greatly stimulated the study of mental deficiency and have made possible a finer classification of mental defectives

However, these tests have been applied only to certain groups rather than to extensive cross-sections of the general population The census of the feeble-minded, even in Great Britain, is not based upon careful measurements, but upon simple observation

More recent study has shown that the feeble-minded individual is as abnormal in his emotions as in his intellectual processes Furthermore, for sociological purposes the real test of mental deficiency is *conduct* Doubtless, intelligence is one of the things that accounts for conduct, but modern

psychiatry is teaching us that certain other personality traits are also factors in the outcome.[1]

In Great Britain. The Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded estimated that in 1906 in England and Wales 0.46 per cent of the population was mentally defective.[2]

It is a pity that the figures on British drafted men, in the recent war, showing the proportion mentally defective, are not yet available. However, the estimated increase in the number of mental defectives in England and Wales from 1901 to 1914—13.2 per cent—is serious enough to challenge attention.

In the United States. Lacking a nation-wide census of the feeble-minded we must be content with estimates which vary from 2 to 6 per thousand of the population.

The results of the mental examinations of the men drafted in the World War throw a flood of light upon our volume of mental defect.[3] Of the white drafted men 47.3 per cent and of the colored drafted men 89 per cent were found to have mental ages of less than thirteen years.[4] These findings have been much discussed *pro* and *con*.

It has been pointed out that selection was involved in examining only draftees, since the volunteers included large numbers of men who eventually became officers, and also industrial and business experts, who if they had been examined would have raised the figure for the mental age of all recruits. Because of this selection it has been proposed that two mental-age years should be added to the above figure. Even if the selected group of volunteers were included, however, over 5 per cent of the general adult population, taking the army as representative of the whole, and adopting 70 I. Q. as a criterion, would be definitely feeble-minded. That would mean that in the nation as a whole 5,285,000 feeble-minded people exist. Whether or not that is true, it is a fact that somewhere between 2 and 6 per cent of the population are so deficient in intelligence that in the complex conditions of city life they find difficulty in supporting themselves and conducting their lives in accordance with our social standards.[5]

[1] Davies, *Social Control of the Feeble-minded* (New York, 1923), Ch. I.

[2] "Report of Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded," Vol. XXXIX of the *House of Commons Reports* (1908), Vol. VIII of this particular report, p. 6.

[3] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction* (1915), pp. 290, 360.

[4] Yerkes, *Psychological Examining in the U. S. Army*, Memoirs, National Academy of Sciences (New York, 1921), XV, 790, Table 333.

[5] Davies, *op. cit.*, Chs. I and XII; Gosney and Popenoe, *Sterilization for Human Betterment* (New York, 1929), p. vi.

Relation of Feeble-mindedness to Social Pathology. Feeble-mindedness is linked with almost every social problem Many criminals are such chiefly by reason of mental defect A shockingly large proportion of the immoral women have a mentality not above that of a twelve-year-old child so that they are easily led astray The feeble-minded clog the schools, interfering with effective teaching and creating moral difficulties on the playground Industry discovers some of them among the victims of accident and others among the inefficients who cannot hold a job Many confirmed drunkards are of this type, while the tramps who crowd the cheap lodging houses and fill the jails in winter furnish a surprising number of mental defectives[8] Because of his condition the feeble-minded individual is unable to take his part in the modern social and economic world He has not the intelligence and judgment necessary to thread his way among the devious and uncertain paths established by civilization Often he is easily led by crafty people wishing to exploit him He lacks provision, and cannot foresee the consequences of his impulsive actions If he happens to be possessed of irascibility in an unusual degree, he is unable of his own motion to control himself Adult in body with—to some degree—the passions of the adult, he lacks the social inhibitions necessary to control his sexual conduct Often easily influenced by others he yields to temptations usually resisted by the more foresighted If married, he is likely to produce more children than he can support The feeble-minded unmarried woman, unless carefully trained during childhood and youth and then placed under careful supervision, is likely to be exploited and become the mother of a brood of illegitimates which she is incapable of supporting or of training The mentally deficient unmarried man often becomes the rapist so prominently played up in the newspapers

The morons are the most troublesome class of the mentally deficient, although the high-grade imbeciles also give some trouble How mental defect produces pathologically social relations in the individual is shown by the following case

"B Family· This family is particularly well known in the city in which they live, principally because they have been known to be dependent upon public charity for the past 50-odd years Overseers of the poor, church organizations, relief agencies, women's clubs, neighbors, and strangers, have nurtured and cared for them, enabled them to thrive and reproduce themselves, from generation to generation

[8] Solenberger, *One Thousand Homeless Men* (New York, 1911), Ch VI, Fernald, Hayes, and Dawley, *Women Delinquents in New York State* (New York, 1920), Chs XIII and XIV, Anderson, *The Hobo* (Chicago, 1923), pp 70-77

"The father is 61 years of age He is a mental defective, and has always been considered by his neighbors as 'half baked,' 'half-witted,' 'not all there' He has never worked regularly, has always done simply odd jobs, 'knocking around from pillar to post' He is lazy and unemployable One winter he is said to have torn some of the walls and the ceilings out of the house which had been furnished him to live in, for firewood, rather than to go out and earn enough money to buy wood He has been in court a great many times for not supporting his family, but the authorities declare it does no good to bring him into court, and they are at a loss to know what to do

"The mother is 54 years old, her parentage is not known, as she was adopted in early infancy She has always been considered 'not bright,' she is very shiftless, careless, untruthful, and a poor housekeeper When money has been given her to purchase food, she never uses judgment and foresight The family will put every cent given them in a big feast As a girl there were many complaints of her in the neighborhood, because of immorality Later on she was known as a prostitute of the most common type When quite young she and her husband were brought into court for indecent exposure

"This couple have had 11 children, all of whom are feeble-minded, seven are wards of the state R, the oldest child, is a man of 34, he works irregularly, is a mental defective In the past he has been a very heavy drinker

"J, the next child, was both feeble-minded and epileptic At the age of 12 he was committed to the State Institution for the Feeble-minded at Chippewa Falls

"The third child, A, 31 years of age, is feeble-minded, was committed to the State Institution for the Feeble-minded at Chippewa Falls at the age of 13 It is not considered safe to release her into the community because of her grossly abnormal sex tendencies

"The fourth child, W, is 30 years of age, is feeble-minded, but is considered the best one of the lot He works steadily He tried to enlist for service in the army, but was refused because of feeble-mindedness He has been in court for drunkenness, and was a heavy drinker before prohibition went into effect

"The fifth child, C, is 27 years old and is feeble-minded He was committed to the State Institution for Feeble-minded 15 years ago He is of very low type

"The sixth child, B, a feeble-minded girl, was also committed to the State Institution for the Feeble-minded in 1906

"The seventh child, G, 23 years old, is a feeble-minded boy, and has been cared for by the state at Chippewa Falls for 15 years

"The eighth child, G, is 20 years old, a very attractive, good looking, high grade mentally defective girl She is very lazy, and will not work Is sexually very delinquent Is well known to the police in her own city, and is said to carry on her trade in a neighboring city, to which she goes every night, and hangs around the hotel picking up traveling men When seen by the investigator, she had just returned from a month's trip through the West with a traveling man The danger this girl presents from the stand-

point of having defective children and spreading broadcast venereal disease, is tremendous, and cannot be overestimated

"The ninth child died at the age of 17 years of meningitis She had been regarded as a mental defective, and was sexually immoral Before her death she had been taken out of her parents' home and placed in a very good home by the juvenile court

"The tenth child, T, is 14 years old He was committed to the Home for Dependent Children at Sparta in February, 1917 At the age of 14 he has the mental age of a 10-year-old child

"The eleventh child, F, is a girl 11 years of age She was committed with her brother to the State Home for Dependent Children at Sparta She has now been placed out in a foster home, is considered very dull and backward Previous to being committed to Sparta, she had been placed in a home by the court, but was returned because the family regarded it as impossible to do anything with her"[7]

We have now had enough experience with the treatment of this class to see clearly what fruits the methods have produced, where they have failed or succeeded Moreover, the science of heredity has supplemented experience, so that now for the first time the humanitarian impulses have the guidance of both

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARE OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED

However backward our provision for the mentally deficient may appear from the point of view of an ideal social policy, it represents an advance

In Early Society. In primitive societies the defective was often left to die, especially if the defect was physical The mentally defective child was destroyed by the Spartans along with the weakly children Elsewhere such children were exposed to die or to be devoured by the wild beasts

The equivalent of the old English word *fool* is to be found in nearly all the Aryan languages Among the ancient Romans fools were often attached to the houses of the wealthy for the amusement of the family It was much more humane to laugh at them than it was to ignore or mistreat them

In Christian Europe the idiots and imbeciles for a long time shared with the insane and epileptics the neglect and horror of the people However, in the time of Constantine (fourth century A D), it is reported that the Bishop of Myra cared for idiots and imbeciles Uphrasia, in the family of Theodosius, is also alleged to have devoted years to the care of these classes.[8]

Only a little later than the time of the Bishop of Myra and Uphrasia, the Moslems seem to have given some attention to the feeble-minded. The

[7] *Wisconsin Mental Deficiency Survey* (Madison, 1920), pp 34-36

[8] Barr, *Mental Defectives* (Philadelphia, 1913), p 35

Koran, with an insight rather marvelous for its day, urges that the Faithful care for these incompetents It says "Give not unto the feeble-minded the means which God hath given thee to keep for them; but maintain them for the same, clothe them, and speak kindly unto them"[9]

In medieval times the fools wandered about the country, looked upon by the people with superstitious awe as *les enfants du bon Dieu* or "innocents"

Unfortunately the Protestant reformers seem to have gone back to the earlier way of looking upon these people, for we find that Luther and Calvin considered the feeble-minded as people "filled with Satan"[10]

Modern Treatment of the Feeble-minded. The modern treatment of the feeble-minded begins in the middle of the seventeenth century in France with the Hôpital Bicêtre, under the auspices of St Vincent de Paul Concerned as he was with the welfare of children, he began his institutional care of them by receiving children feeble both in body and mind So far as the feeble-minded were concerned, his chief incentive seems to have been to save them from neglect

The first attempt to teach an idiotic boy through the training of the senses was made by Itard on a wild boy found in the Department of Aveyron, France, just after the French Revolution[11] Nearly fifty years later, in 1837, the Frenchman, Seguin, became interested in the experiment of Itard with this wild boy, and on this basis founded in Paris the first school with the avowed object of educating the defective[12]

In the United States the first institution was a "school for idiots" In 1851, New York State opened an experimental school Then followed Pennsylvania, Ohio, Connecticut, Kentucky, and Illinois Up to 1874 these seven States were the only ones making provision for the care of this class It was believed by these first experimenters that education of the senses of these unfortunates was the ideal to be achieved These early enthusiasts did not always see the definite limitations to the education of the feeble-minded,

[9] *Ibid*, p 25
[10] *Ibid*, p 25
[11] *Ibid*, pp 29 and 30
[12] "Dr Seguin, 'the apostle of the idiot,' opened his first school for the idiots of the Hospice des Incurables in 1837, and this was positively the first scientific attempt made to develop the idiotic mind Heretofore imbeciles had roamed at large, the prey to destitution, misery, and any form of abuse which the unscrupulous and the cruel might put upon them Or, where the necessity for their protection was recognized, they were admitted into institutions for other classes of unfortunates The majority of imbeciles for whom any provision was made were housed in almshouses or lunatic asylums" Mott, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction* (1894), p 189

but it is due to their emphasis that methods in sense perception have been devised for the education of such defectives Later it was perceived that education beyond a certain point is impossible for some, and that custodial institutions must be provided for those who, having been educated to their natural limits, cannot be given careful supervision at home, as well as for the ineducable idiots and low-grade imbeciles

Recent experiments in the institutions for the feeble minded have made it quite clear that large numbers of them—those below adolescence and some of those trained in the institutions—may safely be released on parole to their relatives or placed with people who will take an interest in them However, they should always be under supervision from the institution

Only recently has the colony for the custodial care of certain classes of the feeble-minded been devised

PRESENT PROVISIONS FOR THE CARE AND TREATMENT OF THE MENTALLY DEFECTIVE

As the result of the development of care for the mentally deficient in the United States since the middle of the last century, we should expect, perhaps, a greater number of institutions than actually exist Until the last few years, however, the development has been very slow In 1890 there were only twenty-four institutions in sixteen States for the separate care of the feeble-minded The remainder of the mental defectives were either in almshouses, in asylums for the insane, in prisons, in reformatories, or at large In 1923 the number of States making provision for their separate care had increased to thirty-seven with fifty-seven institutions Besides these there were sixty-six private institutions caring for the mentally defective In 1923 the latter cared for only 7 3 per cent of the total number of inmates

Although in recent years the trend has been to segregate these unfortunates in special institutions,[14] nevertheless, only a small minority of the feeble-minded are so cared for [15]

Institutional care of the feeble-minded has become almost entirely a function of the State for a number of reasons

1 There is a tendency to regard all dependents as wards of the State

2 State institutions are superseding the poorhouses as places for their care, since that care is properly a public responsibility

3 The conviction has been growing that the feeble-minded should be

[14] *Feeble-minded and Epileptics in Institutions, 1923*, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1926), pp 13-17

[15] *Ibid*, p 14

cared for, not only for their own sakes, but also for the protection of the public, and hence their care should be a State function, since the enforcement of the law for their segregation cannot be left to private institutions [16]

The South, owing to slowness in recovering from the effects of the Civil War, is the section of the United States most backward in caring for this class of incapable

A PROGRAM FOR THE TREATMENT AND PREVENTION OF MENTAL DEFECTIVENESS

In such a program three major aims must govern The defective stock must not be permitted to propagate, society must be protected from danger at the hands of feeble-minded individuals, and, the feeble-minded themselves must be so treated as to be as happy and as little burden upon the taxpayers as possible In the accomplishment of these purposes, the following measures are helpful

1 **Methods of Commitment** In many States it is impossible under the law to commit any one to an institution for the feeble-minded unless he is very patently an idiot or a low-grade imbecile As a consequence, numbers of feeble-minded have been sent to asylums for the insane, or to jails and prisons because feeble-mindedness is not understood by either the public at large or by the judges and juries

Recently, therefore, efforts have been made to modernize the commitment laws In some of the best commitment laws the following points are significant

(a) The term "feeble-minded person" is "construed to mean any person afflicted with mental defectiveness from birth or from an early age so pronounced that he is incapable of managing himself and his affairs or of being taught to do so, and who requires supervision, control, and care for his own welfare, or for the welfare of others, or for the welfare of the community" and who is not an insane person under the Illinois law

(b) Commitment is only on petition by any relative, guardian, or conservator, or any reputable citizen of the county, verified by affidavit, and based upon information and belief

(c) A hearing is set to determine the truth of the information alleged in the petition The testimony of witnesses and the report of a commission appointed by the judge to examine the supposed feeble-minded person form the evidence on which decision is based

[16] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910*, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1914), p 184

(d) The commission is composed either of two reputable physicians of the county or of a physician and a psychologist

(e) If the hearing on the petition shows that the person is feeble-minded, the judge commits.

(f) Any change in the status of the person so committed, such as discharge, or transfer from one institution to another, must be made through the court of original jurisdiction, after hearing in which the friends or relatives, and the superintendent of the institution in which he has been detained shall be given an opportunity to be heard

Such procedure allows weight to the results of the examination of experts in the subject and represents a distinct advance over the historic trial with witnesses, counsel, and jury as in a criminal trial

2. **Segregation.** Defectives who cannot be carefully supervised should be segregated At present with so few institutions for the custodial care of the feeble-minded, such a policy is impossible Practically every such institution in the United States has a long waiting list of persons adjudged defective by the courts The number of such institutions would have to be greatly increased before those from whom society should be protected, and who themselves need safeguarding from the vicious elements of society, can be properly cared for However, the costliness of custodial institutions is so great that other methods must be devised [16]

3 **Sterilization.** Up to January 1, 1928, twenty-one States had adopted sterilization laws and there had been 8,515 operations, of which about three-fourths (5,820) had been performed in California So far as we can judge from the reports of those States in which sterilization has been practised to any considerable extent, only good results follow [17]

One decided advantage of sterilization is that it removes all objection to the marriage of a mental defective For many of them married life means greater social stability They adjust better to community standards If they are not a menace to the community, many of the high-grade imbeciles and morons can make their own living

It is sometimes objected that sterilization will promote the dissemination of venereal diseases The argument is that an institution will be more ready to discharge its inmates after sterilization than before Hence, since these discharged individuals are sexually uncontrolled, they are likely to contract and spread disease This assumes that the State will foolishly decide that since such individuals have been sterilized they should be released from

[16] Fernald, "A State Program for the Care of the Mentally Defective," *Standards of Child Welfare*, Children's Bureau Publication No 60, pp 403 and 404

[17] Gosney and Popenoe, *op cit*, Chs III-VI

custody Under wise social policy only those would be released who could be trusted to behave themselves or who could be as closely supervised as if they were not sterilized In any case they will spread no more disease if sterilized than if they have not been and at least they will not reproduce

4. **Parole under Supervision.** For some time, in institutions for the segregation of defectives, the practice of parole under supervision has been in operation Massachusetts has led in this constructive experiment

The practice was begun in that State because of the great pressure upon its Institution for the Feeble-minded Dr Fernald and the commission having charge of the institution decided to try paroling those whose conduct indicated that they would probably do well under careful supervision A large staff of supervisors was employed to travel about the State, a careful investigation of the factories and the homes in which these boys and girls were to be placed was made, and very careful follow-up supervision was instituted These boys have been trained in the institution as far as possible Experience so far has indicated that under careful State supervision and by means of education concerning the care of defectives given to the people to whom the subject is paroled, the use of parole for defectives may be extended very much more widely than has been believed possible

Not many girls have been paroled in Massachusetts, but they, too, may be placed on parole if careful investigation of the homes which they occupy is first made and constant supervision is given them In case they do not do well, they are brought back to the institution and given further training If it is found that they cannot be trusted on parole, they are then put in permanent custodial care If sterilization should be more widely practised it is believed that a much larger use of the parole would be possible

5 **Colonies for Feeble-minded in Custody.** A stumbling block to the care of the mental defective is the enormous expense of supporting large numbers New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts have blazed the way to the economical custodial care of imbeciles, high-grade idiots, and low-grade morons who would be dangerous or in danger at large, by establishing colonies connected with the parent institutions, but at some little distance, as in the Waverly Colony in Massachusetts, the colonies conducted by the institution at Rome, New York, and the Menantico Colony in New Jersey. In each case wild land has been improved by a colony of selected men sent thither from the parent institution It has been found that the higher defectives under direction can very economically clear and drain land and prepare it for useful cultivation At Menantico, New Jersey, they even made the cement blocks and built the buildings in which they afterwards lived In this institution an individual was housed at the cost of $300 a year,

compared with the cost of $1,500 per inmate for the same length of time in the parent institution

At Rome, New York, Dr Charles Bernstein has developed a series of farm colonies for boys In 1920 all of these were in operation A part of them were for ordinary farming operations, and a number were reforestation colonies In some cases the reforestation work is done for the State Conservation Commission, in others for the institution itself In addition, some of these boys were allowed to work for nearby farmers [18]

Dr Bernstein plans to use morons to colonize abandoned or unoccupied farms, which are so numerous in New York State He says

"In addition to earning their livings on these farms and improving the land and buildings, the boys would have spare time to put in helping farmers who are much in need of such labor and thus further contribute to their support." [19]

On January 1, 1923, twenty-three of these boys' colonies were in operation under Dr Bernstein's direction So successful have they been, both financially and socially, that Dr Bernstein is heartily in favor of them both as a means of making place for more patients in the parent institutions and also for the training of the boys He says concerning the training

"We have found that boys can be trained in manual and industrial work to much better purpose in our farm colonies, where everything is on a small scale, than when they are handled in large numbers at the institutions." [20]

During the year 1922 colony-trained boys were put on parole to 151 farmers Concerning 76 boys who were put on parole between April and October of 1922, Dr Bernstein says they earned $7,542 82, of which $3,966 47 was used for their current expenses and $3,576 35 was sent in to him and placed in the savings bank to the credit of the individual boys Ten of these twenty-four farm colonies are rented The earnings of these ten farms were about 80 per cent of the total cost, including rental, salaries, and maintenance of the 232 boys accommodated on them This represented a saving of over $3,000 in the rental charges as compared with what it would have cost to have kept these boys in an institution, which would have cost $1,000 a bed It is not the financial aspect of the matter, however, that is of most interest Says Dr Bernstein

[18] "Colony and Extra-institutional Care for the Feeble-minded," *Mental Hygiene*, January, 1920, pp 1-6

[19] *Ibid.*, p 7

[20] Bernstein, "Colony and Parole Care for Dependents and Defectives," *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1923, p 453

"But the financial saving is not the primary consideration in our farm-colony work Much more important, in our opinion, is the fact that the colony boys are living happy, wholesome, normal lives and are receiving a kind of training much better calculated to fit them for useful and successful careers than the training they would get at the institution" [21]

Concerning the boys who have been paroled to farmers, Mr Davies makes this report concerning one boy he visited

"Starting out from the Rome institution one morning to visit colonies at Hamilton and Oriskany Falls, some twenty miles distant, the writer, with the special parole agent for the boys, visited the boys who happened to be working for farmers along the roads traversed Entirely unselected instances as they were, the interviews with the boys and the farmers were indicative of the situation generally At the first place we found the boy, a youth of about eighteen with a mental age of 9, turning to and helping the 'Mrs' with the washing The farmer was away The woman said he was a willing helper He ordinarily worked on the farm, but assisted with the heavy work about the house, too We asked permission to speak with the boy alone We talked to him confidentially and he apparently was entirely frank with us 'Would you like to go on a better farm?' we asked, a question which usually draws out from a boy any sign of discontentment or dissatisfaction with his present place The boy spoke in a very clear and straightforward manner He couldn't think of leaving here now It was a small farm and some day he might like to go on a bigger one 'But, you see, the man isn't very well and he couldn't get along without me right now I do most of the work running the farm He just tells me what to do No, I've got to run this place I wouldn't want to leave' Asked what he did for a good time, the boy said 'Oh, I like it here We get to bed early and up early in the morning and there is plenty of work They treat me fine and I don't get lonesome' The boy's good sense and his feeling of loyalty and responsibility to the farm and the farmer were to the writer at the time quite unexpected findings" [22]

Another promising experiment was begun by Dr Bernstein also at Rome, New York, where in 1914, he established a working girls' colony in connection with the institution The girls' colony is most interesting because it has shown that feeble-minded girls may be employed in a more useful way than is possible in an institution A large house was secured in the town and a skilled matron put in charge A social visitor inspects their working places and their street deportment These girls are hired out as domestics in the homes of the city at 50 cents per day, but most of them

[21] *Ibid*, p 455

[22] Davies, quoted in Bernstein, *op cit*, pp 455, 456 For later developments in this colony see Davies, *Social Control of the Mentally Defective* (New York, 1930), Chs XIII and XIV

live in this home, which also serves as their social center The girls are carefully selected, none being markedly defective The plan is so to train these girls that they can be released on parole and earn their own living in domestic service In this plan they are at once trained and tested as to their capacity to live safely outside an institution

Sixty-seven girls were thus colonized at first, twenty-five being returned to the institution during the year, nine for social offenses, nine because they had not received sufficient training in the institution, and seven others because of sickness or because they were worth more in the institution They earned $3,278 81, making themselves more than entirely self-supporting In fact, it required only about one third of their earnings to meet the expenses of the colony

A marked improvement in the condition of the girls was noticed Dr Bernstein says "I do not hesitate to declare that the results of our year's experience amply justify us in deciding to go on with the work . "

Other colonies were established about the institution at Rome because of the success of the first In addition to domestic service, a colony has been started at Oriskany Falls to allow girls to work in the knitting mills Requests have been received from nine other places for colonies The mill colonies are promising for girls who require close supervision, because the supervisor who accompanies them from the colony to the mill acts as forewoman in the mill and thus can act as instructor for the new girls In the domestic service colonies, including hand laundering and serving, girls who have been trained there for a time are mingled with new girls in training At one of them a night school has been introduced and younger girls are kept there in training for a year before being allowed to work in homes

Of 200 girls passing through the girls' colonies in the first three years, only 35 were permanently returned Of the 165 earning their own living, 77 had been paroled, 63 discharged after parole, 14 still were on parole, and 88 remained in the colonies In 1918 there were eight of these colonies, all for domestic service except two mill colonies

The more trustworthy girls at domestic work are allowed to sleep at the home where they are employed, but the colony remains their social center and to it they must report regularly

Dr Bernstein says that from one fourth to one third of the girls committed to his institution can be safely placed in such colonies For such, this method of care costs only $85 a year, while it costs $280 a year to care for a girl in the institution Careful supervision on parole has helped to make the experiment a success.

On January 1, 1923, the number of these girls' colonies had increased to nineteen, all of them but two being rented Sixteen of the colonies were for domestic service, while three of them were mill colonies That is, they were located in mill towns where the girls worked in the factories

Seven of these colonies which have the girls that have been trained for productive service and which, therefore, are the most promising from the standpoint of economy, earned $54,751 toward the total expense of $59,338 However, $17,432 97 were used by the girls for personal expenses, savings, etc Concerning the influence of this colony life upon the girls, Dr. Bernstein says

"This money represents something of what colony life really means to the girls It stands for privileges and comforts, such as free spending money, better clothes, savings in the bank But even if the girls received no pay for their work other than their board and the privilege of living in a normal home for a year or two, they would be well repaid Many of them, it should be remembered, failed because of bad home environment and training and knew nothing of normal family life" [73]

After this extended experience Dr Bernstein summarizes his conclusions as follows

"We are more firmly than ever of the opinion that from one third to one half of all the mentally defective persons who need state care can be provided for under a reasonable system of colony and parole care and supervision As we see the situation in most large institutions, the daily routine work of the institution is not sufficient to provide adequate employment for the patients Many of them will always be found sitting around inactive and listless and so gradually deteriorating, while many others will be greatly disturbed and troublesome, their unused energy going to waste or seeking an outlet in destructiveness We are convinced, as a result of seventeen years of experience, that this energy can be turned into useful channels Boys and girls who are capable of becoming self-supporting even to the extent of paying for their own supervision should not be deprived of the right to exercise their capacities, nor should the community be deprived of their services In our opinion, no large institution for mentally defective persons that does not institute a policy of parole and discharge for favorable cases is doing its full duty by its patients, the state, and the public, and no such policy can be made as widely applicable and as successful as it should be without a system of colony supervision during the rehabilitation period for individuals who have no suitable home and no relatives who can be depended upon to befriend and supervise them" [74]

[73] Bernstein, *op cit*, pp 461, 462

[74] *Ibid*, p 470 See also Davies, *Social Control of the Feeble-minded* (New York, 1913), Chs VIII-IX

These various experiments indicate that we are about to see a new development in the care of the more trustworthy defectives, which will at once fit them for useful lives in the world, be much less costly to the State while they are in training, and make room in the institution for those who cannot be colonized or paroled.

So far in the experiment careful selection has been made of those who are placed on the colony for the policy should not be employed with all feeble-minded. It can, however, be used to make them happy and contented while they are usefully employed, producing a large part of the cost of their care. Like practically every other experiment in the use of those defective industrially, much depends upon the managerial ability of the official in charge.

6. The Training of the Mentally Defective. The first attempts to deal with the feeble-minded assumed that all they needed was training. With infinite patience Itard in France and Seguin, first in France and later in the United States, attempted to give the feeble-minded an education. They soon learned that the feeble-minded cannot be educated as are normal-minded children. Their dulled senses must be trained by simple means. Their sluggish organization must be stimulated by physical and psychological methods, and the education which is attempted must be suited to their capacities.

In our best educational systems the children who are two or three years backward in their grades are placed in special classes.[25] While the special classes for the backward children are a movement in the right direction and should be more widely extended, it is now felt that if social adjustment is not made after a certain stage has been reached, these children cannot be properly cared for in the public schools and should be sent to institutions specializing in the training of such pupils. Individual attention based upon study of each case must be given them.

Moreover, in the special institution the more pronounced defectives are among people of their own kind and are not subjected to the abuse of the pupils in the public schools where they are often the butt of jokes and sometimes the objects of brutal attacks.

[25] In 1922 and 1923 special classes for mentally handicapped children were organized in 430 cities and other school districts in the United States and 1,402 teachers were employed in instructing the 45,710 children. "Special Training Facilities for Mentally Handicapped Children in the Public Day Schools of the United States, 1922-23," *Mental Hygiene*, October, 1924, p. 803. For the laws in the various States governing these special classes, see Hauser, "State Laws Relating to Special Classes in Schools for Mentally Handicapped Children in the Public Schools," *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1925, p. 529.

In the special institution their training should extend to the utmost development of their capacities for practical usefulness Then, if their condition warrants it, they can be paroled, if not, they can be retained in as useful a place as possible in the institution or its colony When this is done throughout our United States what a happy contrast it will be with the present. Thousands of these "children in mind" are now leading a miserable existence and are a menace to society while they are at large in our highly complex civilization On January 1, 1923, there were 11,183 of them languishing in almshouses [26] While it is probable that most of these cases were adults, the fact is indicative of our neglect of this class of dependents

The Social Worker and the Feeble-Minded While some knowledge of psychiatry is more important for the social worker in the cases of the insane or otherwise mentally disordered than in the case of the feeble-minded, it is important that the social worker know something about the nature of mental defect and its interrelation with other forms of mental derangement Unless such a worker understands something of the psychology of the defective he will be making constant mistakes He will not know when to make efforts at adjustment of social relationships in ordinary community life and when the case is one for institutional care In the problem of the mentally defective, understanding case work may be able to adjust the relationships of the person to his environment without commitment to an institution On the other hand, the social worker with insight and knowledge of his social resources, will be able, in selected cases, to provide supervision which will determine social adjustment in the direction of fairly normal conduct Unless, however, direction can be such that propagation does not take place, the social worker who keeps a defective out of an institution has a heavy weight of responsibility to bear In certain cases, without doubt, the mentally defective can be impressed with the necessity of not having children No one yet knows the limit of persuasive power in this direction by a well-trained social worker If adjustment can be made whereby the mental defectives can earn their own living and thus not be dependent, real progress has been made That adjustment, however, should not blind the eyes of the social worker to the eugenic measures necessary to prevent reproduction, in those cases where there is good evidence of hereditary defect [27]

[26] *Paupers in Almshouses 1923*, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1925), p 68

[27] On the difficulties of the private agencies in supervising the feeble-minded, see Hammond, "The Private Agency and the Feeble-minded," *The Survey*, March 15, 1925, p 763 On the possibilities of social work with the mentally defective see Walker and Schauffler, *The Social Adjustment of the Feeble-minded* (Cleveland, 1930)

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Define feeble-mindedness
2. When we say that a feeble-minded person has the mental age of a five-year-old child, do we mean that he will display all the characteristics of a child of that age? Why?
3. How extensive is feeble-mindedness in the United States?

4 Can we say on the basis of the army draft tests, that the average age of the population of the United States is that of a thirteen-year-old child? Why?
5 Trace the changes in the care and treatment of the mentally defective from early times up to the present
6 What influence has the doctrine of heredity in modern science had upon the treatment of the mental defective?
7 What influence has modern psychology had upon our understanding of the nature of mental defect? What upon our treatment of the feeble-minded?
8 How adequate are the provisions in the United States for the care and education of the mental defective?
9 What three general characteristics must mark any program for the treatment and prevention of feeble-mindedness?
10 Discuss the value and practicability of the following methods of treatment (a) segregation, (b) sterilization, (c) education by the usual methods and in the same school with the normal children, (d) education in special classes under specially trained teachers in the public schools, (e) education in special institutions, (f) in colonies
11 From the description in the text of the colonies at Rome, New York, point out the advantages of that system of caring for the feeble-minded
12 If you were a social worker, under what conditions would you attempt to adjust the feeble-minded person in the community, and under what conditions would you have him committed to an institution?
13 How would you handle the B family quoted earlier in the chapter (a) if you were a social worker? (b) if you were a judge before whom the case came?

CHAPTER 8

MENTAL DISEASE

The term *mental disease* is merely the hang-over from a previous stage of scientific knowledge when it was assumed that some infection or other physical cause brought about the mental disturbance It is still applicable to those cases in which there is an organic basis for the lack of balance which characterizes mental aberration However, with the widening recognition of the number and kind of factors which result in mental disturbance, the term is often seen to be inexact It is now recognized that what we sometimes call the "insanities" are produced not only by blows, toxins, or infectious bacteria, but also by worry induced by the experiences of life The advocates of the physical causation of mental disturbance follow the hypothesis, "No psychosis without neurosis," i e, no mental disturbance comes about unless the nerve cells have been affected in some way, since the nerve cells are the physical basis of all mental activity They, therefore, assume that some physical factors must affect the action of the cells—e g, reduction of the supply of blood to nourish the cells or to carry off the waste products, or the introduction into the blood stream of certain elements such as toxins of one sort or another which affect the functioning of the cells They admit that worry may produce in the blood toxins which affect the brain It is assumed by some that these toxins are produced by the malfunctioning of the endocrine glands, and that thus the proper balance of physiological functioning of the nerve cells is upset According to this theory we think and feel with the whole body, not merely with the brain Only in that broad physical or bodily sense of the term should we call these mental and emotional disturbances *mental disease* [1]

Modern psychiatry teaches us that we must not refer insanities to any one cause, nor deem them all alike Any clinical or case study of those afflicted with mental disturbance shows us that there are many different forms, produced by many different factors Over thirty different forms of "insanity" are now recognized by psychiatrists, and others may be differentiated with further study In the sense already explained all of these mental conditions

[1] For an elementary discussion of these matters see Pressey and Pressey, *Mental Abnormality and Deficiency* (New York, 1918) For more profound and technical discussion see Bleuler, *Textbook of Psychiatry*, tr by Brill (New York, 1914)

are mental diseases In this connection it is well to consider carefully that, "*As far as the concept of insanity has become at all practical, it rests not on medical or psychopathological criteria, but on the idea of social incapacity*" [2] Some of the "insanities" have their basis in a change in physical conditions—infections, weakness following sicknesses, blows or exhausting wounds, others are induced by changes in the social circumstances of the individual which put a strain upon his emotional balance Theoretically all depend at bottom upon a certain neurological constitution, either based in heredity or developed by life experiences

Mental Disorder and Social Conditions. Let an individual with a certain biological make-up and with certain experiences in his development meet with great difficulties, and mental disorder will result However, it is obvious that many individuals living under the same conditions *do not* become insane On the other hand, an individual with a biological make-up and with life experiences similar to those of the man whose mind gives way may come to the age of the greatest incidence of insanity, or may be an unmarried immigrant, or may have been alcoholic, yet will not become insane Recently developed psychoanalyses throws some light upon the causes of certain mental disorders That many people have become mentally disordered because the ideas, customs, traditions, and attitudes of other personalities have played upon them in such a way as to disturb their emotional balance, shows that the social conditions of home, school, and playground have an enormous influence in determining one's ease of mind and one's attitude towards himself and others As we have seen, the largest group of those in institutions in 1923 were the *dementia praecox* cases It is held by many that in *dementia praecox*, *paranoia*, and some other forms of insanity, the personality becomes disorganized by reason of the incapacity of the individual with a certain constitutional make-up to effect a normal adjustment to the demands of life While the basis of feeling and action is to be found in the organism itself, while it is recognized as due to inherited traits, and while disease or the abnormal functioning of certain of the glands may determine the development of the personality, nevertheless the standards imposed by society which conflict with the individual's impulses and desires, and the attitude taken by other people toward the sufferer from natural craving, have much to do with the breakdown of personality.

In many cases improper treatment in childhood has begotten attitudes and produced habits which lead to conflict between the standards of society and the emotions of the individual, until finally a crisis is reached in the struggle and the person becomes what we call insane The Freudians center these

[2] Bleuler, *op cit*, p 177

disturbances around sex and love. Space does not permit us to enter into even a brief discussion of the Freudian theory Whatever errors may be in the Freudian interpretation, there is no question that their psychoanalytic method has thrown a great light upon the origin of some of the difficulties which end in insanity Children and youth often meet with repression in their search for the truth about the fundamental facts of life Fears are aroused because of the taboo upon their search for such knowledge Feelings of inferiority are induced because of the struggle between their natural cravings and the repression forced upon them by the standards of society They do not understand themselves and the fear of social disesteem leads them to crowd down into the unconscious the cravings which are socially tabooed Great disturbances result, in many cases the personality becomes "disassociated" and we have a case of mental disorder This view is very significant for the social treatment of disordered minds and for prevention [3]

Bleuler discusses mental disease under fourteen categories, but it would be outside our task here to go into these various forms The social pathologist is concerned chiefly with the way in which these diseases affect the individual's relationships to his fellows, and with the community measures for dealing with these socially difficult persons The institutions which society has developed to care for the victims of mental disease have had in view chiefly the insane and the epileptics They were the earliest "problem cases" and, consequently, the first to call into existence measures for their care Therefore, we shall discuss "the insanities" and epilepsy

THE "INSANITIES"

With the exception of the poor and the sick, the "insane" have received attention for a longer period than any other class of dependents, perhaps for that reason their care has arrived at a more satisfactory point than that of any other class From time out of mind the madman has excited the fear, if not always the pity, of men Evidence of this interest is the fact that at least half of approximately 800,000 hospital beds in our country are reserved for the mentally disturbed In addition there were, in 1929, about 500 clinics devoted to the treatment of nervous and mental cases Note further that the maintenance cost of our hospitals for mental cases has been estimated at about $60,000,000 a year The economic loss from mental ailment in the United States is estimated at $300,000,000 a year [4]

Apparent Increase in Insanity. In 1923 the number of insane in institutions was 245 per 100,000 population, while in 1880, the number was

[3] Kempf, *Psychopathology* (St Louis, 1921), Introduction and Ch XV.
[4] Sandy, "Mental Diseases" in *Social Work Year Book*, 1929, p 263

81 6 These figures would seem to show marked increase in insanity in this country, but there are grounds for thinking that the increase has not been as great as they indicate During these three decades there has been (1) a great increase in the number of institutions for the care of the insane,[6] and (2) a prolongation of human life, so that more people survive to the age when insanity manifests itself[7]

VARIATION OF THE INCIDENCE OF INSANITY

Insanity varies as to age and sex, it is not the same for country and city, it varies with marital conditions, illiteracy, the use of alcohol, and vicious living

Immigrants and Natives. It has often been assumed that the foreigner is responsible for the high insanity rates in this country Of the total number of white inmates of insane asylums in 1923, 28 6 per cent were foreign born, and of the white persons admitted to such institutions during 1923, 23 5 per cent were of this group Of the total population of the United States in 1923 the foreign born constituted 14 5 per cent The ratio of the native and foreign born is better shown when it is said that for every 100,000 population of native whites, 209 9 were resident in the asylums, and for the same population of foreign born the number in such institutions was 513 9 Even more striking is the rate for first admissions The rate for 100,000 of population of native white patients was 56 8, while that for the foreign-born whites was 113 2. Apparently, then, the foreign born have an unduly large representation in insane asylums[7]

However, the difference can be accounted for in part by a smaller proportion of adults among the native population than among the foreign born, although in each age-group the ratio is appreciably higher for the foreign born than it is for the natives The *relative amount of insanity in the foreign born as compared with the native born, age being taken into consideration*, is as six to five That is not a great difference, when one considers the circumstances under which many of those immigrants live (the Russian Jews within the Pale), the difficult economic struggle which they had in the old country, the even greater difficulty of adjusting themselves to the conditions in our country, and their anxiety as to the future[8]

Age. Mental disease is preeminently a disease of middle and later life In 1923 only 0 2 of one per cent of the resident patients in insane asylums

[6] In 1880, 44 5 per cent of the insane in the country were in institutions, while in 1890, 61 1 per cent were thus cared for See *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910*, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1914), p 13

[7] *Mental Hygiene*, October, 1925, p 864

[7] *Ibid*, pp 865 and 866

[8] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910*, pp 26, 27

or similar institutions were under fifteen years of age, or 1 9 for each 100,000 of the population of that age The median age of first admissions in 1922 was approximately forty years Recent investigations suggest, however, that the basis for the mental breakdown is often laid in childhood

The diagram on page 119 from the census report indicates the age incidence of insanity for 1910 and 1923 [9]

Insanity in Country and City. All studies made show a higher rate of first admissions for urban districts than for rural districts The rate for urban districts was 78 8, and from rural districts 41 1 The rate for males from urban districts was 89 6, and from rural districts 46 4, while the rate for females from urban districts was 67 8, and from rural districts 35 5 The idea that farmers' wives "go crazy" much more frequently than the wives of city dwellers is thus shown to be false The rate of first admissions varies seemingly with the size of cities Thus, in 1922, the rate from cities of 100,000 or over was 92 5, while from cities of 25,000 to 100,000 the rate was only 54 8 [10] The real cause seems to be indicated by the census figures on the incidence of alcoholic psychosis and general paralysis

Sex In every age period more males than females are admitted to hospitals for mental disease The Census report for 1910 showed that, while in the general population there were 106 males to 100 females, in the institutions for the insane, the ratio was 110 8 to 100 If admissions were counted, it was 118 to 100 The explanation of this difference is to be found in the fact that alcoholic psychosis and general paralysis, the latter due to a venereal disease, account for the higher incidence of insanity in males [11]

Marital Condition From the standpoint of mental health it pays men to be married In 1910 and in 1923 the numbers of patients in hospitals for mental disease per 100,000 of general population of the same marital condition were

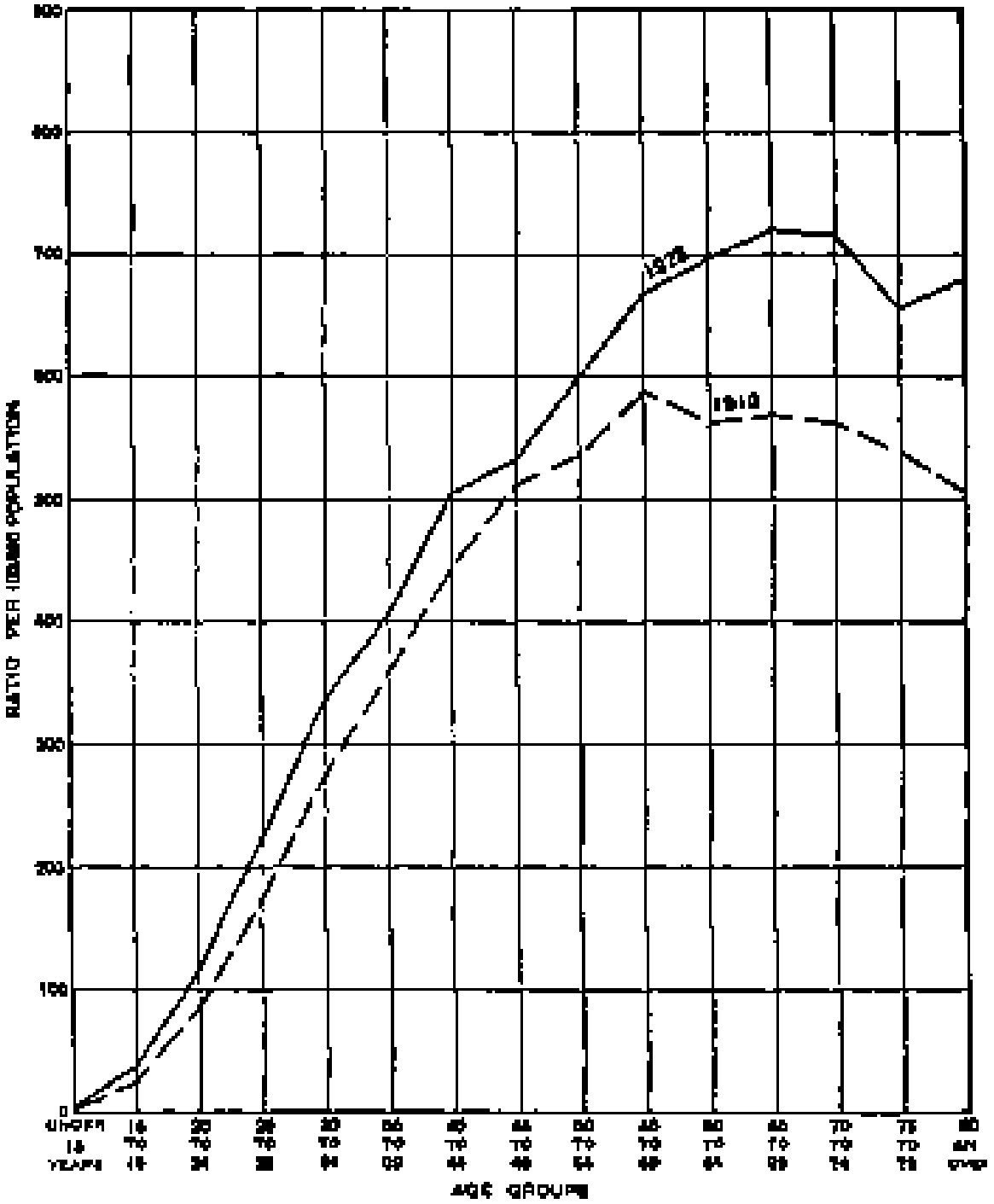
	1910			
	Male	*Female*		
Single	128 3	157 8	292 7	189 3
Married	144 0	203 4	170 9	255 9
Widowed	367 3	398 9	428 2	423 0
Divorced	665 9	739 1	1112 5	1120 3
All marital conditions	208 5	199 6	260 8	244 5

[9] Concerning this diagram the report says "This result is due to the accumulation of patients in the institutions for mental disease and to the increased rate of admissions that has occurred since 1910" *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease, 1923*, preliminary bulletin, Department of Commerce (Washington, 1926)

[10] *Mental Hygiene*, October, 1925, p 866

[11] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910*, pp 55, 56

FIG 3



NUMBER OF PATIENTS IN HOSPITALS FOR MENTAL DISEASE, IN EACH GROUP, PER 100,000 OF THE POPULATION OF THE SAME AGE 1923 AND 1910*

* *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease 1923*, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1926), p 30

Observe how the situation stood in 1923 between the male and the female Only in the case of the married and the divorced did the males make a better showing than the females In the case of the single and the widowed, the women had a lower rate—a slight advantage in the widowed class, but a distinctly lower rate among the single Why these differences? Why is marriage not so good for women as for men? We do not know However, the following factor may be significant. Among *dementia præcox* cases (the *dementia* of early life) the rate for males is more than twice as high as that for females [13] The rate of first admissions of males for paresis (due chiefly to syphilis), for alcoholic psychosis, and for psychopathic personality below the age of thirty, may explain the difference between single males and females? Married women are so much more liable to become demented than married men Married women have a higher incidence of paresis, cerebral syphilis, alcoholic psychosis, psychosis due to drugs and other toxins, psychosis with other bodily diseases, manic-depressive, involutional melancholia, paranoia, and psychoneurosis and neurosis

Vice and Alcoholism. While, in 1910, of those admitted to hospitals for the insane one tenth were suffering from alcoholic psychosis, and about one sixteenth from general paralysis, in 1922, less than one twenty-fifth were admitted for alcoholism (3 8 per cent), but 8 8 per cent were admitted for general paralysis In 1910 persons suffering from a combination of both these conditions constituted about one sixth of the total number admitted in that year, while in 1922 they constituted only about one eighth (12 6 per cent) [14] These diseases in 1910 were much more frequent among men inmates than among women Of the men insane, almost a fourth had one or the other of these diseases, while for the women insane only about one sixteenth were affected [14]

Other Psychoses In the census report two or three facts stand out very prominently [15] *Dementia præcox* furnished 43 per cent of the institution residents, 21 7 per cent of the first admissions, and 27 3 per cent of the readmissions This is the most important form of insanity In 1922, manic-depressive insanity accounted for 15 3 per cent of the residents, 15 9 per cent of the first admissions, 28 2 per cent of the readmissions These two mental diseases alone accounted for nearly three fifths of the entire number of inmates in institutions on January 1, 1923.

[13] *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease*, 1923

[14] *Ibid.*, p 8

[14] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions*, 1910, pp 53-50

[15] *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease*, 1923, p 48

Chances of Recovery. Those admitted to institutions at advanced ages have the least prospect of recovery and discharge If the patient does not recover soon after admission, there is small chance of any recovery During 1922, of those who had recovered, 44 3 per cent had been in the hospitals less than four months, 17 9 per cent from four to six months, 13 2 per cent seven to eleven months, 12 8 per cent one year, 4 1 per cent two years, 2 4 per cent three years, 1 4 per cent four years, and 4 per cent five years or more In short, 75 4 per cent of the recoveries occurred during the patient's first year in the hospital [16] This means that attention should be given to the after-care of the discharged and to preventive work [17]

Naturally an exceptionally high mortality rate is found among the insane For the whole group in hospitals in 1922, the death-rate was 74 3 per thousand inmates

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARE OF THE INSANE

For the most part down to very recent times the insane wandered about, neglected by society In contrast with its stimulation of the care of the poor and the sick, Christianity—with the exception of a few sporadic instances of provision for the care of insane monks and the care of milder cases in the refuges for the poor and sick (called *hospitals*)—shared the indifference of paganism towards the insane "Until the fifteenth century," says Lecky, "no insane asylum existed in Christian Europe" [18] There is evidence that in Egypt and Greece the insane were treated as individuals suffering from disease "Egyptian priests employed not only music and the beautiful in nature and art as remedial agents in insanity but recreation and occupation as well A Greek physician protested against mechanical restraint in the care of the insane, and advocated kindly treatment, the use of music, and of some sorts of manual labor But these ancient beneficent teachings were lost sight of during succeeding centuries The prevailing idea of insanity in Europe during the Middle Ages was that of demoniacal possession Torture and the cruelest forms of punishment were employed The insane were regarded with abhorrence, and were frequently cast into chains and dungeons Milder forms of mental disease were treated by spiritual means, and pilgrimages to the shrines of certain saints who were reputed to have particular skill and success in the exorcism of evil spirits were prescribed to and undertaken by the sufferers The shrine of St Dymphna at Gheel in Belgium was one of these,

[16] *Ibid*, p 9

[17] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions*, 1920, pp 60 and 61

[18] Lecky, *History of European Morals* (New York, 1883), II, 87 and 88

and seems to have originated in the seventh century, a shrine so famed that lunatics from all over Europe were brought thither for miraculous healing The little town became a resort for hundreds of insane persons, and as long ago as the seventeenth century acquired the reputation which still exists to this day, of a unique colony for the insane At the present time the village of Gheel and its adjacent farming hamlets (with a population of some 13,000 souls) provides homes, board, and care for nearly 2,000 insane persons under medical and government supervision "[18] The Knights of Malta admitted insane into their hospitals Spain originated hospitals for the insane in 1409[19]

The history of the treatment of the insane may be divided roughly into four periods the *first*, that of neglect and persecution, the *second*, that of restraint for the protection of society, the *third*, that of restraint softened by humanitarian treatment, the *fourth*, that of treatment based upon scientific study of the insane as diseased persons, and of prevention

In the first and by far the longest period, the insane were looked upon as strange beings whose condition was due to occult influences, either magical or diabolical This period was characterized by the ostracism of the insane, based upon the belief that they were possessed by a demon

The second was a period marked by harsh measures of restraint Chains were used if they were considered necessary for the protection of society Very little regard was paid to the welfare of the insane Under ideas dominant in this period the poor creatures were thrust into noisome jails and poorhouses and subjected to fetters, strait-jackets, padded cells and other mechanical restraints

The third period was coincident with the growth of humanitarian conceptions Pity entered and softened the treatment, but there was no rational understanding of the nature of the condition of the insane Led by such humanitarians as Dorothea Dix and some of the English Quakers, humanity began to demand that the insane be removed from the jails and poorhouses and confined in institutions where they might be made as comfortable as possible

In the fourth period, the whole conception of the nature of insanity was changed with consequent radical revolution in the method of treatment Insanity now came to be looked upon as "a disease, and not a doom " Since it is a disease, it can in some cases be cured and, in any case, can be prevented if the conditions which produce it can be discovered and removed Experiment made manifest the evils of restraint in treatment and showed that drugs must be replaced by the more fundamental methods of occupa-

[18] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Eleventh ed, "Insanity," III, Hospital Treatment
[19] Lecky, *op cit*, II, 89

tions, hydrotherapy, massage, and the relief from the strain which induced the breakdown

The development of psychoanalysis in the last few years has suggested that in many cases mental disorder is a disease only in the very broad sense of the term With certain people, anxiety, mental conflict, or repression of natural cravings by the mores of the group, may throw out of balance the endocrine glands, greatly disturb the emotions, and cause breakdown of the personality These cases are no less insanity in the broad sense of the term than are those disorders which are produced by specific diseases, for example, syphilis, or alcoholism Social treatment, as well as medical and surgical, is indicated in such cases Psychoanalysis in some cases can uncover the root of the trouble in the consciousness of the person himself, and in other cases the conditions, social and otherwise, which have produced the disorder, may be corrected [21]

In the United States throughout the first half of the nineteenth century and during a considerable part of the latter half most of the insane were cared for in poorhouses [22]

It was Dorothea Dix who, about 1837, with the encouragement and assistance of Dr Channing, began her investigation of the condition of paupers, lunatics, and prisoners around Boston, and exposed the neglect and abuses which characterized the treatment of the insane The conditions in which she found thousands of these poor people she described by tongue and pen in a way which challenged attention She visited every State east of the Rockies, looking into the condition of the insane in poorhouses and jails She appeared before almost every legislature in these States, urging upon their consideration the hitherto unvoiced claims of the demented Her work was not in vain From that time forth States began to build asylums for the care of the insane, and to give study to the nature of the disease While the insane still linger in county poorhouses and while occasionally a State is found so backward in the matter that it permits them to be thrown into jails, most of the States have at least one institution for the care of the curable insane Some have institutions for the care of the chronics, and many have provision for rather adequate treatment or care of every insane person in the State

CARE OF THE INSANE ACUTE, CHRONIC, AND CRIMINAL CASES

It is the settled policy at the present time that the various classes of the insane should be cared for separately There should be one type of institution for the curable cases, another for the chronic or incurable, and still another

[21] Bleuler, *op cit*, pp 50 and 51

[22] *The American*, "Institutional Care of the Insane in the United States"

for the criminal Formerly the acute and chronic cases were cared for in the same institution, sometimes in separate wards and sometimes in separate buildings Now under the State system of caring for the insane, certain institutions are set aside for the curable and others for the chronic cases Since different methods of treatment are necessary, management and discipline are very much simpler when the two classes are kept in different institutions. In some States the criminal insane have been separated from both the other classes

The establishment of State institutions for the care of the insane grew out of the recognition of the evils of county care [83] With the development of State boards, State and county care were compared in their results to the discredit of the latter Then arose an agitation for the State care of the insane New York was the first State to assume this obligation, but a number of the States, especially in the East, soon followed her example At first the attempt was made to care for them all in State institutions Up to the present that system has failed, except as it has been modified by such devices as colonies and the boarding-out system On the other hand, Wisconsin, while acknowledging the State's obligation to care for the insane, worked out the problem in a different way Believing it impossible for the State to provide enough of the large and expensive institutions to care for all her insane, her State board allowed the chronic cases to remain in the county asylums, while the State assumed a part of the expense of their care A law was passed providing that when a county's insane could not be cared for in the State institutions, if a county built a county asylum, the State would pay that county $1 50 a week towards the cost to the county of caring for each person Under this plan thirty-five counties have built county asylums for the incurably insane and may receive patients from other counties on payment of a small weekly sum by the county from which the patients come [84]

The debate between the advocates of these two systems has been long and sometimes quite bitter Opinion has swung from one side to the other during the last twenty-five years Says Mr Lane concerning the Wisconsin plan, "Such is Indiana's solution of the growing problem of her insane There are those in the state who look with envy on the more complete resort to farm

[83] In 1890 "there were in each state two methods of caring for the insane, first, a state system, managed by state officers and responsible to the state, second, a county system, managed by county authorities and responsible to no one Through the abuses to which county care almost invariably gave rise, and through the efforts of the state boards to correct such abuses, the idea of state care for all the insane became strengthened"—Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction* (1893), pp 233 and 234

[84] *Ibid*, pp 142-144

life practised in Wisconsin . This plan was worked out 33 years ago and for the past 18 years Wisconsin has kept abreast of the demands of her insane population for institutional care."[25]

Each of these county asylums is under the management of a local board of trustees, selected by the county board of supervisors The trustees in turn appoint the superintendent and other officers These asylums are supervised by the State board and are regulated by its rules This system has worked unexpectedly well in Wisconsin It relieves the State institutions of the chronic cases, it provides these chronic cases outdoor work on the county farm, it distributes the chronic insane widely over the State, allowing them to be kept where their relatives and friends may visit them, it is cheap, and authorities advise me that in Wisconsin even medical care is given to these people of as good quality as they could expect to get in a State institution Furthermore, this system allows the State to take care of all of its insane

In 1923, the United States Census secured reports from 526 institutions caring for the insane in the United States Of these, 165 were State hospitals, 148 were other public hospitals, while 213 were private institutions There were 230,829 resident insane patients in the State hospitals, 27,557 in the other public institutions, and 9,231 in the private institutions[26]

Parole Early in the modern treatment of insanity it was discovered in Scotland that certain patients could be released on parole[27] From every point of view, the system of parole is of advantage The patient who has been sufficiently restored to be safe outside the institution is infinitely better off than he is within it The policy is also economical, and so long as the patients are closely supervised, all the interests of the State are safeguarded "In Scotland superintendents have power without the consent of the Lunacy Commissioners to liberate patients on trial for a term not exceeding 28 days This practice has proved so beneficial that it is regarded with increasing favor"[28]

In the United States, in 1910, there were twenty-four States which had provision for the parole of patients from hospitals and asylums for the insane

Boarding Out. Boarding out is another modification in the care of the insane, sometimes called "the Scottish system" In 1887, about one fifth of the lunatics there were boarded out In Scotland it is not the policy to place many in the same community—only two or three places having aggregations of boarded-out patients They are placed in carefully selected homes Each

[25] Lane, "In the Healing Lap of Mother Earth," *The Survey*, January, 1916, pp 373-380 See also McLane, "Baltimore, 1890-1915," *The Survey*, April 14, 1915

[26] *Mental Hygiene*, October 1925, p 864

[27] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910*, pp 79 and 80

[28] Letchworth, *The Insane in Foreign Countries* (New York and London, 1889), p 314

family is examined as to its suitability and is visited periodically to see that the patient is receiving proper care. This system was adopted in Scotland owing to the pressure in the institutions for the care of the insane.[19]

In this country the boarding-out system was adopted first in Massachusetts and has continued with increasing favor up to the present time. However, the boarding out of patients has not extended to other States as rapidly as it should. Only a few States provide for boarding out patients, probably due to the greater ease of caring for them in an institution.

Some years ago a study was made in Massachusetts of the cases placed out in families. It was found that, of the patients placed out over a period of twenty years, one out of every five had become self-supporting. Said Miss Ball, "The story of 34 years of care in families has demonstrated conclusively its practicability. Under normal conditions and with proper supervision a definite standard should be maintained in this method of care, which is but one part of the entire plan of state care of the mentally ill. For such persons as are suitable for placing in families there would seem to be many of the benefits to be derived from institutional care and, in addition, a nearer approach to normal living."[20]

Out-Patient Departments. England deserves the credit for the device of the out-patient department in hospitals for the insane. Dr. Riggs calls it "an advance akin to voluntary commitment."[21] The purpose of the out-patient department, or clinic, is the free treatment of the acute insane during the incipiency of the disease in order to prevent its further development. Such a department was first opened in this country in 1885 in the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane. In 1913, an act was passed by the New York legislature permitting each State hospital for the insane to establish an out-patient department. The importance of this measure is indicated by the fact that the records of 5,000 patients admitted for the first time to New York State Hospitals for the Insane in 1911, showed that nearly a third of all cases had mental disorder for at least a year before admission. The out-patient department was established in the hope that many of these would come to the clinic before the disease had made such progress that hope of cure was more remote.[22] In Massachusetts "out-patient clinics were established in September, 1914, under the direction of the State Board of Insanity, in the large cities of the hospital district. The clinics are held in the evening in order that

[19] Letchworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 130-130.
[20] Ball, "Family Care of Mental Cases," *The Survey*, April 17, 1920, pp. 117 and 118.
[21] Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 232.
[22] Salmon, "A State Treating Mental Diseases at Home," *The Survey*, January 17, 1914, p. 468.

the patients out on trial who are at work need not lose any time in attendance Notices are sent to all patients away from the hospital on trial visits who can easily report at the clinic in the city nearest their home. Notices are inserted in the newspapers calling attention to the clinics. The various charitable organizations and physicians in the district are also notified in order that persons may be referred for examination and advice" [11]

Recently the development of out-patient clinics for those suffering from mental disturbances have greatly increased in number and have widened their purposes That they may serve not only in the after-care of those discharged from hospitals, but more important, that they may serve as preventive agencies, has been the hope voiced by many psychiatrists recently

Dr. Thom, of Massachusetts, suggests that the mental clinics should be classified into four groups

(1) Clinics for children of the pre-school age. These should be associated with some well-recognized medical group, such as the community health association, a baby health center, or one of the well-baby clinics They should be closely affiliated with settlement houses, nursery schools and kindergartens in various sections of the city so that they may be close at hand to parents with children who present difficult problems

(2) A clinic for the child of school age In Massachusetts this has resulted from the law passed in 1919 which requires that backward children receive a thorough mental and physical examination, and that special classes be organized when ten or more children are found who are retarded three years or more in their mental development. Dr. Thom suggests that these clinics be confined not only to the mentally defective child but to the emotionally unstable child as well.

(3) A clinic for patients with incipient nervous disorders This, he believes, should be associated with and become a part of a general hospital His suggestion for a connection with the general hospital is based upon the belief that many patients who come to a general hospital really need mental care On the other hand, many of the general medical cases or those which are supposed to be, need a psychiatrist and the psychiatrist will be broadened if he has available other branches of medicine for consultation.

(4) Clinics, attached to hospitals for the mentally disordered, in order to give those who have come to the hospital care in the community if they can be treated successfully there It is this kind of clinic which has been established in some of our States in connection with the State hospitals for the

[11] Kline, "Social Service in the State Hospital," *Bulletin, Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases*, January, 1919, III, 16.

insane. In connection with all these types social service work is important but especially in connection with the first and the last.[34]

Psychiatric Social Service. Another recent and important adjunct to the hospital for the insane is hospital social service. By this term is meant investigation of the social conditions in the family, in the patient's work, and in the community, under which the patient has lived and from which possibly he has suffered.

Hospital social service in connection with the institutions for the insane was first developed in New York. The State Charities Aid Association employed an after-care agent in 1910 to work among those discharged from two of the hospitals. This worker found in the homes she visited in this work many other persons who were on the verge of nervous breakdown, and, therefore, came to the conclusion that not only after-care but preventive work was needed. As a result, its Mental Hygiene Committee came into existence under the State Charities Aid Association. After two years' experience, a social worker was appointed, in August, 1912, to do this preventive work. The success of this work has been such that this service has been extended to other hospitals in the State.

Massachusetts, in 1913, installed social service in the Danvers and in the Boston State hospitals. With the opening of the Psychopathic Hospital in Boston a social service worker was employed, in the latter part of 1912, to look after the needs of all patients admitted. In 1913 the Danvers State Hospital took on a social worker to gather social data to assist in determining whether a patient could be released from the hospital and thus the number in the hospital lessened, also to supplement medical information on the patient, to secure cooperation of the community to which the patient returned, and to give after-care to the returned patient. In the same year the Boston State Hospital installed such a worker.[35]

In Massachusetts the Commission on Mental Diseases has recently adopted social service, and it is being gradually introduced into the various hospitals connected with the Commission.[36] In 1921 under this department nineteen social service workers were employed by the hospitals, and in addition, nine student workers.[37]

Says Dr. Kline, of Massachusetts: "The recognition of the fact that social

[34] Thom, "Mental Clinics: Four Kinds," *The Survey*, April 15, 1924, pp. 93 and 94.

[35] Kline, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 and 8. Also Southard and Jarrett, *The Kingdom of Evils* (New York, 1922), p. 520.

[36] Kline, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1919, p. 631.

[37] Kline, "What an Adequate Mental Hygiene Program Involves for the State Hospital System," *Bulletin, Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases*, Vol. V, No. 4, October, 1921, pp. 56-60.

conditions play a large part in the causation of disease holds the hospital responsible for the welfare of the patient after discharge from the hospital. Hospital problems are therefore social as well as medical, and accordingly there is need of trained social service workers, as well as physicians.

"If it be granted that the hospital exists for curative and reconstructive purposes, it then follows that the social aspects of disease and its treatment must be carefully considered. . . .

"Before the establishment of social service in the hospital it was practically impossible to extend hospital treatment into the community. Advice and treatment in reality began and ended inside the hospital. After-results were seldom learned by the hospital physicians Many patients eventually returned for treatment, often suffering from the same trouble for which they first came for help Directions and advice were constantly given and seldom fulfilled for various reasons, good or otherwise Such a method of treatment is not only expensive but is in reality useless in some respects, if the underlying causes of sickness remain unknown, especially those relating to social conditions. With a social service established in the hospital, many of these needs are met satisfactorily." [28]

In Massachusetts, where social service is now most widely established, the following functions are performed by it. (1) "Investigation of special cases for specified purposes usually relative to after-care of patients who are under consideration for discharge or trial visit at home." (2) "The securing of histories, medical and social, outside the hospital" (3) "Home visitation or after-care of out-patients" (4) "Systematic boarding out of patients in private families" (5) "Connecting needy persons with the proper agencies." (6) "The weekly attendance upon the out-patient clinics." [29]

The value of such service depends much on the quality of the case work done, which in turn depends upon the natural ability and training of the social service worker. Since social service in connection with the insane has come into vogue, there is great need that those who perform it be of the very highest fitness. The half-trained do more harm than good, for it is a delicate task which the social service worker has to perform. She must be skilled in making investigations, else the sensibilities of the families will be injured. She must have tact in suggesting changes in the family régime to which the patient is returning From the standpoint of investigation she must know how

[28] Kline, "Social Service in the State Hospital," Vol III, No 1, pp 5 and 6

[29] *Ibid*, p 9 See also Curtis, "Report of Directors of Social Work," in *Annual Report of the Commission of Mental Diseases*, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Pub. Doc No. 717 (Boston, 1920), pp 46-57.

to get the salient points which will help the physician to picture to himself the social situation, and thus know how to treat the case.

This new movement is based upon the recent recognition that medicine has its social relationships. Social conditions produce physical and mental breakdown; therefore social conditions must be understood if a cure is to be attempted or prevention undertaken.[40]

Temporary Detention of the Insane. In too many places at the present time the jail is the only place provided for the temporary care of the demented while waiting for examination and commitment. What a pity that a sick person who is no more a criminal than any other sick person should be lodged in the common jail! In Melbourne, Australia, and elsewhere on that continent, they have lunacy wards in the public hospitals, in which these people who are waiting for determination of their cases can be kept. Wherever there is a general hospital some such provision ought to be made so that these people may not be treated as criminal, while they are waiting in detention for their cases to be handled.

Some States have laws requiring the provision of such detention homes, or detention wards in the general hospitals. Thus, in Minnesota, the Board of Control is directed by law to establish such detention homes in all cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants. In California, the Board of Supervisors in each county is required to maintain in a receiving hospital or elsewhere in the county a suitable room or rooms for the detention and treatment of those alleged to be insane for from 1 to 20 days. In Ohio, at the request of the probate judge, the County Commissioners are authorized to establish such detention hospitals to be under the superintendence of a registered physician. And in Pennsylvania in 1911 the establishment of psychopathic wards in general hospitals was authorized by State law.[41]

Prevention of Insanity. No social program can go far without it becoming apparent that problems of treatment lead directly to the question of prevention. The leaders in the treatment of insanity have seen this for at least a quarter of a century. Said Dr. Riggs, in 1893, "The prevention of insanity should receive at least as much attention as its cure, as it is the more hopeful field of the two in which to reap a harvest of healthy minds."[42]

Some of the measures already discussed, like psychopathic departments of general hospitals, out-patient departments, and psychiatric social service, have a direct preventive aspect.

[40] For details on how social experience produces mental disorder, see Fernald, "Mental Hygiene," *Bulletin, Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases*, October, 1921, p. 63.

[41] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions*, 1910, pp. 72 and 73.

[42] Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

In addition to such measures, psychopathic institutes in connection with institutions for the care of the insane should be established for the study of the disease. In many of our States the law provides for the study of the diseases that cause insanity, and in a few attached to some of the institutions there is a distinct institution or a department devoted to the scientific study of insanity from the standpoint of medicine.

Social service has a very direct bearing upon the problem of prevention. It was devised to prevent a recurrence of the trouble. The family must be taught how to receive the returning patient. A change of attitude of some members of the family towards the patient is often necessary. The community must be taught how to treat the returned patient so that he can pick up the broken thread of his life and not have it broken again. Suitable occupation must be found, else the conditions which incited the breakdown may cause the malady to recur.

Finally the conditions which produce mental disease should be attacked without delay. The last few years have seen much publicity on the rôle of syphilis and alcohol in the production of insanity. Other conditions are not so well known. Fatigue, mental conflicts, depressing and debilitating conditions of life in home and factory, the stresses of puberty and the climacteric, the factor of general debility—whatever the cause—and heredity have received less attention. The education of the people as to the causes, so far as known, and as to the proved methods of treatment and prevention should proceed. Already enough has been learned as to the results of giving information to the people to justify going further.

Nature of the Disease. For at least 25 centuries epilepsy has been recognized as such. Hippocrates, born 460 B. C., described it and said of its prognosis, "The prognosis in epilepsy is unfavorable when the disease is congenital, when it continues to manhood or where it occurs in adult. We may attempt to cure the young, but not the old." [43] It was early named from its most characteristic manifestation, *the seizure*. The name the disease now bears, "epilepsy," is Greek in its derivation and means *a seizure*. Mention of a case is to be found in the Gospels. A man brought his son to Jesus with the words, "Lord, have mercy on my son: for he is epileptic, and suffereth grievously; for oft-times he falleth into the fire and oft-times into the water." [44]

Dr. William T. Shanahan of the Craig Colony for Epileptics at Sonyea,

[43] Quoted by Barr, *Mental Defectives* (Philadelphia, 1913), p. 211.
[44] *Matthew* xvii. 14.

New York, defines epilepsy as "a chronic progressive disorder, characterized by recurrent abrupt attacks or loss or impairment of consciousness, with or without convulsions, and usually accompanied by mental and oft-times physical deterioration." [45]

There are three forms of the disease usually recognized in medical literature—*grand-mal*, *petit-mal*, and psychical epilepsy.

The first is the most easily recognized form, because the patient falls in a seizure, usually froths at the mouth, has convulsions, and is usually unconscious for some time. The second differs from the first rather in degree than in nature. Usually the patient does not fall because the seizure is less severe. The attack is momentary, and is manifested by a slight flush or paling of the countenance accompanied by a gasp, a sigh, or a momentary loss of consciousness. Sometimes there may be a slight giddiness or a faintness. Usually this form progresses into the first. The third named is less frequent in its occurrence than the other forms. The convulsions are mental rather than physical and it is sometimes mistaken for insanity. The seizure increases in force usually for hours and sometimes for days, then gradually subsides. It is not followed by coma, but usually by a period of automatism, or a state resembling absent-mindedness. This is the type which often manifests itself in homicidal tendencies.

Cause of Epilepsy. The cause of epilepsy is unknown to the medical profession. They are agreed that it is a nervous disease, that certain conditions aggravate it, that it is rather closely related to certain other diseases of the nervous system and that it may be transmitted by heredity. In some cases epilepsy seems to act as an equivalent of other nervous conditions in the stock. Thus, the epileptic may have a relative who is feeble-minded, another who is insane and still another who is only a "little queer."

Barr and Spratling attribute 56 per cent of the cases coming under their notice to heredity.[46] Dr. Thom, however, in a study of 138 married epileptics, at Monson, Massachusetts, with 553 offspring, found only 10 epileptic children.[47]

Among the exciting causes of its manifestation are blows upon the head, worry, excitement, injuries to the mother during gestation, difficult dentition, acute sicknesses, and malnutrition. Intemperance and irregular living have also been suggested, but it is a question whether epilepsy manifests itself because of drink and vice, or whether these are a consequence of an epileptic

[45] From address at Illinois State Conference of Charities, October 21, 1914.

[46] Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

[47] Thom, "A Second Note on the Frequency of Epilepsy in the Offspring of Epileptics," *Bulletin, Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases*, July, 1918, pp. 58–60.

taint. Dr. Thom believes that between 10 and 15 per cent of the cases he has observed in institutions "might find their genesis in alcoholic parents."[48]

Closely connected with the question of exciting causes as well as with the question of treatment are matters of food, age, and excitement. Experience with epileptics indicates that careful attention must be given as to the quantity and the kinds of food eaten, and as to how soon after eating the patient should go to sleep. Every physician who has worked in an institution for epileptics stresses the importance of providing easily digested foods, eliminating much meat, giving vegetables instead, and providing when possible an amount of exercise sufficient to keep the bodily functions in good order.

Childhood is the age period when this disease appears most frequently. Says Letchworth, ". . . epilepsy is essentially a disease of the young."[49] Nothnagel finds it most common between the ages of seven and seventeen. Barr finds that 66 per cent of his cases developed epilepsy between birth and the fifth year. Hasse, Gowers, and Gray find 75 per cent developing before the twentieth year.[50] A high death rate for epileptics would naturally cut down the number in later years.

Social Relations of the Disease. The importance of the disease is indicated by its high mortality rate, and by its relation to other social problems, such as dependency, crime, unemployment, vagrancy and vice.

Letchworth says of the relation of the epileptic to society, "The epileptic holds an anomalous position in society. As a child he is an object of solicitude to his parents or guardians. The street to him is full of danger, and if sent to school he is liable to seizures on the way or in the classroom. At school his attacks shock his classmates and create confusion. He cannot attend church and public entertainments, nor participate in social gatherings with those of his own age and station. Because of his infirmity the epileptic grows up in idleness and ignorance, bereft of companionship outside of the family, and friendless, he silently broods over his isolated and helpless condition.

"If the epileptic succeeds in learning a trade, business men are reluctant to employ him and artisans will not work with him, especially if sharp-edged tools are used. I shall never forget the shock experienced when I was a lad, in seeing a journeyman workman, a tall, manly, but sad-faced young man, fall at his bench with keen-edged tools within his reach, his dazed fellow-workmen moving in awe about him as he struggled in convulsions, with open eyes, set teeth, and foaming mouth. He was an ambitious young man, of good char-

[48] "Alcohol as a Factor in the Production of Epilepsy and Allied Convulsive Disorders," *Bulletin, Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases*, July, 1918, pp. 61-63.

[49] Letchworth, *The Care and Treatment of Epileptics* (New York, 1900), p. 8.

[50] Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

sciter, and a skilful workman; but he was obliged to leave his position on account of his infirmity and seek a new situation, where undoubtedly he had to go through the same experience. In such cases there is but one result—the breaking down of all hope and energy.

"The epileptic workman having a trade but unable to find employment, gradually sinks into a condition of public dependence. Frequently he is sent to the poorhouse, where he is brought into close association with a mixed and unsympathetic population, and where there is no special provision for his care or proper medical treatment."[83]

Hope of cure is very small. Some European experience indicates a probable cure in about 4 per cent, while the German Colony at Bielefeld claims 6.5 per cent of recoveries. The Craig Colony in New York early claimed that from 7 to 10 per cent might be cured, but the later figures from that institution indicate curability in about 2 per cent.[84]

Even worse than the prospect of death is the probability that before death comes to their relief gradual but steady deterioration of the mental faculties will occur. Says Barr, "Idiocy, imbecility or dementia will be found in fully 90 per cent of all epileptic communities."[85] And Dr. Munson of the Craig Colony adds: "Ultimate dementia is the future of most epileptics."[86] About 10 per cent of all epileptics become so insane as to require supervision at home or in asylums. "Hence the epileptic neurosis in an individual renders him about thirty times more liable to insanity than if he were normal."[87]

Unless of independent means the epileptic is almost sure to become dependent. He cannot hold a job, for as soon as he is known to "have fits," others do not like to work with him. More important, if working for some one he is liable to have a seizure and let a team run away and smash up machinery, or injure a machine he may be tending in a factory, or, even more important, may be severely injured and thus subject the employer to either a suit for damages or compensation. Customers of a store are disturbed by seeing a clerk in a seizure and will avoid that store. Hence, the making of a living is almost an impossibility.

Statistics indicate that unless the State provides an institution especially for them, these poor creatures drift into the poorhouses and there end their days. Two per cent of those in the poorhouses of the United States in 1910

[83] Letchworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 and 18.

[84] *Eugenics and Social Welfare Bulletin*, New York State Board of Charities (Albany, 1916), VII, 36.

[85] Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

[86] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1910, p. 295.

[87] Dr. Peterson quoted by Letchworth, *Care and Treatment of Epileptics*, p. 5.

were epileptics; and about one fourth of all defectives in those institutions at that time were epileptics.[46]

Healy found in his study of 1,000 cases of juvenile delinquents in connection with the Juvenile Court of Chicago that from 7 to 7½ per cent of them were clearly epileptics.[47] All authorities we have been able to consult agree that epilepsy plays a very considerable part in criminality. This is especially true of psychic epilepsy and the automatism following a seizure in *grand-mal*. All agree that it is difficult for the layman to recognize it in many criminal cases, and that the law in most States gives no weight to the peculiar characteristics of the epileptic criminal.

A large number of the ordinary vagrants are epileptics. In a large number of the cases described by Healy the history is that the epileptic wanders away and can give no account of himself afterwards. He finds himself in places far from home and wonders how he got there.[48]

Epilepsy has very close relations with vice. Related closely to other mental defects, characterized by sudden uncontrolled impulses, and often accompanied by early and excessive sexual development, epilepsy results in many cases in irregular sexual life. Says Healy, "When there is over-development of the sexual life, as unfortunately there so frequently is, the combination of all these typical characteristics tends to make the epileptic a great offender."[49]

Since epilepsy has such important bearings upon other social problems as well as upon the welfare of the epileptic, it is important to care for individuals afflicted by it in the way that experience teaches will yield the best results for the patient and also for the protection of society.

Extent of Epilepsy. In most countries the number of the insane is fairly well known, while the number of the feeble-minded has been rather carefully estimated. But no such careful study has been made with regard to the number of epileptics, especially in the United States. So important is the disease, however, that it is highly necessary that we arrive at an approximate estimate of their number.

In certain European countries it has been found that the number varies from 1 per thousand of the population in Belgium to 2.57 in Switzerland. These numbers are probably below the actual percentages, since epileptics and their friends seek to hide the existence of the disease.

[46] *Paupers in Almshouses*, 1910, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1915), p. 41.

[47] Healy, *The Individual Delinquent* (Boston, 1915), p. 416. Also "Epilepsy and Crime—the Cost," *Illinois Medical Journal*, 1912.

[48] For description of a case see Healy, *op. cit.*, p. 640.

[49] Healy, *op. cit.*, pp. 418 and 419.

In the United States the Bureau of the Census in 1923 reported seventeen institutions for epileptics and fifteen hospitals which returned schedules for epileptic patients, a total of thirty-two institutions in the whole country. Thirteen of these were State institutions, twelve Federal, and seven private. Of 8,519 patients reported in these institutions January 1, 1923, only 257 were in private institutions.[40] These are only a sample of the epileptics in the population of the country. Studies made in different American States indicate that in this country there is about one epileptic to every 500 inhabitants.[41]

Save in those states which have special colonies for this class of defectives, the provision is not adequate for their proper care. Even those States which have separate departments for their care in connection with institutions for the feeble-minded have resorted to a makeshift which is unfair to the epileptic.[42]

COLONY CARE FOR EPILEPTICS

The care of epileptics in connection with other classes of defectives has long been tried and been found to be a failure. They are a disturbing factor in institutions for other classes and they feel themselves aggrieved in their lucid periods if they are kept with the insane or the feeble-minded. Then, their peculiar malady makes it possible for many of them to work a great deal of the time, but at only certain occupations. The question of discipline is complicated also when they are cared for in institutions for other classes. Moreover, the experience of colony care of the epileptics has shown the superiority of that method of care.

Some have objected that the building of a colony very greatly increases the expense over an institution of the congregate type. But the cottages of this colony cost less than $390 a bed as compared with a cost of from $1,000 to $1,500 a bed in the large congregate institution. Says Dr. Spratling: "There is no question but the colony plan provides better maintenance at less cost than any other plan so far devised."

RESULTS ACCOMPLISHED BY COLONIES

Dr. Spratling believes that the colony produces a number of results which are impossible in any other kind of an institution for epileptics.

(1) It effects cures in a larger proportion of cases than any other kind of institution.

[40] *Feeble-minded and Epileptics in Institutions*, 1923, pp. 15, 94.

[41] Letchworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 and 15. See also Munson, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction* (1902), p. 171.

[42] For detailed reasons see Letchworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 20-25. Spratling, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1903, pp. 259 ff.

(2) It reduces the frequency and severity of attacks, in the majority of cases to a very considerable degree

(3) It provides special education adapted to make the epileptic in many cases self-dependent and able to make a living. Such an education cannot be got outside the colony.

(4) It promotes the happiness of the individual in a larger number of cases than is possible in any other kind of institution. The epileptic lives in a congenial atmosphere, filled with kindly feeling, and among people of his own kind, therefore he feels at home.

(5) It provides the most skilled forms of treatment known to the medical profession.

(6) It gives opportunity for scientific research nowhere else to be found.

(7) It prevents the reproduction of epileptics by their segregation.

With probably more than 200,000 epileptics in the United States at the present time, with most of them free to marry and produce children, with others of them a distinct menace through their criminal impulses during and following seizures, and with large numbers of them living a slow death in institutions for the insane and county almshouses, and with a number of notable examples of the proper care of the epileptic, it is important that the States of the Union which have not yet grappled with this problem in an adequate manner should now make provision for them at the earliest possible moment.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Is there a real increase in insanity, or do the statistics merely indicate society's greater provision for the care of the insane?
2. How does insanity vary by age, sex, race, native born and foreign born, single and married, divorced and widowed, in the country and in the cities? Explain these variations.
3. Discuss the bearing of vice and alcoholism upon mental disorder.
4. How can social conditions in the home or in the community increase mental disturbance? Describe the origin and development of colonies for the insane around the Shrine of St Dymphna at Gheel, Belgium. What are some of the lessons taught by that colony?
5. Differentiate the four periods in the treatment of the insane
6. What light has the work of the Freudians thrown upon the causes of mental disorder?
7. Contrast and compare the State system of caring for the insane and the county system.
8. Outline the socially pathological consequences of insanity. Outline a program for the prevention of insanity.
9. Describe the nature of epilepsy What are its four forms?
10. What are the chief pathological results of epilepsy in social relationships?
11. Since epilepsy is almost as frequent in the population as insanity, why is so much less attention given to it?

12. Describe the way in which John Best came to devise the modern method of treating epileptics
13. What State in the United States established the first colony for epileptics?
14. What are the advantages of the colony care of epileptics?
15. Are there any reasons why epileptics should not be handled by case-working agencies in the community rather than sent to an institution?
16. Why have not more States established colonies for epileptics?

CHAPTER 9

SUICIDE

Fear of life-threatening events is built into all living beings. Had this impulse not been well established in the nervous organization of humans, as well as the lower creatures, the race probably would have perished. It is the observation of this fact that has led to the proverb that, "self-preservation is the first law of nature." Out of it grow all the various protective reactions to be found in animal life, such as watchfulness against danger, flight, and defense measures. The nervous watchfulness of birds and animals when feeding, the sensitiveness to sound, sight, odor, and—in some species—to touch, grow out of fear of death. It is the most universal and profound impulse of living beings.

Yet it is not all-controlling. The parent sacrifices itself for the welfare of offspring. The patriot dies for his country. Occasionally friends sacrifice themselves for friends, and, most striking of all, people take themselves out of this life by their own hands. What is it that leads men and women to flee life when the very foundation of existence seems to be the wish to survive? How explain self-murder when nature seems to have taken pains to establish in every one the fear of death? There is an instinct to live and no instinct to die; and yet among all peoples, whatever the stage of social development, there is suicide. How explain this contradiction?

The only explanation offered by the facts is that this fear of death is modified by certain other naturally produced impulses and by the social mores developed through long periods of time. Darwin pointed out the dominance of "the struggle for life" in all living things. Drummond supplemented that theory with another which he called, "the struggle for the life of others." The willingness of the mother to sacrifice herself for the life of her children is an illustration of the latter. That willingness is probably ingrained in her very nervous organization by natural selection. Suicide is not the product of natural selection but of a certain kind of nervous organization and of the dominance of social over natural imperatives. In this matter of suicide we have only one illustration of many cases in human life in which social conditions modify instinctive urges. The desire for food can probably be called instinctive. Possibly even the liking and disliking of

certain foods may be so described. But many Jews raised in orthodox families, even though emancipated later from their orthodoxy, cannot swallow pork. Some people cannot eat food prepared and served in a way different from that to which they have been accustomed when young. The social customs of a group show that these instinctive drives are modified by social conditions. The sexual appetite can probably be called instinctive in most human beings. But the ways in which that appetite is satisfied depend upon the social mores of the group. So the fear of death is modified by social conditions.

RATES OF SUICIDE

The rates of suicide vary greatly. While we have no statistics of suicide among uncivilized peoples, the testimony of anthropologists and missionaries is that the rate is considerably lower among them. In other words, while suicide is not a characteristic of civilization, civilization seems to favor it.

Variation by Climate. Formerly it was thought that suicide varied with climate.[3] It was supposed that warm climates were unfavorable to suicide, while cold climates produced higher rates. However, more careful study, recently made, disproves this theory.

Variation by Race. It was once held that suicide varied with race. This was based upon the belief that different races characterized by different physical features also differed in temperament. However, every careful study of the matter has shown that suicide rates have varied over periods of time in the same race and vary in different countries peopled by the same race. Consequently, while race may have an influence upon suicide, it is not a fundamental factor.

Variation by Religion. Suicide rates seem to vary with religion. In general it may be said that Protestants have the highest rates, Catholics next highest, and Jews the lowest in Western civilization. The explanation which has been offered is that the teachings of these three religions concerning suicide vary decidedly. There are exceptions, however, to the above generalization; for example, Protestant Norway has a very low rate compared with Germany and Sweden, which are also Protestant. The most emphatic protest against suicide has been made by the Catholic Church, but even in Catholic countries the rate in most cases has been increasing since the study of the matter began.

Among adherents to all three religions the rate has been increasing for the last eighty years. Thus, in Prussia, from 1845 to 1859, the annual rate increased 5 per hundred thousand for Catholics, 16 for Protestants and 4.6

[3] Morselli, *Suicide*, pp. 36–51.

for Jews. The rate of increase of suicide among members of the three religions in certain countries of Europe has, however, not been equal It has been least marked among the Catholics, but it has been about the same among Protestants as among Jews Consequently suicide cannot be a phenomenon solely of religious denomination.

The possibilities are that any religion affects the suicide rate not so much by condemning suicide as by organizing the personality and giving an outlet for its needs. As we shall see later the state of social organization, whether it be based primarily upon religion or upon some other factor, influences the suicide rate, since suicide seems to reflect the relationship between the person and his social environment.

Variation by Age. Very few children commit suicide Every study shows that suicide increases with age A study made by Mrs Cavan recently shows that for the United States as a whole the rate is very low up to the age of fifteen, then it gradually increases to the age period eighty to eighty-nine, for the age period ninety to ninety-nine there is a slight drop The figures for London show the same tendency For Massachusetts from 1881 to 1885, the picture was somewhat different. Suicide increased gradually from the age group ten to twenty up to the age group sixty to seventy, then there was a decided drop.[1] In every case it appears that age is connected with suicide only as age is connected with times in life at which crises are most likely to arise

Variation by Sex. Suicide varies also by sex Men have a very much higher rate than women In general it can be said that there are four male suicides to one female suicide While the rate varies somewhat among different countries, that general statement will stand for Western civilization In the Orient the relationship is somewhat different. In Japan, in 1901-1905, there were 61 3 female suicides for every 100 male, or 3 female to 5 male suicides In India, in 1907, the rate varied from 85 7 female in Burma to 193 3 in Agra and Oudh for every one hundred male suicides As a matter of fact, however, in all India save only in the Central Provinces the rates for women were less than for men Probably the hard social situation of women as compared with that of men accounts for the divergence of the suicide rates in these countries from those of Western countries.[2]

Variation by Marital Condition. The suicide rates also vary according to marital condition For both men and women in this country and in Europe the suicide rate among the divorced was highest, among the widowed next highest, among the married next and among the single lowest of all.

[1] Cavan, *Suicide* (Chicago, 1928), pp 312-315

[2] Cavan, *op cit*, pp 306-310

It is probable that the low rate of the married is due to the relatively greater degree of the organization of their personal relationships in the family.[4]

Occupation and Suicide Rates. The statistics in this country do not allow us to do more than make rather general statements as to the occurrence of suicide among the different occupations. In some of the other countries, however, they are better. We have the facts for Italy from 1897 to 1911 and for Bavaria from 1902 to 1906. For Italy, the rate for farmers, foresters, and shepherds was 9 per hundred thousand of those engaged in such occupations. The rates ranged on up to the highest rate among capitalists and hotel and café personnel with forty-eight. In Bavaria they ranged from 13.7 per hundred thousand for both agriculturalists and foresters, and 13.2 for church officials, to 56.7 for persons engaged in art, literature, and journalism.[5]

Suicide in City and Country. The most complete survey of suicide rates of people living in the country compared with those living in the city is that made by Sorokin and Zimmerman. Their study shows that *on the whole the rural and agricultural populations are less subject to suicide than the urban and industrial.* Their explanation is "that the rural population shows in this respect greater forcefulness, vitality, and love for and satisfaction with life."[6] Their interpretation is that the rural and agricultural family is bound together by social bonds, incessant cooperation, community of feeling, beliefs, traditions, interests, purposes and homogeneity much more strongly than is the urban family. The rural person also is less sophisticated, and less free from traditions and dogmas and superstitions against suicide than the urban. In short, the members of the rural population are very much more thoroughly organized in their social relationships than the urbanites.[7]

Cultural Organization and Suicide. It is probable that the significance of these variations in the suicide rates is best seen when such variations are connected with the incidence of crises in people's lives, with the way in which the person responds to a crisis, and most of all with the way in which his relationships are organized in the social life of his time. It seems to be true that personal disorganization is partly a function of the interplay between the personality and the complex of social relationships. Differences in social organization and traditions affect the external conditions of personal disorganization. In Japan, as well as among certain primitive peoples, long custom has established the attitude that in certain conditions a person ought

[4] Cavan, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

[5] Moser, "Suicide and its Relationship to Criminology and Other Factors," *American Journal of Hygiene*, Monographic Series No. 1, pp. 47-49.

[6] Sorokin and Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York, 1929), Ch. VII.

[7] Cavan, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

to commit suicide Naturally in such a population the suicide rate will be higher than it is among people whose attitudes are against suicide. Furthermore, all of the facts seem to indicate that, if a person is living in social relationships where his primary needs and desires are satisfied, he is less likely to commit suicide than otherwise. That is why, in spite of the hopefulness of one's youth, the necessity for radical readjustment of relationship when a person becomes an adult may produce suicide. The lover, whose loved one has disappointed his hopes and who is not able to reorganize his life on the basis of that disappointment, is likely to commit suicide. Consider the disruption of a family. If one has organized his life about a member of his family, whether it be a husband or wife, a child or parent, a crisis is produced when that person is lost. In general when social conditions favor the meeting of life's primary demands and the satisfying of needs which enter into the unity of personal adjustment, suicide will not occur. Therefore, whether the individual be mentally sound or unsound, suicide is a sign of maladjustment between the personality and the social organization.

FACTORS IN SUICIDE

In the interpretation of the facts just given we are more or less in the realm of speculation Except from case studies we cannot know what is behind the fact of suicide These bold statistics of variation which we have given do not disclose reasons Why is the man more likely to commit suicide than the woman? Why does suicide increase with age? Why are the married less suicidal than the widowed or divorced? And why do the rates vary between the city and country? Such are the questions to which we should like to have answers They can be given only by an analysis of the conditions which produce the state of mind in which one is willing to kill himself.

Generalizing from what the case studies give us two factors in general seem to stand out.

1 **Disorganization of the Personality.** By disorganization of the personality we mean such disturbances of emotional nature as lead to the feeling that life is not worth while The sense of well being is destroyed and the adjustment between the individual and his environment no longer exists As a person grows from childhood to adulthood the tendency is for him to learn to adjust himself to the circumstances of life so that he fits into the total situation. He comes to feel that he belongs to a certain group, he has status in that group, people esteem him; he has those on whom he can lean when he feels the need of support; his fundamental wants are fairly well satisfied and there is a feeling of content. He learns to act in accordance with the codes of conduct obtaining in the social group of which he is a member; he

is able to meet the demands made upon him by society. In short he fits into the whole social organization to a degree that leads to mental serenity and contentment. In a disorganized personality something has happened which disturbs this relationship between the individual and other individuals and conditions in the environment. His fundamental wishes find their fulfilment blocked. He does not feel that he belongs in the social group. Social approval is lacking. He is queer or very much disturbed.

What accounts for the disorganization of personality? In the first place some individuals because of mental conflict develop psychoses which bring about personal disorganization. In a study made in Chicago about 15.8 per cent of the male and 12.5 per cent of the female suicides in 1923 were estimated to be "insane" at the time they committed suicide. In a study made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of suicides among its industrial policy holders, amounting to 2,211 in 1923-1924, it appeared that 18.8 per cent were those in whose cases mental disorder was a contributing factor. Earlier, in Germany, Kraepelin came to the conclusion that mental derangement was a cause of at least a third of the suicides. We shall not be putting it too high, therefore, if we say that 15 per cent more or less of those who commit suicide are emotionally disturbed at the time.

The different sorts of insanity seem to have varying rates in the production of suicides. Melancholia, the depressive phase of manic-depressive insanity, psychopathic constitution, acute and chronic paranoia, and epilepsy seem to stand out preeminently in the cases of suicide due to insanity.[4]

Feeble-mindedness does not count highly as a factor in suicide. Even *dementia praecox* seems to be low in the studies which have been made up to date.

It is easy to see that in the cases of mental derangement the subject's whole personality becomes involved in feelings and ideas which throw him out of adjustment with life. He feels that he has failed or, in cases of melancholia, he feels that there is no hope. In manic-depressive derangement the individual may become the prey of feelings and ideas which make his life seem unbearable. In paranoia he has delusions which make him believe some one is persecuting him. In order to escape from this terrific situation, he does away with himself.

We have not room for many cases, but one or two short ones will illustrate these points. A woman, born in England, married, aged forty-two, developed depressive ideas and mild delusions of persecution. She bought a revolver, attempted suicide, and was committed to a State hospital. After nine months she improved so much that she was allowed to go home on a

[4] Stelzner, "Analyse von 300 Selbstmordfällen," cited in Caven, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-123.

visit Her symptoms continued in a mild form and after two months she eluded her family and disappeared A few days later her body was found in a nearby river. The hospital diagnosis was "involutional melancholia."

A man of fifty-two, born in Ireland, single, had delusions of persecution with some depression for about a year. He was committed to a State hospital but was released for a visit, as his family wished to care for him One Sunday morning he went to his room to prepare for church. He was found later, his throat cut with a razor. The hospital diagnosis was "paranoid condition." [8]

The inability of a person longer to endure severe pain or incurable illness disposes to suicide. The consciousness that the situation is hopeless crowds out other interests and rouses the wish to die Mrs Cavan cites the following cases

"Jean Gray, after a somewhat unsatisfactory life with several successive husbands, found herself at the age of thirty-three deserted by her husband, estranged from her parents, and with an adolescent daughter Cancer developed, and when Mrs Gray could no longer work, her daughter found work which supported them, since relatives refused to assist Mrs Gray had tried to protect her daughter, planned on a business course for her, and refused to permit her to go to live with an aunt who would have allowed her to stay out late at night When the cancer became serious, she committed suicide, leaving the following letters

" 'To my Daughter Alice Baby, please forgive me for not trying to struggle along any longer but I am at the end It is no use to try Please try to live up to my teaching and be a pure sweet girl always and if you love Arthur and he is still willing to marry you, why you have my consent, although I realize that you are very young, but if you had someone to protect you and provide for you it would be a whole lot better for you, as, my dear, you will find this world a pretty hard place to live in, but be brave and make the best of things I wish I could stay with you a while longer but it cannot be done. With love,

" 'Your Mother '

"To her doctors she wrote 'I know you have done all you could to try to save me but I realize it cannot be done I thank you for all you have done and I know there is no use for me to try to struggle any longer ' "

Mrs. Cavan adds.

"The conflict of her love for her daughter and her weariness with the incurable pain is evident in these letters "

In citing another case she says

"Even a severe pain of a temporary character may cause a definite wish for death or suicide A young married woman of twenty-six writes of her ex-

[8] Stearns, "Suicide in Massachusetts," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol V, 1921, pp 766-767

periences at the birth of her children, particularly the first time, when she had been frightened by the tales told her by other expectant mothers in the hospital where she had gone to await the birth

"'I thought I would rather die than go on with the torturing pains I was enduring and cried aloud time and time again to let me die and not let me suffer so—love, marriage, etc , were not worth the agonizing time I was having I really did want to die but did not think of a method—just wanted to be relieved—anything to be out of the peculiar pain Forgot all about it after the birth of my baby Had the same wish for death, only not so intensely, at the next birth Rather vague, knew what was going to happen, but rather vaguely wished for death in that it would mean relief'

"This same woman writes further that during one of her hospital stays a young woman 'suffered these pains for three days and with no relief in sight, since her doctor believed in natural birth, she became frantic in wishing for death and slipped into the operating room and committed suicide' "[10]

Frequently in the case of women the disturbance due to the menopause leads to suicide

Men do not seem to be able to endure pain or hopeless disease as well as women Often illness produces a condition of hypochondria This causes the person to worry unduly about his health, leads him to feel that he cannot recover or that he will have increasing periods of ill health Consequently he becomes so much disturbed that he finds a way out of his difficulty through suicide Stearns cites the following cases

"A man of seventy-six, married, with a happy family, had advanced cancer of the throat which was extremely painful He shot himself with a rifle A man of sixty-seven who had been paralyzed and bed-ridden for twenty-five years was irritable and emotional and complained a great deal of pain He shot himself in his bed with a revolver "[11]

Social Conditions. Even though the subject may not be afflicted with insanity, epilepsy, or feeble-mindedness, or weakened by illness, the personality may be disorganized by social conditions Earlier the tendency was to explain any emotional upset by reference to heredity. There is no question that all of our conduct and habits have a hereditary basis Nevertheless, recent study has shown that social conditions, entering into the life experiences of an individual, affect the personality in a decisive manner Even a normal person is affected by his life experiences. Consequently, we have numerous cases of suicide in which there can be found no evidence of constitutional weakness, but where there has been a crisis induced by failure in business, poverty, or other distressing social circumstances There are also

[10] Cavan, op cit, pp 279-280
[11] Stearns, op cit, p 768

suicides which grow out of love relationships, domestic friction, loss of friends, and similar conditions. Stearns cites the following cases:

"A man of fifty-eight years had been a successful salesman for many years. He changed firms and did not make good at the new work so that he was left without a job He was very anxious as to the future and seemed to grow old suddenly and finally shot himself."

"A widower, fifty-nine, had been a hackman all his life but developed hernia so that he had to change his work. He found difficulty in getting a job and was in financial distress. He went to a boarding house and shot himself." [13]

Mrs. Cavan cites a case which she calls "Marion Blake and Her Lover." This was a case in which the woman was a high school graduate. Her father, a well-to-do tradesman, had been divorced from her mother The girl had lived with her mother and sister until her marriage, at the age of nineteen, to a Thomas Whitford Marion and Tom did not get along well and she began to develop wishes to die They finally separated, after which she lived a hand-to-mouth existence, dependent upon men with whom she became intimate. She finally took up with a married man, Albert Cummings, and rented an apartment which he visited frequently He was drawn between his affection for her and his duty to his wife and daughter This led to a very great disturbance for Marion and when Albert finally gave her to understand that he was going to stick to his wife and daughter and not get a divorce, the situation was too great for her to bear. Cummings stayed with her the night of May sixth and some time during the night Marion shot him and then killed herself.

The history shows that suicide was not a sudden impulse with Marion because she had stated that since the age of ten or twelve death had seemed desirable to her. Here we have a self-centered, unsocialized individual whose main idea was happiness for herself no matter what happened to any one else. She was unable to reorganize her personality when it had once become involved in the love object [14]

We have numerous cases where the husband or the wife has committed suicide because one was about to lose the other and could not reorganize his plan of life in accordance with that fact Stearns cites the following case

"A man of thirty-three who had been married but a short while had friction with his wife. He left her for a time and then returned and tried to effect a reconciliation. She refused, whereupon he returned home and shot himself." [14]

[13] Stearns, op cit, p 773.
[14] Cavan, op cit, pp 196-211
[14] Stearns, op cit., p. 775

Other cases may frequently be found which illustrate the influence of social conditions upon the person who is not able to reorganize his life plan in the face of a crisis. Stearns cites the following case of an immigrant:

"A man of fifty-two, born in Russia, Hebrew, had worked for many years and recently put his savings into a small store Business was poor. He lost one thousand dollars and turned on the gas" [14]

The loss of a child sometimes leads a father or mother to commit suicide. Occasionally the fear that a loved one will die creates such a crisis in the personality that suicide is chosen as the way out Often suicide pacts are the result of the involvement of two persons with each other. Both of them prefer suicide to continuance of life with the necessity of readjustment to separation Not long ago the newspapers told of a case of family suicide in San Diego, California The two daughters of the family had been mistreated by men in a hotel after being drugged. The whole family committed suicide in a room by turning on the gas The father left the following note as explanation

"I am sorry, but myself and family are of the best Southern blood. Death always preferred to dishonor to our women We are wiping it out tonight. Rush this case and if you can have the Government avenge our wrongs, we will appreciate it where we go maybe We thank you for your efforts." [15]

In 1927 there was a great furore in the newspapers about student suicides Of course, there are students who are not able to adjust themselves to the conditions of academic life. They become extremely nervous and disturbed by examinations and threatened failure in college Some of them are unable to find any relief from the threatened loss of status and shame in the face of family and friends except through suicide Careful study, however, has shown that students do not commit suicide any more frequently than other young people In all these cases you have the failure of the personality to react to the conditions of life in a wholesome manner. It rather seeks refuge from its difficulties in death.

Social Disorganization. In a larger sense than that so far discussed, disorganization of the usual social relationship is an important factor in suicide History shows us that in every period of social disorganization suicides increase. With the approaching breakdown of the Roman Empire and the corresponding dissolution of the customs and traditions which had governed Roman life during the Republic, suicide rose tremendously. New philosophies grew up which—if they did not encourage—at least condoned

[14] *Ibid*, p 774
[15] Cited in Cavan, *op cit*, p. 153.

suicide as an escape from the perplexities of life. The old family standards had broken down; economic conditions were disturbed, nothing seemed stable. The very foundations on which personality was organized seemed to be slipping away. No longer were people controlled by moral standards which had held them in organized social relationships in the past, every one seemed to be disposed to do that which was right in his own eyes.

Again, at the time of the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation, the social order was very greatly disturbed. The old feudal bases of society were giving way before the rise of nationalism, the feudal bonds were being broken down, and the stays which feudalism had provided for individuals were disintegrating. Even the Church which had been the mainstay of individuals through that hectic period after the fading of the Roman Empire was corrupt. Its authority was being disputed, its officials lost their power over large numbers of adherents, the peasants were in dire distress, ideas at variance with the established mores of society under the dominance of the Church had been introduced from Greek and Latin authors. Where once the Bible, the Church Fathers, and the authority of the Church had regulated man's lives and conduct, now chaos seemed to reign. Again, in this period, suicides became common in spite of the strong position taken by the Church against that method of escaping the evils of life. Protestantism, with its emphasis upon individual responsibility to God rather than upon Church authority, also played its part in the disintegration of personality for those who were not able to find their way through the mazes of the new social order.

The present time is again a period of vast social change. The traditions of our forefathers are questioned, the authority of the Church is disintegrating, codes of conduct which once seemed to be established as firmly as the rocks are under fire. New ideas attack the old established order. Political orthodoxy as well as religious orthodoxy is being called in question. The moral codes of our forefathers are looked upon as old-fashioned. The program of individualism has been urged upon us in the phrase, "Be yourself." Self-expression has become a shibboleth of the new freedom. For social solidarity, in theory at least, has been introduced the doctrine of individual self-expression. Countless young people, as well as many older ones, find themselves confused in the midst of the present disintegration of hitherto solidly established codes and traditions. To many these conditions present a situation that is most perplexing. They do not know what to believe or how to order a course of conduct in the midst of this changing world. Life becomes too difficult for them to see their way out of the maze which the modern, shifting world presents. Some few think their way through the wilderness and find a course of conduct consistent with both individual satisfac-

tion and social requirements. Others adhere to the conventional codes to a degree adequate to maintain social status and some kind of organization of their own personalities. Still others, however, unable to find their way through the difficulties and lacking the direction of society's codes and traditions, find themselves utterly bewildered, perplexed, and emotionally upset. They may finally take refuge from the confusion in suicide. Business conditions change so rapidly that the man who is rich to-day may be a pauper to-morrow. His social status with all the emotional satisfactions which went with it may be lost, his dreams and plans crash about his head. He who once thought himself a success wakes up to find himself a failure. Some readjust to the new situation and find new satisfactions to take the place of those no longer possible. Others cannot find their way out of the difficulty except through death by their own hand. Hence, the rapidly increasing suicide rates in the last few years.

PREVENTIVE METHODS

On the basis of this analysis of the causes of suicide what may be done by way of prevention? There have been various attempts by certain religious organizations to prevent suicide. The Salvation Army for a number of years has conducted in some of our large cities what it calls a "Suicide Bureau." To this Bureau come people who are utterly discouraged and who have been contemplating suicide, hoping that in the religious ministrations of that organization they may find a solution of their difficulties. The reports from this Bureau seem to indicate a considerable degree of success. Certain of the churches, under pastors especially interested in this problem, have also developed consultation periods for those contemplating suicide. In all these religious organizations dependence has, for the most part, been placed upon the well-known fact that for certain types of individuals religion serves as a unifying and harmonizing agency. Without any knowledge of the mental mechanisms which lie back of suicide these people by a method of trial and error have worked out certain devices which they have found successful in some of the cases. In some of the city missions also similar methods have been employed. In none of these instances, however, has the modern knowledge of psychology and sociology been used.

Of far more importance are the mental clinics which have developed in connection with certain hospitals for the mentally disturbed and others carried on by private organizations since the rise of the mental hygiene movement. Here, with an understanding made possible through the use of modern psychology and psychoanalysis, the difficulty in these individual cases of "incipient suicide" is oftentimes resolved. Mrs. Cavan has pertinently re-

marked that, "... with apparently few exceptions, suicide in contemporary America has one connotation. It is a symptom of complete loss of morale, a result of personal disorganization."[17] Therefore, early attention to personal disorganization is important. Sometimes the difficulty can be resolved by pointing out to the sufferer the steps which have led up to the emotional stress lying back of the wish for death. If early attention is given to these mental difficulties, doubtless in many cases the tensions which cause the trouble can be relieved, and the person can be properly oriented toward himself and his world.

Another method of preventing suicide is to stabilize the social relationships for the individual. His relationships in his home with those about whom the great emotions center, his relationships with people outside the family, and with all the individuals and institutions that form his social environment, must be adjusted measurably to his needs. With the rapid changes which are taking place in these outside relationships the adjustment is oftentimes imperfect, or again an adjustment which was once comparatively comfortable becomes strained. Therefore, along with efforts to adjust the individual to the outside world there must be some attempt to adjust to his particular needs the individuals and institutions which touch upon him. Hence, the value of some of these religious agencies. They are able to set up in the individual's mind a new conception of the nature of these institutions and personalities. Furthermore, often the attitude of husband, wife, or other personalities which have entered into the disturbance must be modified toward the person suffering from emotional disorder. Frequently changing the subject's position from one firm to another, or from one kind of work to another, or putting him in connection with certain outside activities, like golf or a club, or getting him interested in reading or music, transforms his whole personality.

Finally, if we are to attempt to solve this problem, we shall have to learn gradually to substitute socialized institutions and codes for those which have come down sanctioned by tradition and calcified by custom. That, however, is a procedure which must cover a long period of time. In order to ascertain the kind of codes which we may call socialized much research will have to be done. Science has made some contribution to such a program but much yet remains to be discovered. We do know that kind, firm treatment of the child in the home, with an understanding of his desires and feelings over against the old theory of "spare the rod and spoil the child" is a socializing code. These new attitudes toward children are gradually coming into being in the field of the home, and of education. They are seen too

[17] Cavan, op. cit., p. 345

in the modern treatment of the criminal. However, much still remains to be done before we have a socialized and humanized system of institutions and relationships which will press upon the individual in the interest of conformity to a standard, yet serve to satisfy his fundamental needs

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Explain why in animals and men, there is a strong reluctance to commit suicide?
2. Explain why, as civilization develops, this reluctance to commit suicide is overcome?
3. Name the influences which seem to have affected the variation in the rate of suicide.
4. Why was it that stoicism among the Greeks and Romans seemed to favor suicide under certain circumstances, while Christianity has condemned suicide?
5. Explain why children have a low suicide rate.
6. Why are women in Western civilization less likely to commit suicide than men?
7. Explain the fact that the suicide rate among married people is less than among single or divorced
8. What occupations are characterized by high suicide rates?
9. Why is the suicide rate higher in the city than in the country?
10. What bearing do social customs have upon the suicide rate?
11. Name the chief factors in producing suicide.

12. Show how the disorganization of the personality may lead to suicide.
13. Point out the bearing of social disorganization upon the suicide rate
14. Outline a program for the prevention of suicide
15. In what ways may suicide result in socially pathological conditions?

CHAPTER 10

PERSONAL DISORGANIZATION

In exploring the pathology of the individual we have found that some of the difficulties which affect the individual's adjustment to society are due not to anything in the individual himself, but to happenings in the environment. One may be well balanced yet a disaster like a flood, a fire, or a pestilence may lay him low or kill a member of his family. Such a person, however, may and probably will react to the situation in a way that shows that his head is "bloody but unbowed."

On the other hand there are people whose relationships to society become maladjusted, not *solely* by the *stress* of circumstance, but also because their own personalities are such as cannot endure "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune." Nay, some of them get into difficulties by reason of their personalities. They are inadequate to meet the demands of social life. In conditions amid which others meet the world with resourcefulness and courage they become confused, irritable, morose, and downhearted.

DEFINITION OF PERSONALITY

So vague are the ideas current concerning personality that we must determine what we mean by the term. How does the term *personality* differ from that of *individuality*, from that of *self*?

Individuality is a term used to indicate the qualities which mark one off from his fellows. Usually the term is applied to one who, while possessing most of the characteristics common to others, yet has certain distinguishing qualities and attitudes.

The *self* is a term which has grown up in psychology. The social psychologists have further developed the notion by showing how it expands in contact with others. Cooley calls this larger self "the social self." He says, "The social self is simply any idea, or system of ideas, drawn from the communicative life, that the mind cherishes as its own. Self-feeling has its chief scope *within* the general life, not outside of it, the special endeavor or tendency of which it is the emotional aspect finding its principal field of exercise in a world of personal forces, reflected in the mind by a world of personal impressions."[3] In relation to individuality the self is the concept which one

[3] Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York, 1902), p. 147.

has of himself as a separate being, while *individuality* is primarily the term used to designate in the minds of others points in which the one they observe differs from themselves and others. Such a statement does not imply that one's concept of self is arrived at without reference to how others look upon him. As the result of consciousness of how one appears to others, there grows up what Cooley calls "the looking-glass self."[2]

Personality is also a term which has been used in different senses. Bleuler, the psychiatrist, makes the personality the equivalent of the ego, or of Cooley's "self." He says, "Most of our psychic functions have a continuity, in so far as the experiences become connected with one another through memory, and in so far as they unite with a very firm and constantly present complex of memory pictures and ideas, namely, the ego, or personality."[3] Park and Burgess define personality "as the sum and organization of those traits which determine the rôle of the individual in the group."[4] Burgess develops the concept in some greater detail as follows: "The person, as previously defined, is the individual with status. Personality may then be regarded as the sum and coordination of those traits which determine the rôle and status of the individual in the social group. Certain traits of the individual—as his physique, mentality, and temperament—definitely affect his social standing. Primarily, however, his position in the group will be determined by personal relations such as his group participation, his character, his personal behaviour pattern, and his social type."[5] Professor Young following the fundamental concept of Burgess has phrased the matter in a slightly different way. He says, "The personality may be defined as the sum of total images, ideas, attitudes, and habits of the individual organized in terms of his social participation."[6] In another place he defines personality in terms of the process of its formation as follows: "We may view personality, then, as a compound emergent product made up of psychobiological tensions and mechanisms, involving both the central and the autonomic nervous systems, modified and elaborated by personal-social experience and by culture norms so as to permit one to live with one's fellows."[7]

For our purposes no concept of the nature of personality is so fruitful as that of these social psychologists. "The individual who has status is a

[2] Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
[3] Bleuler, *Textbook of Psychiatry*, tr. Brill (New York, 1924).
[4] Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Society* (Chicago, 1921), p. 70.
[5] Burgess, "The Delinquent as a Person," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XVIII (1912-1913), p. 665.
[6] Young, *Social Psychology* (New York, 1930), p. 101.
[7] Young, *ibid.*, p. 237.

personality" is a short way of emphasizing a conception of personality of the greatest significance for those who would understand both the well adjusted and disorganized It takes into account the native endowment of the individual, or the lack of endowment. It leaves room for any light which heredity can throw upon the characteristics of a person Psychology can contribute whatever light is possible upon the process of developing personality. It leaves room for an influence often neglected—that growing out of the fact that an individual is molded by the impact upon him of all the experiences of life It provides a place for whatever understanding we may have of the function of the physical processes of his body, those of the endocrine or ductless glands, of his digestive organs—in short whatever urges arise from his physical organism—in fashioning his conduct He is not a person unless he has integrated his individuality into his social relationships in such a way that he belongs by a certain set of social ties to a group of individuals in a given social situation For example, when a child is born it has individuality. No two are exactly alike in their reactions to other persons and to situations which arise. That individuality may become more or less sharply marked as it responds to stimulation provided by contact with other people As the child develops, his contacts widen from parent and nurse to playmates, neighbors, schoolmates, and teachers He experiences his first group contacts in the family, then in the neighborhood play group, then perhaps in the school group and cliques at school As adulthood is reached, other groups, like clubs, organizations for different purposes, occupational groups, etc., impinge upon him In all these relationships he must adjust his individuality to the purpose and spirit of the group. Attitudes and opinions, ideals and prejudices meet him on every hand To these he must respond in some way The way he responds determines to what group he attaches himself He finally comes to belong to some group, gang, crowd, or public. Further *he comes to be recognized as belonging*. Now he has status; he is a person, he has become a personality. From birth to death, as a being having contacts with other social beings, he is struggling to find a place for himself where his urges will be satisfied Thomas says there are four fundamental wishes which the individual strives to have fulfilled—(1) for new experience, (2) for security; (3) for response, and (4) for recognition[8] As he finds a place for himself in a group where these wishes are realized he attains personality. It may be in the family, in a gang, in a student body, in a labor employers' or capitalist organization; in a golf club, a service club, a political

[8] Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl* (Boston, 1923), p 4 For a slightly different statement of these fundamental wishes see Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York, 1927), p 21

organization, or in any group of people whose opinions and attitudes he shares and whose esteem he craves.

What is the importance for social pathology of this concept of personality thus very briefly set out? Without it one is unable to understand the factors which enter into disorganization of personality and the process by which disorganization comes about. Whatever causes the individual to fail to acquire status in a group or to lose status affects his personality. Consider the emotional disturbance of the small child who, by reason of the disruption of his own family, is placed in an institution or in some other family. Conscious of the fact that his moorings have been disturbed, he is quite uncomfortable. Reach he must in some way to this changed situation. If for the lost status he does not find a new and satisfactory one, he is likely to be very much disturbed, and his personality may become disorganized. Or, consider the young woman who has failed in comparison with her companion to attract the attention of some desirable man. Perhaps she graduates from college without having become engaged. Assuming that she has shared the attitudes of the group to which she belonged, among which was the belief that one should become engaged before leaving school, the fact that she has failed in comparison with her sisters affects her status, creates a strain on her emotional balance, and demands some kind of an adjustment to the situation. Or, behold the successful business man in a time of widespread depression when the results of the work of years are tumbling in ruins about his head. He had built up a self-satisfying prestige among his fellowmen. He had a status, he enjoyed the esteem and perhaps even the envy of his fellows. Now he has lost his property. Perhaps he is even suspected of being responsible for the ruin of other men, his friends and business associates. What is the result on his own personality? He is very much disturbed. Sleepless nights follow sleepless nights. Instead of the cheerful, open countenance, the attitude of self-assurance and self-esteem, the consciousness of being accepted by his fellowmen, lines of worry are written on his face. The resiliency and buoyancy of his spirit have departed. He is morose. He meets his fellows on the street with a hang-dog air. One who has not gone through such an experience can only faintly imagine the suffering of spirit which a man undergoes at such a time. His status is threatened. Unless he can compensate for the loss of prestige in a way which will give him a status in the good will and esteem of his fellows on some other basis or upon the old basis recovered, his emotional reactions are likely to be such that very great disorganization of the personality occurs.

An individual, child or adult, may be one whose organic constitution prevents proper adjustment to the life situations he encounters. This constitu-

tion may be the result of the inheritance of a defective organization, may be due to accident, or to disease, impairing the functioning of the organism, or it may be due to attitudes toward others acquired from early conditioning. On the other hand the precipitating factor in the situation may be some unusual strain Such strains may be the result of changes in economic conditions, or of military life in time of war The stresses may be incident to adolescence, or in women may be connected with the climacteric Or they may result from such changes in the social surroundings as alter a man's social position As a result, on the one hand, of weakness in his make-up and inability to adjust his organism to the situation, or, on the other, of changes in the environment which create a strain too great to be borne by his constitutional nature and the personality he has built up from birth to that time in response to his life experiences, an individual may fail to attain harmonious relationships with his group and may therefore *feel that he does not belong* Status is lost, his personality becomes disorganized, he is very much "upset," and the way he reacts to the situation determines whether he will reorganize his personality, or become permanently maladjusted

TYPES OF PERSONALITY

James has said, "A man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him and carry an image of him in their mind" * The variety of personalities is very great, whether we consider what we call the "normal" personalities or the "abnormal" Various attempts have been made to classify personalities and thus bring the great variety under intellectual control on the basis of some fundamental principle

Perhaps the most general classification of types of normal personalities is that into (1) introversion, (2) extroversion, and (3) ambiversion These classes were suggested by E S Conklin in a paper published some years ago Conklin defines *introversion* as "a more or less prolonged condition in which attention is controlled more by the subjective than by the objective condition, and in which the contents of the subjective condition is of a more abstract nature and not so intimately related to the objective condition" [10]

Some of the marks of the introvert are absent-mindedness, lack of decisive interest in business, sports, or other activities in which the physical is mainly concerned The introvert is interested in abstraction, principles, inter-

* Young, op cit, p 308, where the statement is quoted from James' *Principles of Psychology*

[10] Conklin, "The Definition of Introversion, Extroversion and Allied Concepts," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol XVIII (1922-1923), pp 368, 369, 370, 375-377 Quoted by Young, *Source Book for Social Psychology* (New York, 1927), p 491

pretations, theories, schemes, and values. He likes to read, to write, perhaps to lecture, to sing, to play, or to paint. Moreover, in his emotional life he is different from the extrovert in that his emotions are finer, more complex, and more of the derived form. He lives more in himself than in the busy world of activity. He finds his satisfactions in interpretations of life and not in the active lines of business. He may be a poet, or a priest, or a teacher; a philosopher, a painter, or a musician.

On the other hand *the extrovert* thinks very little about himself. He is not interested in the way in which his mind works. He is not concerned about understanding the subtle processes of life. Usually he does not care for abstraction, or social idealism. He is not given to philosophic speculation, poetry, an appreciation of music or art, but is interested in physical activities, contact with the world of men on the outside, and getting things done. The go-getter of the business world is a good example of the extrovert. His attention is governed by objective conditions. He is subject to strong sensory stimulations and finds his happiness in the activities which grow out of response to such stimulation. His ideas are those of action. Hence he loves sports, business, politics, or any other fields of activity in which he operates with things or persons in their objective relations to him. He is the man who does, rather than reasons or dreams. His emotional life is very much less refined than that of the introvert. It is aroused chiefly by the activities which dominate his attention with respect to the world outside of himself. The pronounced extrovert does not enjoy classical literature or classical music, and does not feel at home in an art gallery, or a symphonic concert. Conklin defines extroversion as follows: "Extroversion is a more or less prolonged condition in which attention is controlled by the objective conditions of attention more than by the subjective, and in which the content of the subjective conditions is mostly closely related to the objective."[11]

The ambivert as described and defined by Conklin is one who shares in both of these attitudes toward life and the world. Conklin points out that neither introversion nor extroversion is abnormal and that they should not be considered mutually exclusive. There are some persons who, while they enjoy physical activities, dealing with men and things, organizing business or social affairs, also enjoy reading, music, and art, and find a degree of pleasure in reading philosophy and contemplating schemes and theories. They may alternate in their interests and attention between these two attitudes, or they may carry them along together. At certain periods they may be interested in hunting, fishing, and other physical sports and at others be entirely absorbed in writing, reading, enjoying poetry, or discussing the theories of

[11] Young, *Source Book*, p. 400

Plato or more modern philosophers. These individuals Conklin calls ambiverts. He defines ambiversion as "a condition of development in which attention is controlled by either subjective or objective conditions of attention and in which the content of the subjective conditions is so varied as to make possible more or less prolonged periods of either extroversion or introversion."[12]

The psychopathic personality is of chief interest to the social pathologist Rosanoff has described four types of personality known to psychiatrists They are: (1) the anti-social, (2) the cyclothymic, (3) the autistic, and (4) the epileptic. He uses the term personality to designate the inborn psychic capacity, traits, and tendencies of the individual.

What he calls the anti-social personality provides the constitutional basis underlying hysteria and hysterical manifestations, malingering, pathological lying, swindling, and some types of criminality He believes that the essence of it is the predominance of unlawful, selfish motivation as seen in the behavior of the individual, combined with a more or less pronounced lack of compunction

His second type of psychopathic personality which he calls the cyclothymic, he believes provides the constitutional basis on which the manic-depressive psychoses develop.

His third type, the autistic, provides the constitutional basis on which *dementia praecox* or the schizophrenic psychoses grow up Here, too, there are many varieties, the outstanding one of which is the group called *dementia praecox* The fundamental characteristic of the autistic personality is the narrowing or reduction of external interests and contacts, and preoccupation with inward ruminations In other words, you have here a striking illustration of the extremely introverted individual

His fourth type, the epileptic, is not so well described in mental terms. Physically there is not much difficulty in recognizing him, especially when he suffers from the ordinary manifestations of epilepsy.

Rosanoff points out that the chief distinguishing qualitative marks of the normal personality as contrasted with the psychopathic are inhibition, emotional control, a superior durability of mind, rational balance, and nervous stability The lack of these mark the psychiatric personality Normal persons have selfish motivations and anti-social or violent impulses, but are able to inhibit them. The psychopathic personalities are less able to do so He points out that the epileptic and autistic personalities suffer more or less pronounced mental deterioration because of the atrophy of the brain tissue, whereas the normal type of personality and the cyclothymic variety of ab-

[12] *Ibid*, p 401

normal show a relatively great durability of mental capacity The cyclothymic personality is protected against the unusual manifestations of the autistic, such as hallucinations and delusions, by reason of the continuity of its external contacts. Normal personalities are protected by what Rosanoff thinks is an influence which makes for rational balance There are other qualitative aspects, affecting nervous stability, in which the normal individual and also the pathological—the anti-social, cyclothymic, and to a lesser degree the autistic personalities—maintain uniformity and continuity of consciousness. They avoid fainting spells, convulsions, delirla, automatisms, abscences, and other epileptic manifestations He points out that, while qualitatively there is variation between the pathological and the normal types of individual, nevertheless sharp lines of demarcation cannot be drawn Pure types are the exception, while mixed types are the rule Some extremely pathological personalities in institutions are crazy only in respect to one or two matters, while among normal persons there are to be found certain anti-social tendencies, changeability of moods, autistic thinking, and other characteristics which are to be found in the pathological His whole presentation goes to show that the popular tendency to mark off sharply what we call pathological personalities from normal personalities is not in keeping with the facts Even from the social point of view many somewhat abnormal personalities perform a fine service in society He cites the fact that in literary and histrionic art many of the great achievements have been made by the cyclothymic personality; that the autistic personality often makes important contributions in science and many other fields, because of the tendency to concentrate mental energy on specific tasks and exclude every extraneous interest, and that finally, even the epileptic personality, characterized by a tendency to inspiration, revelation, stubborn patience and determination, has contributed much to human achievement In other words, a great many people who are quite useful in society have personalities which in one respect or another are somewhat "crazy"

I have cited these pathological personalities as recognized by psychiatry merely to indicate that the further students go in the study of human personality, and the larger the number included in the survey, the more apparent it becomes that, if we had a complete census of personality traits on statistical graphs we should have a smooth curve without any decided breaks between one end and the other

Therefore, from the standpoint of securing social adjustment, we may say that personalities roughly may be divided into two classes (1) those which fit into the social order in which they live with a fair degree of success, some with greater, some with less, and yet with enough adjustment so that

they get along fairly well in social life They are not violently disturbed by the events of life unless very unusual happenings occur They make adjustment to the demands of society and are looked upon as normal personalities (2) There are others, however, who are more or less unhappy, their adjustments are imperfect, they are recognized as not quite belonging to the groups which come in contact with them, and in the extreme cases they are so maladjusted that they cannot be left at large However, they vary all the way from the ordinarily "queer" person to those who are so inefficient and unhappy in their economic and social relationships that special care has to be given them It is this second group with which historically society has been most immediately concerned They are the ones who do not fit From them come the suicides, the murderers, the violators of women and children, those suffering from delusions and illusions, varying from the helpless imbecile or insane to the violent murderer and the sadistic tyrant They create social problems because they do not adjust themselves to the standards of social life set up by a given community They are either helpless themselves or else they interfere with the rights and privileges of their fellows They help to create a pathological condition in society seeing that social soundness is merely the adjustment of relationships between individuals who live together By reason of the inability of these pathological individuals to adjust themselves to a fair degree to their fellows in all the relationships of life, they place burdens upon the social structure which interfere with its proper functioning and, therefore, demand attention from the social organization

GENESIS OF THE DISORGANIZED PERSONALITY

The importance of the disorganized personality for social pathology is beyond dispute How does the personality become disorganized? What are the factors which contribute to it? What are the processes by which this most remarkable organism on earth becomes so unable to function with its fellows? Some of these questions we cannot answer with our present knowledge There is, however, enough information to enable us to guess at the way in which disorganization takes place.

As the basis on which personality develops we have a nervous organization Once we were inclined to say that the nervous system was the seat of our feeling, thinking, and willing However, the more we know about the psychical and social functions of an individual, the more we are persuaded that, while the nervous system is the specialized part of the organism which functions in the higher organization of life, this nervous system is set in the whole physical being and functions in correlation with other parts of

the total organism In other words, we feel, and think, and will with the whole body. The nervous system is affected by the digestive system, by the way in which the ductless glands function, and perhaps by other organs. Not only mind, but character and personality, as Myerson has urged, are organic in their origin and are functions of the entire organism.[16] Thus the personality has as one of its bases the whole of the individual. The functioning of the various parts of the individual has an influence upon the personality.

On the basis of present knowledge we must, therefore, suppose that the way in which the organism functions is determined in part by the biological inheritance The original constitution is very difficult to ascertain apart from its acquired characteristics. Nevertheless, since even in childhood people differ in some of their characteristics, since it is certain that physical characteristics are inherited, and since it is possible that the original bent to certain psychological characteristics also rests upon the pattern inherent in the germ plasm, it is not too much to say in the light of our present knowledge that one of the bases of personality is in the inherited biological structure handed down from ancestors to progeny. When this is said, however, we must add immediately that the inherited constitution is very early—much earlier than we formerly suspected—affected by experience

Recent study has shown without question that the personality is developed on this biological basis by the reaction of the organism to experience probably from the moment of conception to death The experiences set up reactions which finally congeal into habits, attitudes, and types of behavior—probably determined as to the form they take by the patterns of behavior already in existence.

The disorganized personality develops on this same basis, but in the first place the inherited constitution is probably different and in the second place the organism is subjected to different experiences On the basis of these two variables the reactions of two individuals will be different

In either of those two situations the result may be a feeling of inadequacy, unhappiness, resentment, and often further disorganization of the personality, such as we find in the queer and the insane.

THE RÔLE OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN THE DISORGANIZATION OF THE PERSONALITY

In the briefest possible way it may be said that personality is disorganized by the following social factors.

[16] Myerson, *Foundations of Personality* (Boston, 1922), p 21 Young, *Social Psychology* (New York, 1930), p 42

(1) **The Family.** Just as the family has much to do with the development of the well-developed personality, so family life which is not well adapted to the individual may produce a disorganized personality. As the first social group which has contact with the infant, the family has a very important influence upon the development of his personality. Here are built up the habitual reactions to conditions and to other persons which give the set to the individual's reactions to life. He may be spoiled by his methods of feeding and by the way in which he is cared for by those who love him most dearly. He may become disorganized by differences in attitude of the father and mother toward him, or by the way in which the parents treat him as compared with his brothers and sisters.

When family life is disorganized, it presents a pattern which, unless it is displaced in its influence by some other pattern, works havoc with the developing child. As Professor Young has pointed out, these face-to-face influences may be either what he calls vertical or horizontal. That is, an influence is vertical if exerted upon the child by some one older in age or superior to him in authority. It is horizontal if it is exerted upon him by some one of his own age level or of a similar social position.[14]

(2) **Disorganization by Other Groups.** Playing upon every child, as soon as he is able to get out of the household and mingle with people, are other personalities with varying patterns of conduct. They may be children or adults, playmates or schoolmates, teachers, adult neighbors, or workmen. If they are older or more experienced they are an illustration of the vertical arrangement just mentioned. If they have prestige of any sort in the eyes of the youngster, their personalities and their patterns of conduct will influence him and may tend to displace those patterns which have been impressed upon him in the family. Hence, group contacts outside the family have an important influence in shaping the personality. If these are socially wholesome, the child develops accordingly. If they are demoralizing in their nature, they may result in his personal disorganization.

Thrasher in discussing the gang has pointed out how, in a large city, the group contacts to which children are exposed often have a very demoralizing influence. He observed in his study of the gangs in Chicago that many of the areas from which the problem children come are characterized by individuals and patterns of life which are quite at variance with the standards of conduct approved by the community at large. He also makes note of the fact that the behavior patterns of the gangs are often a reflection of the activities of adult life and the customs of the particular community in which the child develops. The gangs not only have their leaders and heroes, but

[14] Young, *Social Psychology*, p. 255

their activities are patterned upon the activities of older gangs and upon the behavior of adults with whom they become acquainted. Isolated, as are many of these areas in a great city, from the larger community influences, and inhabited by people of a culture which they have brought with them from abroad, they breed behavior patterns quite at variance with those of the great community. The children may not be conscious of any conflict between the habits and customs which they themselves possess and those of the community in the midst of which they grow up. They become conscious of the strangeness of the attitudes and conduct of other groups when they come in conflict with the law or with attitudes and patterns of conduct forced upon them by a larger whole. As Thrasher remarks, denied the affective access to the larger, older, and the more generally accepted culture of the dominant social order, these children develop a pattern in accordance with the system of action current in their own communities. In these communities are often to be found the most demoralized personalities, such as older gangsters, adults who live either on the margin of the law or beyond its pale, and certain institutions of a questionable nature from the standpoint of the dominant code of conduct, such as criminal pool halls, dives, saloons, and houses of prostitution. Antithesis to the commonly accepted code of conduct is nurtured by the community in which they live, ideals at variance with the dominant social code are accepted, men and women of the underworld become the heroes of the community. Those possessing social prestige in such groups are the leaders of questionable activities often at variance with both the mores of the dominant group and with the law. The result is that, while the youngster becomes thoroughly integrated with the influences of the community and with the patterns of conduct there accepted, he finds himself at variance with the reigning social mores and codes of conduct, and integrates his social personality on a lower level than is demanded by the established habits and customs of the larger society.

Moreover, in those communities which hold a large number of immigrants there is a conflict of culture between the older members of society and the younger. The older members, parents often of these children, have brought with them from Europe a culture which in many respects is at variance with that of American society. The children become partially Americanized by their contacts with American culture in the schools, and thus the influence of the parents' culture is supplanted, in part at least, by the patterns of conduct which are a part of the American culture. On the other hand, since it is in the immigrant areas that all kinds of questionable institutions are to be found, the community influences play upon the child and tend to displace the influence of the home, of the school, and of those tenuous pat-

terms of conduct insisted upon by the larger society In both of these ways the child finds conflicts of culture which often he is not able to reconcile. He must choose between them or else find a path in which various elements from the different cultures may go along hand in hand. Since often he is not able to make such choice, he forms his habit patterns on a lower level in accordance with the established mores of his in-group

Wile has pictured this situation as follows "A clash between what the self interprets as valuable and what the herd approves, resulting in contrasting behavior, may yield values to the child despite social disapproval. On the other hand, a child may so thoroughly rationalize his conduct that he believes the world's judgment wrong and continues in a highly individualistic course of conduct, actually out of harmony with the principles essential to group life Again, conduct in accord with social guidance may so block personality as to eventuate in anti-social trends arising from obsessions, thoughts of oppression or persecution Finally, the camouflaging of emotions for the protection of the juvenile period against discontent, emotional distress, and moral disquietude may produce results inimical to the personality of later life Failure to face the realities of self in relation to persons, places and things is both an effect and a cause of personality variations and of diversifications of behavior" [23] The play of these factors outside the household upon the developing personality is to be found everywhere These demoralizing groups, however, are most often to be found in areas where society has not taken care to provide constructive contacts and activities for its young people

When a community is one of low economic standards, widespread poverty, lack of socially constructive recreational and character-forming agencies, there will be found groups of people whose life patterns are not geared to the highest social potentials There frequently you find the least adequate schools, there child labor laws are safely violated, sanitary laws are not enforced, there are the individuals and groups which condone the violation of the laws set up for the protection of health and the ordering of life according to the standards of the great society The on-going processes of human living, the increasingly complex conditions of society, have revealed the necessity of certain laws and customs intended to conserve personal integrity and to meet the demands of a rapidly changing and increasingly complex life These laws and standards are impressed, sometimes by force of law, sometimes by ostracism, upon these disorganized communities Conflict occurs in the individual between the standards which have survived in his group

[23] Wile, *The Challenge of Childhood* (New York, 1926), p. 114.

and those of the larger and more far-seeing dominant group. Often the result is personal disorganization.

Take the case of Alfred, cited by Wile. The home was bad by reason of the mother's careless habits and low moral standards, and the father's record of arrest for larcenies and drunkenness In such a home he lived until he was twelve years of age The father having died of tuberculosis, the mother married another irresponsible man, a drunkard like herself He was an irregular worker and showed very little interest in the stepchildren. With that family situation consider the fact that the neighborhood was not good People of low incomes lived there. The social standards were low The visitors in the home and the outside associates of the children were of a low social type. The whole neighborhood had an atmosphere which provided temptations in abundance and exposures to indecent conditions. No wonder the boy became a thief and in defense of his actions said that he had found the articles he stole Alfred was becoming rapidly disorganized He was removed to the home of an aunt which was very superior to that of his mother The associations outside the home were entirely different, the atmosphere was upbuilding and helpful, the schools good, and his recreation with a group of people well adjusted Wile remarks "It is patent that the social approach has been consistent in the solution of Alfred's progress If one were to enumerate the social elements entering into the evolution of his character, one might mention the unfortunate and fateful marriage that gave him birth, the alcoholism and immorality of his parents and their economic failure, his removal to an institution because of improper guardianship, the influence of eight years of institutional regulations, the release from repressive measures to freedom in a highly solicitous home, the check to his unfolding character through his mother's re-marriage and the entrance into the home of an indolent, brutal stepfather, the influence of a disorderly, low type neighborhood, and the threat of being 'put away' once more These were the elements that led to, and hastened Alfred's emotional and moral deterioration" [19]

Alfred's case is a good illustration of the interaction upon a developing personality of a bad heredity, a poor home during his early development, a fine home during his later development, and the contacts first with unwholesome groups but later with wholesome ones

Among these outside influences are not only adult and childhood groups which play upon the individual, but certain of the institutions which society has built up to supplement the family Happy the boys and girls who have understanding school teachers when they meet the complex problems of life

[19] Wile, op cit, p 252

and seek for adjustment! Every study of disorganized personality in children and many of disorganized adults, finds in their history a poorly functioning school One aspect of this is illustrated by George Repressed at home and not provided an outlet for his desires, he also failed to find in school anything constructive for his development The school was so overcrowded that he was allowed to attend only one-half day During the other half an outlet for his activities was found in a group of adolescent boys little older than himself who were loafing and getting into mischief The school itself did not provide means whereby his interests were enlisted and he found the satisfaction of his wishes in these slowly demoralizing groups of the neighborhood. He became difficult to control He began to engage in all kinds of escapades with these outside companions, showed no interest in his studies, and wanted to quit school Frequently he was truant When things seemed to be coming to a crisis, the representatives of a social agency stepped into the scene, became interested in the boy, and got him transferred to a vocational school in the community where he could attend full time and occupy himself with interesting studies. Furthermore, this worker took pains to see that George was connected with certain organized activities of a recreational nature which brought him into contact with an entirely new set of associates The boy scouts, of which he became a member, took an interest in him He soon found that he was looked upon by these boys as a hopeful and important member. The understanding worker who had interfered in his case became also an important influence in his life. In the course of two years his disorganization was stopped and an entirely new attitude developed Instead of being surly, irritable, and difficult to control, he became happy, had a sense of self-respect, and enjoyed the esteem in which he was held by the other boys and by adults who knew him. That the school fails to supply the defects of the home can be seen in numberless cases What it might do is shown by what has been done when interested teachers have been able to adjust the influences outside of the home, and especially in the school, to the needs of the developing boy or girl.

The outside contacts which have influence upon the personality and determine the fundamental attitudes and patterns of conduct of the person are the neighborhood, the congeniality group, the gang, and the comradeship group.[17] The neighborhood with its general atmosphere, economic and social, presses upon the individual, silently but powerfully. The congeniality group, drawn together by similar likes and dislikes, without question has an enormous influence in determining social attitudes and habits The gang, organized around certain fundamental interests of children and adolescents, forms an

[17] Young, *Social Psychology*, p 189.

outlet for the desires not met by the home and the school It binds children together with loyalty and imposes patterns of conduct in the most imperative manner. Comradeship with its close associations between two or more people in intimate relationships day by day provides an interplay between the personalities which modify both in a very decided manner. Now, if these outside influences provide molds of conduct at variance with the standards usually accepted by the dominant society, disorganization is likely to ensue Furthermore, if the secondary groups of society, such as schools, churches, recreational agencies, and the like, also influential in shaping the developing personality, fail to provide patterns of conduct and activities of interest to satisfy the basic needs of developing individuals, personal disorganization is likely to result If the political organization is permeated through and through, with ideals not of the common good, but of individual and group graft, you have another situation which leads to personal demoralization The political machine is usually an influence demoralizing to the political idealism of the community. If the police are ignorant, grafting, and lack understanding of their function in the ordering of social life, again you have a situation which causes conflict in the loyalties of a boy or girl and is likely to lead to personal disorganization

(3) Occupation and Personal Disorganization. Different habit patterns are developed by the various occupations in which one makes his living Forms of conduct have grown up appropriate to each occupation and they distinguish individuals of a particular occupation from that of another. Often these differences in conduct norms can be recognized by the casual observer. More than that, occupation also determines somewhat an individual's attitude toward life It not only affects his dress, his methods of eating, and his social demeanor in general, but it also affects his attitude toward other groups A member of the employer class does not have the same organization of conduct as a member of the laboring class The outlook of the one upon political questions is likely to be quite different from that of the other Their respective attitudes toward economic questions, especially in case of industrial conflict, is sure to be quite different

Out of these differing attitudes related to varying occupations personal disorganization sometimes develops This is seen in the case of the bank clerk who feels that he must keep up a higher standard of living than his wages will permit Frequently this brings about such a state of mind that he feels himself an inferior person, shows emotional disturbance, and perhaps compensates by defalcation It is illustrated also by the personal disorganization which frequently occurs when a supposedly successful business man fails and takes his own life Perhaps most frequently, however, it comes out in the class

hatred which develops between members of different occupations whose interests clash, either in the economic or the social sphere Many men develop hatred so intense that their own personality suffers They become the fanatical leaders of class wars. While no careful study has been made of the matter, a study of some cases seems to indicate that these occupational differences operate for the disorganization of personality only in the cases of those who have basic personality deviations.

RELATION OF THE DISORGANIZED PERSONALITY TO SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

Whether the personality becomes disorganized by reason of inherited tendencies, by reason of changes in the central nervous system due to injuries, toxin, or disease, or by reason of the play of external circumstances upon the nervous organization, the result from the standpoint of the individual as a functioning unit in society is practically the same [14]

From the standpoint of the individual the important matter is that he is unable to adjust himself to the demands of social life to such a degree that he can get along in his ordinary relationships Sometimes the maladjustment is in the economic field, sometimes in the family, sometimes in the neighborhood From the sociological standpoint the important fact is that in many such persons you have overt manifestations of anti-social behavior If one remembers that it is the function of the entire organism of the individual to adjust itself to the whole of the outside world, and that it takes a very high grade personality to make those adjustments, it is easy to see that the disorganized personality has a direct relationship to social pathology

Society is an artificial creation due to the activities of human beings, striving to come to terms with the external universe of things, in order, first, to survive, and next, to enjoy some degree of comfort in relationship to that universe. Unless the individual is able to organize himself in relation to the complex conditions in the midst of which he lives, he becomes a disturbing factor which makes the functioning of the social organization all the more difficult Take, for example, the person who is unable to make a living by reason of his own personal maladjustment to the economic and social order. His difficulty may be due to inherited incapacity exaggerated by experience, as is sometimes the case among the feeble-minded, the epileptic, and the insane Sometimes it is due to a combination of certain inherited incapacities which prevent him from adjusting his actions to the economic situation, to-

[14] Any one interested in understanding the various forms of personal disorder which come under the notice of the psychiatrist should consult Bleuler's *Textbook of Psychiatry* For a discussion of the play of social factors in producing personal disorganization see Park and Burgess, *op cit*, p 638, and Wile, *op cit*.

gether with an acquired inability to manage things in his material environment. On the other hand, it may be that he is so emotionally disturbed by reason of experiences through which he has passed that he is unable to concentrate his attention upon his industrial activities. He loses his job, becomes discouraged, and finally becomes entirely dependent upon others for his support.

Consider also the effect of the disorganized personality upon criminality. Before every individual as he faces life there is a complex system of codes, standards, and ideals of conduct which have been established by society over long periods of time. Again, either by reason of his constitutional organization or because of his having been reared in a group with standards of conduct quite at variance with those which he must later face, he finds himself in conflict with the conduct approved by the dominant group. As a result of that conflict he refuses to abide by the codes of conduct enforced by society and usually finds a way to justify his actions to himself. As Park and Burgess have pointed out in this connection: "Frequently adjustment involves suppression of one tendency in the interests of another, of one wish in favor of another. Where these suppressions are prevalent they frequently result in disorders of conduct and the disorganization of the personality."[19]

Consider again the influence of this disorganized personality face to face with the demands of economic and professional life. In order to get along well as economic and professional life is now organized, it is necessary that each person develop inhibitions of certain impulses and learn to accommodate himself to certain standards of conduct approved by his fellow-man. If by reason of his personal disorganization he is unable to make these adjustments, he will fail in his career. Take, for example, the employer of labor who, in the face of the complex and ever-changing conditions of modern economic life, finds it impossible to adjust his actions to new situations in such a way as successfully to insure the appropriate combination of labor and capital in his organization. His disorganization may actually disqualify him for making quick and subtle readjustments of organization and of plans. On the other hand, consider the workman who, by reason of his disorganized personality, becomes a constant trouble-maker, finds fault with everything, or fails to perform the functions required of him. He, too, finds himself without a job. Or again take, for example, the professional man, whether it be in medicine, law, engineering, architecture, or any other professional line. If he is laboring under delusions or hallucinations and is thus out of touch with the realities of a situation, he will not overcome the difficulties which every man faces in his professional life in adjusting his actions and attitudes so as to get along

[19] Park and Burgess, op. cit., p. 635.

well with others and accomplish his purposes His clients will leave him, his income will shrink, and he will probably feel that the world is against him.

Consider the suicide in this connection Usually in the case of suicide there is personality disorganization The person who commits suicide has so far become unadjusted to the social situation in which he finds himself that life for him no longer has value It is a way of escaping from burdens too great to be borne There is a sense of inadequacy, of failure, sometimes accompanied by delusions or hallucinations, but always with the consciousness of the loss of status. This loss may be real or fancied It makes no difference Neither does it matter whether he takes this way out of his difficulties for his own sake, to save his family and his friends from disgrace, or to keep from being a burden to them In most cases his action creates a social maladjustment which interferes with the functioning of the social order

Consider also the influence of personality disorganization upon the family. The individual—whether it be husband, wife, father, mother, or child—who fails to integrate his own personality with the other personalities in the family creates difficulties not only for himself but for all those connected with him in that relationship How many cases are to be found where unhappiness results because of the personal disorganization of one partner in the marriage relationship Unable to adjust himself to others, a disorganized personality disrupts the pleasant relationships of the home and perhaps destroys the family organization The insane, feeble-minded, or emotionally disturbed parent may wreck the home in spite of anything that can be done Likewise the child, often a victim of the conflict between home standards and community standards, is a source of primary disturbance in the family relationship Disorganized in his own personality and unable to adjust himself to the situation, he becomes a source of irritation and often of family disorganization.

Likewise the disturbing influence of a disorganized personality in the political and social life of the community is often to be seen His failure to function as a good citizen disturbs the peaceful flow of community life and places a burden upon the other citizens The same influence may be seen by the disorganized personality in the church. Consider what happens to a church in which one of the deacons has become so personally disorganized that he is found guilty of sodomy with one of the sons of another member of the church True, he is sent to an institution where his anti-social conduct is dealt with Nevertheless, the result of that one disorganized personality upon the respect in which that church is held is very serious Or consider the influence of the clergyman found guilty of immoral sex relations Without question such individual actions place a very great strain upon the whole social structure of that congregation

These illustrations indicate that, since personality lies at the basis of the proper functioning of our social organization, disorganized personalities disturb that organization and create problems in social adjustment of the very greatest consequence. Every unit of the social organization from the family to the State suffers. Burdens, economic and social, are placed upon the group and must be borne by the well-adjusted members. The degenerate individual and the degenerate family constitute the foci around which cluster many of the problems of modern civilization. They make more difficult the adjustment of the social machinery to the individuals who constitute society.

The Prevention of Personal Disorganization. In so far as the basis for personal disorganization lies in the inherited constitution, preventive measures must deal with the control of the defective stock. Too little is known to date about the way in which some of these things are inherited to enable us to take very radical measures in the breeding of human thoroughbreds. However, of those strains of human stock from which come the mental defective, certain types of the insane and the epileptic, we know enough at the present time to enable us to determine that certain individuals should not reproduce their kind. Segregation, sterilization, or both, seem to be indicated.

For those whose disordered personalities are the result of the combination of innate characteristics and social conditions, the only preventive program which seems to give any promise at the present moment is that of adjusting the social relationships to the peculiarities of the individual constitution. Even with our inadequate organization for these particular individuals, wonders are being accomplished. The blind, the deaf, the hysterical, certain of the feeble-minded, many of the insane, can be provided with social circumstances adapted to their particular organization which will re-orient them and enable them to function in society. The schools, the play groups, can be so organized that the individual who is uncertain of his status or is losing status may be restored. Every effort that is made to provide a person with status is a means of preventing the disorganization of his personality.

On the part of all persons concerned with other individuals, knowledge of the nature of man, of how the interplay of personality and social circumstances affects one's personality, creates the understanding heart important to every one who deals with his fellow-men. Only as one understands the relationships between individuals and between groups, only as he comprehends the mechanisms by which the feelings of inferiority and superiority are created, and by which a person or a group loses status, can he appreciate the basis of the fears, perplexities, delusions, hatreds, and obsessions which lie at the root of personal disorganization and social pathology. Only as this understanding becomes the property of all intelligent individuals of the group, and

only as it becomes disseminated throughout society shall we have that sympathy with each other that will enable us to appreciate the other person's point of view Such understanding only will provide the basis on which the adjustment necessary to the adequate functioning of our institutions and organizations can be made

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1 What is meant by the following terms (a) individuality, (b) the self, (c) personality?
2. Name and explain Thomas' four wishes
3. Discuss the importance for social pathology of the concept of personality.
4 What are the three types of normal personalities?
5 Name and describe briefly Rosanoff's four types of psychopathic personalities
6 Outline the factors in the genesis of the disorganized personality
7 What social organizations play the most important part in the disorganization of personality?
8 Point out how the disorganized personality reacts upon social organization.
9 Outline a program for the prevention of personal disorganization

PART II

THE PATHOLOGY OF DOMESTIC RELATIONSHIPS

FOREWORD TO PART II

The family is one of our fundamental social organizations. There the earliest, primary, face-to-face relationships are formed. There the first conditioning of most individuals takes place. In the family the external world first plays upon us, and there we make our earliest responses. On the treatment children there receive depends the formation of the most lasting habit-patterns which characterize their later lives. The family, therefore, is the matrix of the most fundamental traits of each individual. For most people heredity and culture there combine in their most potent forms and give the set to the future character and personality of individuals. In the family the child finds understanding, solace, a sense of belonging, and experiences social status in its fullest sense and with the warmest emotional content. Or, in the family, the child fails to find that serenity, that harmony of relationships which mean so much to his developing *psyche*. It may be an incomplete family with one parent dead, deserted, or divorced, the child may find discord there before his wondering eyes, not unity and concord, but spiteful disagreement eventuating in hate or scorn. Instead of loving cooperation in the keeping of the home and in the training of the children he may find a pulling and hauling between the parents as to whose ideas and ideals shall prevail. Instead of the reconciliation of the clashing egotisms of older and younger children, there may be strife and angry differences with partiality shown to one child as against the others. Then the stage is set for the development of a warped personality, poorly adjusted to meet the demands of life. *By the pathology of domestic relations, then, we mean the lack of those arrangements and relationships, of those emotional tones and intellectual understandings on which depends the development of a personality adjusted to the requirements of social life.* What this definition means in concrete terms will be brought out in the next few chapters.

CHAPTER II

WIDOWHOOD

The rise of civilization among any people creates problems, for the old social bonds characterizing tribal society tend to be dissolved. Hence, it is with the rise of civilized society that the problem of the widow appears. The earliest written code of laws, that of Hammurabi, shows us one of these civilized societies struggling with the problem of the wife and children left without support by the husband and father. In the Old Testament concern for the widow does not appear until the old tribal bonds have been dissolved and the rise of a commercial civilization has split the population into different economic classes. The earliest laws of inheritance seemed to revolve about concern for the widow and the children. Many of the classic tragedies and epics reflect the sad state of the widowed woman or center about the problem created by the deprivation of husband or father.

Add to the economic difficulty the social attitude opprobrium toward the widow and you have a situation which is tragic in the extreme. If the status of woman has been depressed to that of a mere producer of children, as in India or China, and if she has failed in that function or has failed to produce *sons*, her condition is tragic indeed. She is looked upon as a disgrace to her family and to her husband. In China, the childless married woman is attached to the household of her husband, and is ever the drudge. On the death of her husband she is further reduced in status. In India at least, when a woman becomes a widow there is added to the ignominy of being merely a wife the disgrace of being further useless to the family. Often in some unaccountable manner she is blamed for being the cause of her husband's death. Until recently, under the practice known as *sati*, she was expected as a faithful wife to destroy herself upon her husband's pyre. Even to-day when British rule no longer permits her destruction in that manner, she continues to live as a disgraced cumberer of the ground. When she happens to be a young widow, her situation is all the more tragic. Forbidden by religion to remarry she remains for the rest of her life a mere menial in her husband's family.

Even in Western civilization the position of the widow is by no means enviable. Though humanitarianism has removed many of the disabilities of the widowed state, it is still greatly handicapped.

EXTENT OF WIDOWHOOD IN THE UNITED STATES

On April 1, 1930, there were 86,718,170 persons in the United States over fifteen years of age. Of the males included in this total 4.6 per cent were widowed, and of the females 11.1 per cent. Of the native white males 4 per cent were widowed, of the foreign-born white males 6.6 per cent, and of the negro males 6.3 per cent. Of the native white females 9.4 per cent were widowed, of the foreign-born white females 16.4 per cent, and of the negro females 15.9 per cent.

As between rural and urban the situation revealed by the census was as follows: Among the males in urban communities, 4.3 per cent were widowed, among those in rural farm areas, 4.8 per cent, and among those in rural non-farm areas, 5.3 per cent. Among the females the percentages were 11.8 per cent, 8.1 per cent, and 11.8 per cent respectively.[1]

From these figures the following facts stand out: (1) In spite of the fact that of those over fifteen years of age 43,881,021 were males and 42,837,149 were females, the percentage of widowed among females was almost three times that among males.[2] That probably points to the fact that widowed males more frequently marry than widowed females. It probably also indicates what is known from other figures that early in life men have a greater mortality rate than women. (2) The foreign-born and the negro have a very much higher rate of widowhood than the native-born among both males and females. (3) The variation between urban and rural communities perhaps should be interpreted as indicating either the greater hazard to males in city or migration of widows from country to city in quest of greater opportunities for self-support.

WHAT HAPPENS IN CASES OF WIDOWHOOD?

Of these almost seven millions of men and women who have been deprived of their companions by death the great majority are able to make the needful economic and mental adjustments. Of about two millions of males who are widowed perhaps most either remarry or make arrangements whereby their children can be cared for, while they work. Many of the aged can be cared for in the homes of their children and in private institutions for the aged. A small proportion of them probably finally land in the almshouse. Out of the almost five millions of female widows, however, many present problems brought about through their widowhood. The Bureau of the Census has not

[1] *Release of the Bureau of the Census* for August 31, 1931.

[2] 11.1 per cent as compared with 4.6 per cent.

yet reported at this writing (May, 1932) the age groups of the female widowed population of the United States. In 1920 the Census showed that while only a little over one out of four widowed males were below the age of 44 years, two out of five of the widowed females were below that age. In other words, the preponderance of widowed males is in the upper age limit, while a greater proportion of the widowed females are of the age when children are likely to be dependent upon them. In the study made in New York City, 1911-1912, only 3 per cent of the widows were under the care of the six charitable agencies in that city. The number under the care of the charities constituted only 10 per cent of the number of widows gainfully employed.[3] The overwhelming number are taking care of themselves.

One must not think of all of these widows as of the same general type. As Devine remarks: "Everyone has in mind a typical mother of fatherless children but the most striking generalization to be made from this study is that there is in fact no such type. There is no widow about whom statements of universal application can confidently be made. There are Jewish widows, Irish widows, and widows who were born and raised in New York. There are capable and incapable, strong and delicate widows. There are widows resourceful as the sturdy oak and others dependent as the clinging vine. There are sober widows and drunken widows, angelic widows and demons in widows' form, good mothers and indifferent mothers, widows who are infinitely better off than they were before they became widows, and widows whose widowhood is tragedy and pathos beyond telling."[4] Some indications, however, of the situation of these families before the death of the head of the family are to be had from this study by Devine and from other studies. The occupations and wages of deceased husbands were ascertained in 488 relief cases. Twenty-eight of these had been earning less than $8.00 a week, 238 had been earning from $8.00 to $12.00 a week. These fragmentary figures suggest that the wages as a whole were low and that those men who were representatives of skilled and semi-skilled trades were among the least efficient or at least the lowest paid in their trades. In general then perhaps it can be said that this study indicates that those cases of female widowhood in which the husband had earned high wages left the family in such condition that it did not need to appeal for help. Very much the same thing is brought out in a study of 985 widows, by Mary E. Richmond and Fred S. Hall. For 363 of these widows the Charity Organization Society of New York City had a record of assistance to the family; of the 985 cases over two-thirds of the

[3] Devine, "Widow's Needs," *The Survey*, April 14, 1914, p. 23.
[4] Devine, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

men had earned less than $13.00 a week. The largest group, 198 men, had earned between $8.00 and $10.00 per week.[5]

Another way of approaching the problem as to what happens in the case of widowhood is to study the comparative number of widows among the insane. While age may be a factor not discernible from the statistics, in 1922 the number of widowed among the insane both male and female, was much higher than the number for either the single or the married. This is shown by the following table from the Census:

MARITAL CONDITION OF PATIENTS IN HOSPITALS FOR MENTAL DISEASE ON JANUARY 1, 1923[6]

MARITAL CONDITION	*Both Sexes*	*Male*	*Female*
All conditions	252.8	260.8	244.5
Single	244.4	292.7	189.3
Married	212.9	170.9	255.9
Widowed	424.6	428.2	423.0
Divorced	1,116.7	1,112.5	1,120.3

One other indication of the terrific economic strain put upon the widow is indicated by the Census statistics on the paupers in almshouses. While it is probable that widowed men and women do not go to almshouses until rather late in life, nevertheless widowhood in the upper age groups contributes the largest proportion per 100,000 of population fifteen years of age and over to the almshouse population.

MARITAL CONDITION	NUMBER OF PAUPERS FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER PER 100,000 POPULATION OF THE SAME MARITAL CLASS, SEX AND AGE[7] ENUMERATED JAN. 1, 1923	
	Male	*Female*
All conditions	143.5	66.0
Single	215.9	96.2
Married	79.4	15.0
Widowed	872.7	150.2
Divorced	689.4	163.2

[5] Richmond and Hall, *A Study of Nine Hundred and Eighty-Five Widows* (New York, 1913), p. 17.

[6] *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease, 1923*, preliminary bulletin of Department of Commerce (Washington, 1926), p. 5.

[7] *Paupers in Almshouses, 1923*. Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1925), p. 27. In computing these ratios it has been assumed that all paupers under fifteen years of age were single.

Since it appears that widowed women and men are more likely to become insane than are either single or married persons, is it not likely that widowhood brings about in the survivor emotional conditions disastrous to mental stability?

The high ratio of widowed in almshouses registers the lack of children or relatives to care for older people bereft of spouse. The large number of the almshouse inmates without children also indicates that conclusion. Young widows with a family of children and aged widows without children suffer an enormous economic handicap Of 9,194 families receiving mothers' pensions in five States in 1921, 75 per cent of them were families in which the father was dead.*

	Per cent
Father dead	75
Father in prison	1
Divorce	1
Desertion	10
Father physically or mentally incapacitated	13

The same was shown in a study by Edmonds and Hexter in Hamilton County, Ohio* Richmond and Hall's study of 985 widows indicates a similar situation Six hundred of these 985 had some resources left at the death of the husband, 412 of these widows had insurance amounting to $147,674, 600 others had death benefits, damages, savings, and other resources which brought the total amount of resources up to $208,558 However, in 205 of these families who had resources of less than $500, almost exactly two thirds of the amount was used up at once for funeral expenses[10] It appears, therefore, that widowhood among women in a certain proportion of cases brings very dire need with all that entails in strain on health and emotional stability

A few concrete pictures from the case material perhaps may be helpful in picturing what happens

"No 9—Irish, aged thirty-five in 1906; children nine, eight, six, four, three, two years Mr B, who was a laborer earning $14 a week, died of typhoid fever in 1906 During his illness he had received $50 in sick benefits from his union, and at his death the family received $75 from the Hibernians, which was used for the funeral Two months later Mrs B. applied to the city and to the C. O S, relatives having aided in the interval Mrs B, though well-meaning, was not strong nor was she very capable Her home was untidy and she lacked control over the children Her relatives were interested and at

* Lundberg, "Aid to Mothers and Dependent Children," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1921

* *The Survey*, December 12, 1914

[10] Richmond and Hall, *op cit*, pp 14, 15, and 16

one time there was a possibility that they might take some of the children, but the widow was unwilling to give them up. She wanted to return to Ireland, but the Society found that her friends there would not be able to support her. The city gave her $2 a week in groceries and also coal in winter, her church $1 a week, and the Society gave milk and shoes for the children. At first she went out to do day's work, her earnings being rather irregular. The children were cared for in the nursery Later on she took a small house and let one or two rooms to lodgers at $1 25 a room per week, and also did office cleaning at $6 a week She had gained in efficiency and was at this time getting on pretty well financially, the regular allowance being still continued, but her health began to fail. She later proved to have incipient tuberculosis, and the children were all placed in an institution "[11]

"No. 255.—American, aged thirty-five in 1906; children thirteen, ten, four, two years. Mr M had been a neckwear salesman earning $15 a week and Mrs M.'s services as janitress reduced the rent to $8 a month In 1906 he died of tuberculosis after three months' illness There was insurance amounting to $205, of which $130 was spent on the funeral Two weeks later application was made to the C O S The family was carefully watched, as Mrs M was an arrested tuberculosis case and still under clinical care She supported the family for eight months on the remainder of Mr M 's insurance, some savings, and benefits from a union, but at the end of this time her health seemed to suffer from the strain The Society decided, therefore, to pay her rent, $8 a month, as she earned but $2 50 to $3 a week, later it gave an allowance increasing from $3 to $5 a week so that she might be free to attend the clinic. The oldest girl proved incorrigible, and the Society urged Mrs M to have her committed and move to better quarters. This she refused to do and the allowance was withdrawn Some months later, when the family did move and the girl went to work in a store, it was resumed, first $10 and later $8 a month. At the end of the year it was discovered that Mrs M was about to have an illegitimate child The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was asked to break up the home, but instead it allowed Mrs. M. to marry the child's father and keep her home together The conditions in the home were unsatisfactory. Through careful supervision, country care, etc., the children's health has been improved, but they have not attended school regularly and are being demoralized by conditions in the home. The eldest girl now has an illegitimate child a month old and is openly immoral. The family at present includes Mrs M.'s second husband, who works irregularly, her illegitimate child and her daughter's illegitimate child This child's father also lives openly with the family. In spite of this situation the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children refuses to take the children, who are said to be neglected, running the streets, stealing, etc. They are said to be rather attractive children who would be all right if given a chance. An association for the care of wayward girls has been asked to help with the family—especially with the oldest girl."[12]

"Mr. and Mrs B, born of American parents, grew up on neighboring farms,

[11] Richmond and Hall, op cit, p 51

[12] Ibid, p. 78

met at a husking bee, and were married under much the same circumstances as the rest of the young people in the neighborhood. The home of each had already been visited by more or less misfortune. Mr B's father, a chronic invalid, had been supported by his sons for some time before his death. Mrs B's mother had died when she was young, leaving her the oldest of five children. She became housekeeper and mother for them, besides sharing in the work of the farm. Her whole afterlife was affected by this early period of overwork, which left her with varicose veins and a lowered resistance. The married life of the couple was, however, very happy. Mr B became a trainman, with average earnings of about $75 per month. They bought a city lot in the hope that they would eventually be able to have a home of their own, but much illness and the taxes ate up the property. At one time all the children had typhoid fever and were so ill that two trained nurses were necessary to care for them. When the father died after a three years' illness, leaving five children of from 3 to 11 years of age, there was nothing left, except an insurance of $1,000 already partly pledged for debts contracted during the long illness. His wife believed that the disease from which he died was caused by the nervous strain occasioned by wrecks which he had been through, but no compensation was received from the railroad.

"Although still under 35 years of age when her husband died, Mrs B was physically worn out. She took home work from a local factory, but was able to average only about 90 cents a week by putting in all the time that was left from the care of her family. At the end of a year her money was almost gone, and an allowance of $45 was granted. She was allowed to retain a small reserve fund, from which for several years she drew for emergency and unusual expenses. The children were intelligent and ambitious. The oldest boy was in high school and earning enough for his own support at work after school hours. During vacation he worked full time for the same employer, from whom he was receiving good business training. The second child was a girl, not strong physically, who at 15 years was finishing her first year of high school. She was not strong enough to work after school hours, but it was felt that the question of her health made it desirable to keep her in school until she was at least 16. She wished to become a teacher. The self-respect of the family had been carefully guarded, and the source of their income, although known to a number of persons interested in them—the physician, the boy's employer, and others—was not common knowledge, and Mrs. B believed that the children had suffered no humiliation because of it." [18]

From the statistics given and from the cases cited it is apparent that women who are left widows are likely to become social problems under the following circumstances:

(1) If there is a family of dependent children the situation is serious in case the family has been left without resources. Even if there are resources the double rôle which the widow must play in bringing up the children, places

[18] Nesbitt, *Standards of Public Aid to Children in their Own Homes*, Children's Bureau Publication No 118 (Washington, 1923), p 37

a strain upon her which not all women are fitted by nature and culture to bear. Children develop anti-social tendencies, their health may be jeopardized, they may not get an education, and consequently their whole future is put in hazard. The mother perhaps must go out to work, the children as soon as they become of legal working age stop school and go to work The hazards to the health of the mother and children and to the moral development of both are great Terrific strain is put upon the mother and often unusual temptations are placed in the way of the children without aid to their proper development in the circumstances.

(2) In case the widow has poor health before the husband dies or is an incapable person, or one without experience in the management of the economic side of the household, a critical situation for the family is created The mother, unable to handle the family with the aid of her husband, under increased burdens is even less able to do so

(3) In case the widow left with children is a foreign-born mother her handicaps are very greatly increased. The Children's Bureau studies indicate that the number of foreign-born mothers who have to have the help of charity organizations or of mothers' aid agencies is very much larger in proportion than the number of the native-born widows [14] Often these foreign families occupy a low economic status, working for the most part in the unskilled and semi-skilled trades. Consequently they have no resources at the death of the husband and father Moreover, they are strangers in a strange land, often the widow cannot speak the language of this country, she is handicapped often by the lack of friends; she does not know our social institutions, frequently the customs of her native land are not the same as those of this country Consequently, both from the economic standpoint and that of social status she has a very difficult situation Added to that is the fact that her children are becoming Americanized and thus a rift between them and their mother is being created Furthermore, foreigners are more often willing to have their children go to work at an earlier age than are native-born parents, because early entrance into industry is a part of the mores of the country from which they have come. It is clear, therefore, that unless society creates about the family a constructive and helpful atmosphere, widowhood under these circumstances has great potentialities for producing that personal and social maladjustment which we call pathological.

THE EMOTIONAL DIFFICULTIES OF WIDOWHOOD

In addition to the emotional stresses incident to the removal of the breadearner, of the "head of the family," when he has really been the "head," and

[14] Hesselt, op cit, p 41

the strain of caring for and developing the characters of the children, there is another factor which has only recently been studied. Even now the studies are rather unsatisfactory in that they leave unanswered many questions which rise in connection with the problem. I refer to the emotional tension consequent on the break in the love life with its many ramifications. Enough has been learned to show that this strain has not been of less importance than that consequent on throwing upon the widow an unwonted economic and social responsibility. Often she has enjoyed with her husband an association of the most satisfying nature. She has found in the relations of family life the solution of many disturbing questions and longings natural to her in her unmarried state. But widowhood brings sex-starvation. The center of her emotional balance is gone. All that is left are the pledges of that relationship, the children. Smug public opinion says that she ought to transfer to them all the love and devotion which she formerly lavished upon her husband. That same public opinion neglects the fact that a large component in her emotional serenity was the relationship to the husband. The children cannot take his place in that emotional complex. Habits of relationship to him, often fashioned and fixed by years of association, are not uprooted in a moment without grave emotional disturbance. In whatever way it is looked at widowhood entails an emotional strain incident to a crisis in the personal relationships of family life.[14]

PRESENT MEANS OF CARING FOR WIDOWS

What is society doing to meet the conditions produced by widowhood?

Many of the devices which we have to-day are crude and ill suited to the difficulties produced by widowhood in modern society. They have come down to us from a time when social relationships were very much less complex than they are at the present time. Such primitive arrangements are illustrated by the Biblical practice of leaving the gleanings of the harvest for the poor, the early Christian distribution of alms to widows, neighborly charity to the widow and her family, and special institutions for half-orphans. The haphazard giving to widows and their children, where all the circumstances cannot be known and all the characteristics evaluated, has led to the indiscriminate giving, the reward of pauperism, and the neglect of serious maladjustments in social relationships.

At the present time in our industrial civilization, the general feelings for these widows with families is that they should work if they can do so without serious menace to the welfare of their children. Of the 985 widows studied by Richmond and Hall, 794 worked during their contact with the societies under

[14] A good study of the difficulties of widows is, Dickinson and Beam, *A Thousand Marriages* (Baltimore, 1931), Ch. XII.

whose care they were. That is, 84 per cent were partially dependent upon their own work.[16] In Miss Nesbitt's study of 941 mothers aided by widows' pensions in five States in 1922, 52 per cent of the mothers receiving aid were working. The number varied from 21 per cent in Boston and Haverhill, Mass., to 67 and 69 per cent in Denver and Westchester County, New York.[17] In the best agencies, of course, plans are made whereby the children are properly cared for while the mother is away at work. Unless this is done the good which comes to the mother's sense of self-respect and independence is more than overbalanced by possible damage to the children.

The old system of outdoor relief of the poor takes care of many of these widows and their children. By the private agencies and those public agencies which have well-trained workers to consider not merely the economic end of the problem but the whole question of proper social adjustment, doubtless much good work is being done. It was because of the inadequacy of outdoor relief in caring for widows and their families that mothers' pensions were devised.

The almshouse cares for a large number of elderly widows and widowers. So far as they care for young women and their children, the work is rather largely limited to the mothers of illegitimate children and their progeny. Homes for the aged also care for a large number of older widows, both men and women. Widowers are to be found in these institutions in larger proportions than widows, probably because it is easier for an old lady to secure care in private homes in exchange for her services than it is for an old man.

Widow's Pensions. Because of the growing consciousness of the inadequacy of these various methods of taking care of women left by their husbands, especially when there are children, mothers' pensions, first tried experimentally by private agencies, were introduced as a public measure in Missouri in 1911, but limited to cases in Kansas City.

On June fifth, not quite two months after the passage of the law in Missouri, Illinois passed a much more comprehensive mothers' pension law officially known as a "funds to parents act." This law provided that if the parent or parents of neglected or dependent children were poor and unable to care properly for the child but otherwise were proper guardians, and that if it was for the welfare of the child to remain at home, the court might enter an order finding such facts and fixing the amount of money necessary to enable the parent or parents to care properly for the child. This law made it the duty of the county board, upon the order of the court, to make the payments to the

[16] Richmond and Hall, *op. cit.*
[17] Nesbitt, *op. cit.*

parent or parents specified by the order until further orders from the court. This was the first comprehensive law passed in this country by any State providing for the support of children in the homes of their own mothers at public expense, with the avowed object of providing primarily for the children. Moreover, this law of Illinois really provided the model for similar laws in other States This is the most important single movement of recent times in the United States for the care of widows with families

In 1930 every State in the Union had mothers' pensions except Alabama, Georgia, New Mexico and South Carolina While originally the idea was primarily to aid widows with children, in most of our States the scope of the assistance has been widened. As a matter of fact, in only five of the forty-four States now having such laws are the benefits limited merely to widows. It has been estimated recently that as the result of this movement the number of children granted aid in their own homes at the present time exceeds 200,000 and that at the least calculation $30,000,000 a year is expended by this type of aid to mothers.[18]

Present methods are very much improved in comparison with those which prevailed fifty years ago in the care of widows and their dependents. However, much still remains to be done. The chief things wherever widows and their children have to be cared for apart from relatives, are (1) that careful understanding of the whole situation be had by those dealing with them, (2) that every measure be taken in order to insure that the children shall experience family life, and (3) that the widows themselves not be overburdened so that they will fail in health or in their responsibilities to the family. In other words, what is known as careful case work must be used by agencies dealing with these families. Whether they are aided by the outdoor relief officials or by special officials charged with the care of widows and their children, the best social work methods must be applied else infinite damage is likely to be done.

PREVENTIVE MEASURES

We have reached a place in our social thinking where we are no longer satisfied with merely mending the result of the breakdown of our social machinery Death and disease are an ever-present fact; individuals more or less incapable of meeting their social responsibilities are a constant of the social population. So numerous has our population become, so intricate the relationships of society, so enormous the economic units in which people spend their working lives, and so impersonal the relationships between neighbors and between employees and employers that society is raising the question: What

[18] *The Social Work Year Book, 1929, pp. 274-275.*

can we do in the face of these rapidly changing conditions to prevent these disasters, one symbol of which is the dependent widow and her family?

Workmen's Compensation. One answer which has been given to cover not only this form of social pathology but also many others, is the enactment of workmen's compensation laws. The theory behind this legislation is that industrial injury and industrial sickness and death should be charges upon industry and through that upon society in general. Consequently a number of our most progressive States have enacted laws which provide that a man injured or made ill by the conditions of his employment must be compensated for that disaster or, if he dies in the course of his employment because of industrial conditions, his family must be compensated by the industry. The result of such laws, properly administered, is that industries have been very assiduous in putting in protective devices, in bringing about sanitary conditions of employment, and in reducing industrial disease and industrial accidents as much as possible. It pays them to do so. For the families of those who are the victims of industrial conditions such laws mean partial protection, at least, during sickness and after death of the wage-earner. Perhaps no more forward-looking legislation has been enacted in prevention of the consequences of widowhood.

Insurance. The growth of all kinds of insurance to cover contingencies in one's existence is one of the cheering developments of our day. Never before in the history of mankind were so many contingencies provided for by this method. Widowhood is one such contingency. Insurance does not prevent widowhood, but by small payments by a large number of people insured, the burden is spread out over a large population and thus is kept from falling upon one. This method of protecting one's family from the results of illness and death of the wage-earner is to be commended, but it has one chief shortcoming. The bread-earner must be able to buy insurance before he can provide this protection.

Savings. The savings from the earnings of the bread-earner as a preventive measure should also be cited in this connection. This also is a highly commendable method, if it is possible. Here again, however, the low earnings of a large proportion of our wage-earners prevent any large amount of savings. Moreover, frequently people have not been trained in matters of thrift and a certain proportion, the exact figure for which is unknown, do not have savings because they are not frugal enough. Savings, of course, should not be made at the expense of the welfare of the family. However, wherever it can be done the head of the family should make plans to set aside a portion of his earnings against the "rainy day" that in the long run is bound to come.

Health and Hygiene Movement. Never in the history of the world has so much attention been given to the matter of health and hygiene as at the present time. Without question every movement that trains people to preserve their health or that provides community protection for the health of the population helps to prevent widowhood.

Social Insurance. Since 1881 there has grown up in the world a movement known as social insurance. It began in Germany in the effort to protect chiefly the workers in industries by means of contributions from the workers, from the employers, and from the State Pensions for the aged, unemployment insurance, health insurance, and accident compensation were provided for by State laws All of these are pertinent to our subject. They have developed very much more in Europe and Australia than in the United States Doubtless pensions for the aged will take care of some older widowed people Health insurance will protect a man and his family, and often prevent tragedies due to widowhood. These new movements should be watched with great care so that after a sufficient length of time we shall be able to evaluate them in connection with the inevitable disasters which menace large numbers of our population.

Thus step by step society is struggling with this problem As one looks back over the past and compares what has been accomplished with previous arrangements there is reason for hope that in the course of time society will so adjust its arrangements that many of these calamities which occur in our present organized social life will either be prevented or else proper means will be taken to reorganize constructively the lives of those who are the victims of our social maladjustment

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is meant by pathology of domestic relations?
2. Why is disturbance in the family relationship so likely to prove disastrous to its various members?
3. Why is the position of the widow in modern civilized society very much more difficult than it was in tribal society?
4. What particular customs in some of the Oriental countries make the condition of the widow tragic?
5. Why is a greater proportion of the widowed population of the United States female? Explain why there should be more widowers in the country than in the city.
6. Explain the situation of widowed families in the urban, in the rural farm and in the rural non-farm areas.
7. Why are there more widows above forty-four years of age than there are widowers?
8. Why are there more widowers in almshouses than widows?
9. Point out the economic disabilities of the widows
10. Analyze the emotional difficulties of the widow without children
11. How would you explain the high ratio per 100,000 of population of the widowed in hospitals for mental diseases?
12. What are the present methods of caring for widows with children?
13. Evaluate these different methods
14. Outline certain methods of prevention of pathological results due to widowhood.

CHAPTER 12

DIVORCE

Another aspect of the pathology of domestic relations is presented by divorce. In widowhood the social maladjustments just discussed followed as a consequence of the death of the bread-earner or housekeeper and mate. Economic need stands out prominently. In divorce while the economic factor is often present, disharmony between the two partners stands foremost in the picture. Fundamental relationships between living beings are disturbed. That is a difference between the pathology produced by death and that registered in divorce and separation. That discord exists in many more families than those legally disrupted by divorce or separation is shown by a recent study. Dickinson and Beam from their study of 1,000 marriages conclude that 50 per cent of them showed unsatisfactory adjustments between husband and wife, even though those maladjustments had not come to overt expression in separation or divorce.[2]

So far as separation and divorce merely form the climax of a long period of domestic dissension, they may mark the end of a tension in personal relationships within the family and, therefore, the solution of certain difficulties involved in that situation. On the other hand, separation and divorce when there are children in the family may produce another sort of problem which has to be faced. They may also create the problem of support for the woman and in the case of both partners may create certain emotional difficulties of somewhat serious social significance. Consequently it must be said that while separation and divorce solve some problems in a disordered family, they also create certain other problems for the persons involved.

THE HISTORY OF DIVORCE

Separation and divorce do not constitute a new problem. No matter what the state of society or the form of the family, there has always been difficulty in the delicate adjustments necessary when two people of different sexes and probably with different training united in the attempt to live together and perform the functions involved in marriage and family life. With our growing

[2] Dickinson and Beam, *A Thousand Marriages: A Medical Study of Sex Adjustment* (Baltimore, 1931), p. 437.

knowledge of social life among primitive peoples, it is becoming clear that even those peoples, organized on a different basis from ourselves, have their marital difficulties. Everywhere there appears evidence of domestic discord, resulting oftentimes in some form of break-up of family relationships. In those societies, sometimes called "mother societies," in which the newly married couple live with the wife's people, it is quite easy for the woman to divorce the man who does not please her. In those societies where the "father family" is dominant and the man has control of his wife and children, divorce is easy for the man and less easy, if at all possible, for the woman.[7] Divorce is as universal a phenomenon of marital relationships as are marriage rites among all peoples with which we are acquainted

With the development of Christianity a somewhat different attitude toward marriage and divorce arose. Early Christians emphasized the fact that this world was soon to pass away and that Jesus was to return and set up His kingdom here on earth There was a tendency to subordinate the fundamental importance of the biological sex urge to the life of the spirit Hence, St. Paul could say that because of the imminence of the return of Jesus it mattered not whether a person was married or unmarried. Soon it would make no difference.[8] Furthermore, with the development of monasticism and the preceding emphasis upon the sanctity of chastity, and with the growth of the idea in the Christian church that marriage was a sacrament and not a civil contract, divorce became a sinful thing Hence Christianity, except in very special cases, has emphasized as has no other religion the indissolubility of marriage. That it has not been successful in absolutely prohibiting divorce or separation is shown by the adjustment in theory that had to be made, such as the annulment of marriage for one reason or another when the facts show that marriage was insupportable. The Church has not forbidden separation, but it has forbidden remarriage.

While the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church is still severely critical of divorce, the Protestant Church in most of its branches has taken a more liberal attitude toward the matter. However, it can be said of the Christian Church as a whole that it has been strongly in favor of the integrity of family life and more or less opposed to the freedom of divorce.

INCREASE OF DIVORCE

In the past century of Western civilization striking changes have marked our social and economic life. Among these changes the increase of the divorce

[7] Kroeber and Waterman, *Source Book in Anthropology* (New York, 1931), pp 305, 552 Sumner, *Folkways* (New York, 1907), Ch IX. Westermarck, *A Short History of Marriage* (New York, 1926), Ch XI

[8] *I Corinthians* vii 29

Divorce in the United States and Foreign Countries [1]

Divorces per 100,000 Population

	1929	1928	1927	1926	1925	1924	1923	1922	1921	1916	1913	1911	1907	1906	1901
United States	166	163	162	155	153	151	149	136	—	112	—	—	—	84	79
Japan	—	—	79	—	87	87	88	92	94	109	—	113	—	136	140
France	—	—	45	—	—	—	60	71	83	11	—	37	—	27	23
Germany	—	—	—	—	54	—	—	58	63	15	—	24	—	20	14
Switzerland	—	—	62	—	—	—	—	54	51	40	—	43	—	38	30
Belgium	—	—	31	—	—	—	—	49	49	—	16	14	—	9	12
Denmark	—	—	55	—	—	—	—	39	42	31	—	27	—	23	15
Netherlands	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	28	29	20	—	16	—	13	11
Sweden	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	21	13	—	11	—	10	7
Australia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22	16	13	—	12	—	8	10
Norway	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21	13	20	—	17	—	9	6
Uruguay	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	13	—	7	0.1	—	—
Scotland	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	6	—	—	—	4	4

[1] Table made up from Mowrer, *Family Disorganization*, p. 33; Iwasaki, "Divorce in Japan," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1930, p. 437; and Reuter and Runner, *The Family* (New York, 1931), p. 210.

rates is one which has struck the imagination of the public and has caused much discussion.

The United States holds the preëminence in the number of divorces granted per 100,000 of population and has held it since 1916. In that year for the first time the United States had a higher divorce rate than Japan, which up to that time held the world's record. Steadily, since 1901, Japan's rate has been decreasing, while that of the United States has been on the increase. The table on page 197 shows the situation in various countries from which statistics are available from 1901 to 1929. Furthermore the United States statistics show that in spite of the fact that, on the whole, the marriage rate has increased, the divorce rate has increased very much more rapidly. The following table shows for the United States the number of divorces per thousand of total population and the number per 100 marriages performed from 1887 to 1929.[6]

	DIVORCES			DIVORCES	
	Per 1,000 of total population	*Per 100 marriages performed*		*Per 1,000 of total population*	*Per 100 marriages performed*
1929	1.66	16.3	1907	0.88	8.2
1928	1.63	16.6	1906	0.86	8.2
1927	1.62	16.0	1905	0.82	8.2
1926	1.55	15.0	1904	0.81	8.2
1925	1.53	14.8	1903	0.81	8.0
1924	1.51	14.4	1902	0.78	8.0
1923	1.48	13.4	1901	0.79	8.2
1922	1.35	13.1	1900	0.73	7.9
1921	1.47	13.7	1899	0.69	7.7
1920	1.60	13.4	1898	0.65	7.4
1919	1.35	12.3	1897	0.62	7.0
1918	1.12	11.6	1896	0.61	6.8
1917	1.20	10.6	1895	0.58	6.5
1916	1.13	10.6	1894	0.55	6.4
1915	1.05	10.4	1893	0.56	6.2
1914	1.03	9.8	1892	0.56	6.1
1913	0.95	8.9	1891	0.55	6.0
1912	0.99	9.4	1890	0.53	5.9
1911	0.95	9.3	1889	0.52	5.7
1910	0.90	8.8	1888	0.48	5.4
1909	0.88	8.9	1887	0.47	5.5
1908	0.86	9.0			

Divorce varies between city and country. Mowrer has shown that the average number of divorces per 100,000 of population at the census periods

[6] Table adapted from Mowrer, *Family Disorganization* (Chicago, 1927), p. 33, and from *Marriage and Divorce, 1929*, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1932), p. 15.

from 1870 to 1900 was higher in those counties with large cities in them than in the other counties. The rate of increase, however, has been comparatively steady since 1870 in both cases He also shows that since about 1908 the number of divorces per 100 marriages has increased very much more rapidly in the urban communities in the United States than in the rural.

Sorokin and Zimmerman have given an interpretation of the marriage rate in rural districts which throws some light upon this matter of a lower divorce rate in the country. They cite as the main causes of these rural-urban differences family, religion, mores, economic reasons, geographic isolation, less mobility and more homogeneity They point out that rural peoples marry at earlier ages because they are expected to have families The having of families is considered a religious duty. The mores are stronger against sex life outside of marriage, especially for women, so that the opportunity for sex satisfaction is limited. They point out that an unmarried female finds her situation in the country more difficult than does the spinster in the city A young man can start a farm for himself and climb the agricultural ladder more rapidly with a family than without, while a family is often a handicap to a young man in business in the city. The demands for a display of wealth at marriage are less strong in the country. The population of the country is less mobile. This leads to acquaintanceship of the intimate type which often results in marriage. There are no new economic environments to which the individual must become adjusted in the country, as there are in the city. Moreover, the greater homogeneity in the country enables the rural youth to meet at an earlier age women with the same types of training, outlook, and ideals as his own Once the individual is married it becomes his religious and social duty to stay married and have a family. Furthermore, the religious organization of country life centers more about the family than it does in the cities There exists a tangible correlation between the economic factors and the marriage rates in the country The authors point out further that the family as an economic unit is better fitted to agriculture than to urban life There are few opportunities for women to work outside the home. There are few boarding-houses or hotels for unmarried men Marriage in the country is not an economic burden as it is so often in the cities, but a positive asset Furthermore, the farm provides the ideal situation in which a natural division of labor from the economic point of view is possible. The peculiar economic and social functions of agriculture are adapted to family life much more than are many city occupations. Climbing the economic ladder in agriculture may be achieved more easily in a family unit than otherwise. In the cities, on the contrary, climbing this ladder often leads to

disrupted marriages The authors point out still further that the lesser mobility of country life makes the farmer more amenable to the ancient mores concerning the sacredness of marriage. It also keeps him from challenging contacts and beliefs which lead to extra-marital sex life, failure to marry, divorce, and family disruption [6] This interpretation is perhaps as good as any that can be offered in the absence of careful studies to discover the actual reason for the lower divorce rates in the country.

From 1887 to 1929 a steadily increasing number of divorces have been granted to the wife with a corresponding decrease in those granted to the husband For example, from 1887 to 1929 the percentage granted to the wife increased from 65 8 per cent to 71 3 per cent, while the percentage granted to the husband decreased from 34.2 per cent to 28.7 per cent.[7]

SOME OUTSTANDING CHARACTERISTICS OF DIVORCE PHENOMENA

The reports of the Census Bureau on marriage and divorce show interesting variations from 1887 to 1929, the time in which studies have been made on the subject. These figures raise many questions which often are not answered by the statistics themselves.

(1) **Legal Grounds for Divorce.** There are five leading legal grounds for divorce In 1929, of 199,335 divorces granted, 8 3 per cent were for adultery, 40 8 per cent for cruelty, 29 6 per cent for desertion, 1 8 per cent for drunkenness, and 3 9 per cent for neglect to provide [8]

It is interesting to notice how from 1887 to 1929 these causes have varied in the parts which they have played in the divorce rates. The following table gives the figures.

Cause	1929	1928	1927	1926	1925	1924	1923	1922	1916	1887* to 1906
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Adultery	8 3	8.4	8 8	9 3	9 8	10 1	10 5	10 9	11.5	16.3
Cruelty	40 8	40 6	40 8	38 5	37 9	37 2	35 4	34 5	28.3	21 8
Desertion	29 6	30 2	31 0	31 8	31 8	32 9	33.2	32 8	36 8	38 9
Drunkenness ..	1 8	1 7	1 7	1.5	1 4	1 3	1.3	1.0	3 4	3 9
Neglect to provide	3.9	4 1	4 2	4 0	3 7	3 7	4 0	4 2	4.7	3 7
Combinations of causes	6 8	6 3	4.9	6 4	7 6	6 9	7 6	8 7	8 6	9 4
All other causes	8.8	8 7	8 6	8 5	7 9	7 9	7.9	7 8	6.8	6 1

[6] Bossard and Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York, 1929), pp. 228-230

[7] *Marriage and Divorce, 1929*, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1931), p 20.

[8] *Ibid.*, p 21

[9] *Ibid.*, p 24.

From an inspection of this table it is apparent that the proportion of divorces secured on the ground of adultery has steadily decreased Cruelty as a ground for divorce has almost doubled, desertion has decreased somewhat; drunkenness decreased from 1887 to 1922, but since that time has been on the increase. Neglect to provide rose as a legal ground for divorce from 1887 to 1916 and since that time has fluctuated. "Combinations of causes" have decreased in importance, while "all other causes" have gradually increased. Some of these variations probably indicate that new grounds for divorce have been introduced into the laws of some of the States, and have supplanted the old.

The variation of the rôle of these legal grounds of divorce as granted to husband or wife during this considerable period of time is of some interest. For example, adultery as a ground of divorce granted to the husband has steadily decreased from 18 7 per cent between 1887 and 1906 to 12 7 per cent in 1919 Cruelty on the other hand, in the cases granted to the husband, has increased from 10 5 per cent in the early period to 32 4 per cent in 1919 Desertion, drunkenness, and combinations of causes have decreased in importance, while all other causes have increased in the divorces granted to husbands.

Likewise these various legal grounds have varied in the percentages of divorces granted to the wife. Adultery has decreased from 10 per cent between 1887 and 1906 to 6 5 per cent in 1919. Cruelty on the other hand has increased from 27 5 per cent to 44 1 per cent Desertion and drunkenness have somewhat declined in importance, neglect to provide has remained about the same, combinations of causes have declined from 11 8 per cent to 8 3 per cent, while all other causes have increased from 6 4 per cent to 9.1 per cent

These various fluctuations suggest a liberalization of the divorce laws so that adultery, which in the early period was an important legal ground of divorce, has in more recent years lost its former importance because other grounds have been provided in the law.[10] The table on the following page will indicate some of these changes.[11]

(2) Contested Cases of Divorce. From 1887 to 1919 there has been a decrease in the percentage of the cases which have been contested, the figure falling from 15 4 per cent in the period between 1887 and 1906 to 11.8 per cent in 1919,[12] suggesting perhaps that grounds of divorce less obnoxious have been introduced into the laws.

[10] *Ibid*, p 24.
[11] *Ibid*, p 25
[12] *Ibid*, p 31

Cause and Party to Whom Granted	1929	1928	1927	1926	1925	1924	1923	1922	1916	1887 to 1906
All causes . . .	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
To husband .	28.7	28.6	29.5	29.5	30.1	31.5	32.2	32.0	31.1	33.4
To wife .	71.3	71.4	71.0	70.5	69.9	68.5	67.8	68.0	68.9	66.6
Adultery										
To husband .	44.0	45.1	45.9	46.7	49.0	48.8	49.4	51.9	54.9	59.1
To wife	56.0	54.9	54.1	53.3	51.0	51.2	50.6	48.1	45.1	40.9
Cruelty										
To husband	22.8	22.2	21.4	21.7	21.7	22.8	23.3	23.2	19.2	16.1
To wife	77.2	77.8	78.6	78.3	78.3	77.2	76.7	76.8	80.2	83.9
Desertion										
To husband .	41.8	41.7	41.6	42.2	43.3	43.4	43.8	43.2	42.3	42.5
To wife	58.2	58.3	58.4	57.8	56.7	56.6	56.2	56.8	57.7	57.5
Drunkenness										
To husband	6.6	7.2	7.1	6.7	7.4	8.6	10.8	7.8	7.4	9.4
To wife .	93.4	92.8	92.9	93.3	92.6	91.4	89.2	92.2	92.6	90.6
Neglect to provide										
To husband .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*
To wife . . .	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Combinations of causes										
To husband .	13.6	13.0	15.9	13.4	13.7	15.1	14.9	17.0	15.4	16.1
To wife .	86.4	87.0	84.1	86.6	86.3	84.9	85.1	83.0	84.6	83.9
All other causes **										
To husband .	26.4	26.3	27.7	28.0	26.9	33.4	37.6	33.9	33.3	31.0
To wife . . .	73.6	73.7	72.3	72.0	73.1	66.6	62.4	66.1	66.7	69.0

* Less than one tenth of 1 per cent

** Includes "Cause not reported"

(3) **Divorce and Duration of Marriage.** The table on the opposite page indicates the changes that have taken place from 1887 to 1929 as to the duration of marriage before its dissolution by divorce.

It is apparent that between 1887 and 1922 there was a great increase in the percentage of divorces granted in cases where the marriage had endured for less than two years. The fluctuation with respect to the duration of marriage that had lasted longer is not so great. Does that indicate a tendency on the part of young married people in recent times to fly more readily to the

DIVORCES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO DURATION OF MARRIAGE: 1887 TO 1929[14]

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

	1929	1928	1927	1926	1925	1924	1923	1922	1887 to 1906
Total	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100.0	100 0	100 0	100 0
Less than one year	4 4	4 5	4 6	4 7	4 7	4 6	4 5	4 6	2 1
One year	7 5	7 8	7 9	7 9	8.2	7 7	7 4	8 6	3.1
Two years	8 5	8 6	8 7	8 9	8 6	8.1	9 4	10 1	6.8
Three years	8 7	8.5	8 7	8 7	8 2	9 2	10 1	8 7	8 1
Four years	7 8	8.1	7 9	7.6	8 5	9 3	8.0	7 9	8.2
Five years	7 4	7.3	6 9	7 8	8 3	7 1	7.2	6 8	7 6
Six years	6 3	6 1	7 0	7 4	6 2	6.4	6 3	5 7	7 0
Seven years	5 5	6 1	6 5	5 5	5.6	5 5	5 1	4 9	6 3
Eight years	5 4	5 8	4 8	4 8	4 8	4 5	4 4	4 7	5.6
Nine years	5 1	4 2	4 1	4 2	4 0	3 8	4 2	4 3	4 9
Ten to fourteen years	14 8	14 5	14 4	14 2	14 4	15 1	14 9	14 9	18 0
Fifteen to nineteen years	8.4	8 4	8 3	8 3	8 5	8 4	8 5	8 6	10 1
Twenty years and over	10 2	10 1	10 1	10 0	10 0	10 2	10 0	10 1	13 1

divorce courts as a refuge from their unadjusted marital lives than they did in the earlier period?

The figures of the Census Bureau show that, in 1929, in more than 81 per cent of the divorces marriage had lasted less than fifteen years[14] Approximately two thirds of the divorces granted in 1929 were in cases where marriage had lasted less than ten years. Comparatively few divorces for desertion are granted during the first four years of married life. This is to be accounted for by the fact that desertion must usually have existed for a period of at least three years before it serves as a ground for divorce.

These and other figures given in the census report raise the question, to be discussed later, as to whether underlying these legal grounds of divorce there may not be sexual maladjustment in the early years of married life Is it not possible that where adjustment is not soon made the condition leads to the disruption of the family?

(4) Divorce and Children in the Family. It has often been stated that divorce is less likely to occur when there are children in the family. What light does the census throw upon this problem? From 1887 to 1906,

[14] *Marriage and Divorce*, p 33
[14] *Ibid*, p 35

39.8 per cent of the divorce cases were those in which there were children in the family. In 1916 this had decreased to 37.7 per cent and in 1922 to 34 per cent. However, since 1922 every succeeding investigation has found an increase in percentage of cases in which children were involved. Naturally they appear more in the divorces granted to the wife than those granted to the husband. Of all divorces granted in 1929, 57.1 per cent reported no children.[15] Mowrer's studies in Chicago showed that, in cases where there were children, desertion and cruelty were more commonly the legal causes for divorce granted to the wife. He also points out that desertion is more characteristic of divorces granted to families having no children, while cruelty is characteristic of families having children. Adultery is more common where there are no children. He raises the question as to whether adultery in such cases does not indicate that there is lack of sexual adjustment in the marriage relationship.[16]

(5) **Annulments.** Every year in addition to divorce there are a large number of annulments of marriage. The Census Bureau did not gather statistics before 1926. In 1929, 4,408 such annulments were reported. The largest percentage (34.6 per cent) was for fraudulent representation, while 26.9 per cent were annulled for bigamy and 25.8 per cent for being under legal age.

On the whole what do these facts indicate as to the family situation in the United States? Every study since 1887 shows an increasing percentage of individuals securing divorce, and an ever-increasing number of legal grounds on which divorce may be secured. This situation reflects a more liberal attitude toward the breaking of family ties.

Moreover, one should realize that the legal grounds given as the cause of divorce are in no real sense *causes*. Divorces are secured upon the *grounds* made possible by the law. Therefore, the people who are endeavoring to break the marital ties have to secure legal separation under the categories provided in the law. What lies back of the ground of adultery? What has caused desertion? What does cruelty mean? As every one acquainted with divorce courts knows, such categories as the last two reveal nothing as to the difficulties under which the couple have labored and which have finally brought them to the divorce court. Cruelty, for example, may mean any number of things. Even desertion covers a multitude of different actual situations which have so strained the family ties that one or both of the members have come to the conclusion that they can no longer live together. Let us next turn to a consideration of the real difficulties that lie back of this breaking of the family tie by legal measures.

[15] *Marriage and Divorce*, p. 38.
[16] Mowrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 77, 78.

The Real Causes of Divorce. Mowrer has made the most careful study of the real causes of divorce in this country. In Chicago he found that desertion had back of it nine different types of situations Financial tension between the husband and wife accounted for 40.2 per cent of the desertion cases. Deserting the wife for another 13.2 per cent, dissatisfaction with home or married life 10.9 per cent, infidelity 10.5 per cent, drink and cruelty 9 9 per cent, refusal to leave old home 7 8 per cent, irregular habits 4 4 per cent, irregular work and drink 2 4 per cent, and forced marriage 0 7 of 1 per cent.[27] These nine types of situations, discovered from reading the divorce records in the courts, help us to understand more of what is back of the legal ground of desertion than we can obtain from the census figures. Likewise Mowrer found, lying back of the legal ground of cruelty, six types of situations. Financial tension accounted for 45 per cent of the cases of cruelty, drink 28 6 per cent, jealousy, infidelity, etc, 14 6 per cent, excessive and unnatural intercourse 7 9 per cent, and irregular habits 3 9 per cent.

Under the legal ground of adultery he discovered three types of situation. Illicit intercourse accounted for 57 3 per cent, living with another spouse 34 4 per cent, and venereal infection 8 3 per cent

It must not be forgotten that there were only 542 cases in which Dr. Mowrer was able to analyze what he calls the natural causes lying back of the legal ground Combining the natural causes from these three types of legal grounds of divorce, he found that financial tension accounted for 40 1 per cent of all the cases, infidelity, jealousy, illicit intercourse and venereal infection, for 25 per cent, desertion and living with another 15 5 per cent, drink and cruelty 15 5 per cent, and irregular habits 4 per cent.[28]

It is doubtful, however, whether Dr. Mowrer's analysis goes to the bottom of this matter. Doubtless he has gone further than the census goes in revealing the underlying causes of divorce, but even his analysis does not uncover those subtle, psychic reactions between husband and wife which lie at the bottom of these difficulties For example, he says that financial tension accounts for over 40 per cent of his divorces. But, in how many cases where there is no divorce are there similar financial difficulties? He has no controlled group with which he can compare these divorces. There must be something else lying below in the psychic reactions of the two individuals which explains why in some cases you have unbearable tension and in other cases you do not.

Combining the "natural" causes of infidelity—jealousy, illicit intercourse, venereal infection, desertion and living with another—you get another 40

[27] *Ibid.*, p 63
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 68

per cent, which seem to be the result of sexual maladjustment, but in these cases, as in those of financial strain, the question arises as to why there are sexual difficulties. One suspects that just as in the case of the financial difficulties there is something in the reactions between the two personalities not revealed by these statistics, something which gives rise to an emotional disturbance in connection with the sex life. If we could find out what this something is, the mechanisms by which these tensions are produced, we should be much nearer than are these statistical studies to answering the question as to why we have separation and divorce. If we could get a large enough number of cases in which were presented a detailed picture of how the difficulties arose, we should probably be very much nearer the actual causes of family difficulties than is possible under any other procedure. Let us turn then to a few cases which, although too small in number to reveal the great variety of situations which lead to disturbance in family relations, may nevertheless help us to understand better than the statistical studies, the underlying factor in separation and divorce.

SOME ILLUSTRATIVE CASES REVEALING FACTORS BACK OF SEPARATION AND DIVORCE

Dr. Mowrer gives a case which illustrates how death and poverty in the family may lead to estrangement. A petition for divorce was filed by the husband, charging desertion. The wife had filed a cross bill but did not appear in court at the time of the trial. While these two people had lived together seven years they had been separated four years when the case came to trial. They had had two children—a girl twelve years old and a boy of six. According to their story things came to a break in the family as the result of the death of the little boy. The child's sickness had thrown the father out of work because the family was quarantined. Discouragement on the father's part, grief over the death of the boy, and economic loss, had followed this period of unemployment. The wife's parents wanted her to come to them and she, despondent over the situation, deserted the husband and went to her parents' home. The husband, some time before her desertion had failed in business. Times were hard and work was scarce. He had been forced to become a solicitor which meant a lowered status. They had been paying $40.00 a month on the installment plan for a house which they lost after the man's failure in business. Their affairs in the household became very much tangled. The husband claimed that they always had enough to eat. He felt that his wife had left him taking the daughter with her because she felt that she could have a better situation in her parents' home.[19]

[19] Mowrer, op. cit., pp. 69-71.

In the following case desertion is also the ground for the divorce suit. This couple had lived together a little over a year and had been separated over two years when their divorce was granted The wife had deserted the husband, there was one child—a girl, three years old The desertion came about as the result of a quarrel, caused by the wife having been out the night before until three o'clock The husband had refused to go with her because he had some business to attend to He described her as a woman who would not stay at home, one who wanted to go to parties and social affairs to which he could not afford to take her. He said she had told him about men at the party who made a fuss over her, and, on the morning of her desertion, she said furthermore that she did not care for him after she had been to the party She also accused him of not being like the fellows who showed her a good time at the party and complained that he did not give her more money and various things she wanted like silk dresses and other articles of personal adornment. The husband also claimed that he did not approve of the kind of parties to which she wanted to go.

This case is cited by Dr Mowrer as one which illustrates how a wife's amusements cause desertion. I wonder, however, if we do not need a good deal more of the history of these two people's lives in order to learn how the attitudes developed, which finally expressed their conflict over this matter of amusement One suspects that the matter of the wife's being out at night was only the climax of the maladjustment of two personalities associated in the intimate relationships of the family, rather than the real cause of the matter.

The following case from Thomas and Znaniecki reveals the play of temperamental maladjustment between the partners in the family

The Zinjewski Family. This couple had been married only two and a half years when the wife complained to the legal aid society that her husband often beat her with great cruelty. These beatings occurred particularly in the morning after he had been drunk or after he had not slept well They had kept company four years before being married and the first child was born only three months after their marriage. He frequently taunted her because she had had pre-marital relations with him. Only about two weeks after the first child was born he was brutal to her, tying her hands and feet and binding her mouth. He finally released her after she was almost suffocated In due time another child was born, but relations between husband and wife did not improve. He spent much of his time in a saloon across from where they lived, drinking and gambling instead of working, while his chief comrades were the saloon's habitués. However, the difficulties were not economic because he gave her most of his earnings. When she put too much

suit on his food he often beat her and once he knocked her down and struck her face, cutting it, because she had spilled some lard upon the stove. Frequently the neighbors saw her with torn dress and blackened eye Mr Ziepewski's father had also been violent toward his wife. Here evidently was a case of temperamental maladjustment which finally led to a break [30]

Of no less importance are the sexual maladjustments which lead to family ruptures. The following case shows some of the difficulties growing out of sexual maladjustment

The Michalski Family. Both Minnie and Stanley were very young when they were married Soon after their marriage a friend of the husband's, a young man named Frank Kornacki, came to visit them. This happened perhaps a half dozen times One day he came to the house at noon when Mrs Michalski was alone. She claims that he forced her, although she was to become a mother in four months She did not tell her husband about the occurrence. Indirectly there are some indications that perhaps the relationship was not forced upon her.

A few months later Kornacki and Stanley were together in a saloon. During the course of their conversation Kornacki told Michalski of the relationship which had occurred between him and Michalski's wife At once Michalski became jealous He went home to his wife and quizzed her until she admitted the fact. He refused to believe that the event had occurred without her fault in part and ordered her to have Kornacki arrested for rape He refused to live with her unless Kornacki was punished Their relations became more strained as time went on, and after about three years of married life he left her, promising to pay $5.00 a week for the support of the child, Helen. Minnie made many attempts to secure additional support from her husband. He was increasingly jealous, suspecting that she flirted with other men. They once tried to live together again, but without success He made threats to kill her and abducted the child Finally a divorce was granted. At the hearing it was shown that both had had relations with others [31]

That sexual difficulties play no slight rôle in divorce is indicated by a study recently made on the basis of one thousand cases of married people who, for over forty years, came under the eye of a physician in his professional capacity.[32] Of the thousand cases studied, forty were separated or divorced. However, of the thousand, two hundred were a control group. Out of the eight hundred, therefore, one in every twenty unions came to the

[30] Adapted from Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York, 1927), pp 1708-1709

[31] Thomas and Znaniecki, *op cit*, pp 1714-1717. I have adapted the case there described

[32] Dickinson and Beam, *op cit* (Baltimore, 1931), Ch XVIII

point of dissolution. In racial stock the group was made up of pronouncedly Nordic-American subjects. Almost all were from the city, had excellent occupations, and belonged to long established families. Eleven out of the eighty persons primarily involved in these forty cases had somewhat different traditions. Two were negroes, two Italians, two Norwegians, and there was one each of English, Spanish, Irish, German, and Jewish extraction All of them belonged to an economic class which could get along without financial strain. Thus these forty cases were a well-defined urban type, inclining toward the wealthy and professional classes. The wives were good-looking, well dressed, and with the exception of the pretty but shallow kind, made a good impression as to dignity, personality, and character The study of the general health of these forty women shows that nine were somewhat seriously off the nervous balance necessary for good health, eight were below par, five were known to be of good medium health, and in the case of others there were no data indicating other than general good health The authors remark, "The only conspicuous difference between this group and any or all others is the relatively high incidence of venereal disease."[23]

On the whole, the effective fertility of this group of forty was considerably less than that of the whole one thousand marriages Abortions also were higher since in the whole group of one thousand there were only thirty-seven abortions to one hundred live births, while among these forty women there were sixty-two abortions to one hundred live births

Adultery is reported in twenty-seven cases, three times committed by the wife and twenty-four times by the husband These couples produced nearly as many children as the average yet the children did not serve as a means of holding them together. "For every man that left a sterile union there are two who broke one that is fruitful. . . . Just as money, social status, education, health and occupation made no difference, so fertility makes no difference in the roots from which the tree of discord sprung."[24]

The authors remark that every broken marriage in this study has a record of sex frustration The details of the difficulties arising in these forty families are too numerous to mention here In general, however, it may be said that all the evidence points to the fact that most of those concerned in these forty divorces "were still following the curve of continued sexual experience."[25]

On the whole this study showed that the factors of sexual maladjustment among thirty-nine separated and divorced couples ranged themselves as follows Out of the total of 101 instances of the following factors, psychic shock

[23] *Ibid*, p 392
[24] *Ibid*, p 395.
[25] *Ibid*, p 401

numbered 30; extra-marital relations 27, the husband engaging in such relations 25 times and the wife 2 times, unsatisfactory sexual relations between husband and wife 22; auto-erotism 22, 21 of these in the case of the wife and 1 in the case of the husband.[26] In these cases the authors feel that while other factors entered into these unhappy situations the sexual factor was fundamental.

Another type of case which illustrates the play of economic factors in family disruption is the Cross case, studied by Professor Krueger. The case is too long to be included here, but, in substance, family discord centered chiefly about the superior economic managerial ability of Mrs. Cross and the efforts of Mr. Cross to compensate for his felt inferiority in this matter by dictatorial methods, not only in household finance, but in the other domestic relationships. The sexual incompatibility grew out of the economic situation.[27] It must be understood of course that this one case illustrating how economic factors operated in the break-up of the family does not illustrate all the ways in which such factors so operate.

A case in which interference by members of one or the other's family tended to break up family relations is the Bukowski case.[28] Stanley Bukowski petitioned the Legal Aid Society to help get his wife back. He stated however that he did not wish to have her brothers living with the family. Her brothers had come to board with them and he said they had made trouble between him and his wife. Their complaint against Bukowski was that Bukowski and his wife had been married in court instead of in the church. Bukowski urged that they had been married in court because they wished to be, and not because they had to be. When the Legal Aid Society called in Mrs. Bukowski in order to talk over the matter she said that she had worked ever since she had been married. She charged that her husband did not work most of the time and when he did he gave her only $10.00 a month, was abusive, and sometimes struck her. She refused to return to him unless her brothers returned also on the ground that she was afraid he would kill her. She also believed that all he wanted was her wages. Their furniture had been taken away because Bukowski had not paid for it. When he was not working he spent most of his time following her about. She said that one night he met her on the street, drew a knife, and demanded that she come back to him. She had him arrested, but her cousins appeared against her and told the judge that the brothers were at fault and her husband was

[26] Dickinson and Beam, *op. cit.*, Table 33, p. 401.

[27] For details the reader should acquaint himself with the case. See Krueger, "A Study of Marriage Incompatibility," *The Family*, April, 1938, pp. 53-60, or Reuter and Runner, *The Family* (New York, 1931), pp. 464-500.

[28] Adapted from the case given in Thomas and Znaniecki.

discharged. He came to her boarding-house twice and tried to get in, staying around and creating a disturbance late at night.

Many other cases can be found which illustrate other types of family interference. Sometimes it is the mother-in-law, sometimes the father-in-law, sometimes other relatives. The interference may be on account of money, on account of different social station, or for any number of other causes.

In the case of immigrants or people who have moved from one cultural environment to another, interference in the marital relationship often produces havoc. Thomas and Znaniecki have produced records of a number of such cases. One such is the Baranowski case.

This case also reveals several underlying factors at work in the disruption of the family ties. It is cited here, however, as an illustration of the difficulties created because one or both parties to a marriage persist in the cultural attitude toward the family which prevailed in the country from which they came, but which does not fit into the situation in the country to which they have migrated. In Poland the social controls which regulated family life are largely community controls. The family there is looked upon as a social and economic unit, and the state interferes to a minimum degree. The attitudes of all the neighbors and of all the other members of the family and the relatives tend toward the solidarity of the family which makes it almost impossible for the husband or wife to violate these controls. Move that family to such a social atmosphere as is found in an immigrant colony in one of our American cities, where these attitudes no longer prevail, where the greater emphasis upon individual responsibility and individual liberty is a part of the whole complex of family mores, and you have culture conflicts as disintegrating forces within the family. Add to that the fact that, in this country, the State takes a more positive attitude toward the control of family relationships, punishes directly the delinquency of the man in not supporting his family or in beating his wife as he has been accustomed to in the old country without any state interference, forces support of the wife and family by means of the court machinery, and you can easily see how confusion would be generated in the minds of the two parties most intimately concerned, how emotional reactions toward each other would be stirred up because the old methods of social control were no longer available and the new ones violated the mores to which these people had been habituated in the old country. In these intimate affairs which, in the old country, were regulated by the more subtle means of social control, inherent in the community attitude and the customs of the family, even the interference of social agencies, like a legal aid society or a charitable organization, works havoc in family relationships. The man in the old country would have been compelled by family custom and by con-

munity opinion to work and to support his family. If he wanted to beat his wife occasionally that was permissible. Here in this country, however, those means of social control no longer exist or exist with very diminished power. The husband is enraged because the wife appeals to agencies to which he is not accustomed outside of the family and the community. The wife is provoked at the husband because he shirks the duties which would be enforced in the old country by other means and appeals to the only agencies available. Thus State and social-agency-interference according to the American methods oftentimes operate to generate social discord and to bring about separation and divorce.

Perhaps these illustrations are sufficient to suggest that the real causes of family discord are not revealed by divorce statistics but by an interpretation of the events which occur in family life and by a knowledge of all the ideals, beliefs, and attitudes which make up what Professor Mowrer has called the family complex.[29] The family is not merely a group of individuals living together, but is, as Professor Burgess has so well pointed out, a group of interacting personalities.[30] The bonds which unite a family and make for its permanence are not those imposed by law, nor the sacred promises made before a priest, nor the contract signed before an official of the courts, but are the attitudes developed out of responses by each member of the family toward each of the others. Likewise disharmony in the family, leading to separation or divorce, is the result of some conflict between the attitudes of different members of the family. Consider the fact that when two people get married each brings to the relationship a particular biological organization, hereditary in its nature and modified by the experiences of life. They may be different in race and they may have been reared in quite different cultures. They have developed habits and attitudes which may be quite diverse. They have organized their reactions to life and to other personalities in their life's experience in quite different ways. They may hold different beliefs, cherish variant ideals. As a result both of their nervous organizations and of their habitual responses to situations they may have developed quite different attitudes toward any situation which may present itself. In view of all those possibilities the wonder is not that we have so much domestic disharmony resulting in separation and divorce, but that we have so little. The task of the husband and wife in a family is to reorganize their several attitudes, modify their beliefs, and adapt their responses to each other in such a way that there will be a harmonious coördination between them in the face

[29] Mowrer, "The Study of Family Disorganization," *The Family*, May, 1927, p. 86.
[30] Burgess, "The Family as a Unit of Interacting Personalities," *The Family*, March, 1926, pp. 3-9

of the various life situations which confront them. The real causes of separation and divorce, therefore, lie in the inability to make such adaptation.

Again, while their affection for each other and admiration of each other's qualities may serve under one social situation to resolve the potential disharmonies existing between married people by reason of their various attitudes, ideals, and habitual responses to a given situation, a new situation arising in the history of the family may require of them new adaptations, and the forming of new responses. Such new situations put a strain upon the relationships between husband and wife and lead to a crisis. Such crises can only be resolved by a new adjustment which sometimes fails because of the entrance of new factors in the two personalities or because former habits are unequal to harmonizing the different points of view and attitudes toward the given problem. A number of the cases which we have just cited illustrate these difficulties. Take, for example, the Cross case. Without question in the early days of their family life the ability of Mr. Cross to manage financial affairs successfully was not put to the test. The admiration that each had for the other, the response that each made to the other, served to harmonize their different attitudes very successfully. However, when financial strain came, requiring reaction to a new situation on the part of both, one reacted in one way, the other in another. This put a strain upon their relationship. Because of their differing concepts of the function of each in the family relationship and variant methods of responding to a given situation, conflict, disharmony and eventual rupture of family relationships resulted.

In a rapidly changing society like that of the United States striking changes of social circumstances occur. The older generation has built up a whole complex of morés governing family relationships. However, the new generation has been developing a somewhat different code of behavior in family relationships. One of the partners by reason of his nervous organization, his training, and his previous experiences may respond more readily to the newly developing complex of conventions, ideals, morés, and patterns of behavior than the other. Here is produced a tension which requires new adjustments on the part of one or both, if disharmony is not to result.

Professor Burgess has developed a sevenfold classification of family tensions: economic, sex, health, respect, cultural, temperamental, and pattern of life. Dr. Mowrer has adopted a simpler classification of these tensions, namely: incompatibility of response, economic individualization, cultural differentiation, and individuation of life patterns.[41]

These classifications of the tensions which arise to produce family discord, however, are only general summaries to enable us to bring into simple order

[41] Mowrer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 86 and 87.

the various situations out of which family discord arises. The more fundamental thing is to understand how, in the face of these differing situations and variant personalities, there comes about that conflict between two personalities which sometimes becomes so severe that the unity and harmony of the family is destroyed.

ROLE OF DIVORCE IN SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

After what has been said it is unnecessary to do more than point out the demoralizing effect of the disunity in the family which finally leads to separation and divorce. Grant that once the situation has developed so that two people can find no harmonious ground on which to stand; that they are unable to reconcile their differences, that emotional heat has developed out of the conflict of ideals and attitudes, habits and responses, and that separation and divorce are the only solution of an intolerable situation. In many cases those unresolved tensions have produced results which are of the greatest social significance. Consider what has happened to the individual who has gone through one of those crises unsuccessfully. How frequently the personality of one or both of the parties has become demoralized. Ideals which were once an integrating force in the personality have been shattered. Lifelong habits have been rudely shocked. Attitudes which have been established over long periods of time have been rocked to their foundation. The ideal of romantic love has come to seem nothing but an illusion. In its place there have come no compensating ideas of tolerance, respect, or abiding affection, based upon other than mere sexual attraction. Some results of this personal demoralization are to be seen among the unusually high percentage of divorced people in institutions for delinquents, among the sexually vicious, and among the dependents. However, these indications of personal demoralization are only surface suggestions of the terrific havoc which has been wrought in the whole complex of personal attitudes, habits, and ideals which integrate the happy and contented personality.

Divorce is also supposed to have some bearing upon the welfare of children. It is not divorce, however, which affects the welfare of children so much as it is the conditions in the family before that stage is reached. Divorce often solves the family clash so demoralizing to childhood, but unless the difficulties between the father and mother can be solved in a way which brings unity and harmony into the family life, without question damage is done to the developing personality of the child. Harmonious relationships between the husband and wife produce the atmosphere which conduces to the normal development of childhood and prevents the outbursts of those conflicts which lead to a feeling of instability and uncertainty in his relationships in the

home Nothing is more devastating to the growing child than the perception of disharmony between those charged with his care

On the other hand, unfortunate results grow out of the separation of father and mother resulting from domestic disharmony While divorce relieves one source of tension and thus releases the child from conflict and clash of personalities, divorce does not solve all the problems for him. There is always the problem of the proper support of the child involved in a divorce or separation case More than that there is the lack of proper bi-parental supervision and influence in the divorced family. Furthermore, there is always the possibility of difficulties arising in connection with the remarriage of the mother or father to whom the children are committed by the court In short, family disharmony, whether it eventuates in divorce, separation, or merely in continued jangling, is most menacing to the welfare of the children involved As we have just seen the crisis precipitated by the tension arising from the disharmony of husband and wife brings a menace of personal demoralization to the two parties concerned How much more does that threaten the welfare of the children who are subjected to these bickerings and strains

Thus from every point of view separation and divorce registers the culmination of disharmonious relationships in the family which threaten the unity and constructive functioning of this fundamental social institution Neither denial of divorce nor uniform divorce laws will solve the difficulty. As we have seen, the difficulties lie far deeper than any such surface remedies can reach What is needed is more care in the establishment of the marriage relationship By way of prevention something might be done by courses of training for these important human relationships One or two institutions for young ladies have such courses. So far as I know none offer training for young men At the present time no one knows whether it is possible to train people for this important relationship and we shall not know until the experiment has been tried Certainly such a course for the training of husbands and wives would stir the risibles of all the scoffers and would offer abundant material to the cartoonists and the jokesters Nevertheless, since we are experimenting in education in many fields, it might be advisable to try this experiment It may be said that at the present time there are a number of courses dealing with the foundations of human behavior and throwing light upon personality difficulties and conflict between individuals which might be of help to young people when they set up family life However, so involved are these relationships between husband and wife, and so dominant is the idea that love is the key to the whole situation, that training for successful marriage will be slow in making its way to acceptance. The matter, however,

deserves the serious consideration of every one concerned with the evils which arise from disharmonious family relationships.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Is divorce an adequate criterion of unsatisfactory marriage relationships? Why?
2. What has been the attitude of the Christian Church toward divorce? Why has it taken that attitude?
3. Explain the high divorce rate in the United States as compared with other countries.
4. Why is divorce higher in the cities than in the rural areas?
5. Are the legal grounds for divorce as given in the census statistics the real causes of the breaking up of the family?
6. Why do we have a high rate of divorce in the first few years of married life?
7. Point out the ways in which divorce and the accompanying maladjustments affect social pathology.

CHAPTER 13

DESERTION

Some one has suggested that desertion is the poor man's divorce. He cannot afford to go to the expense of getting a divorce in court, hence he simply runs away. Miss Colcord has suggested that desertion is more a poor man's vacation. He gets tired of the difficulties which he finds are overwhelming him. Consequently he deserts his family, and thus finds some relief from the contention to which he was subjected with it. Perhaps it might more appropriately be called the poor married man's vacation. The implication in any of these appellations except the first is that the deserter often returns to the bosom of his family.

STATISTICS OF DESERTION

How large in extent is this social phenomenon? The statistics on which an answer might be based are not adequate. We have three chief sources of information as to the extent of desertion. One is the United States Census, which gives the number of times divorce is granted on the ground of desertion. Another is the statistics of courts of domestic relations. Still another source is the records of desertion cases in charity organizations.

Page twenty-four of the Census Report on *Marriage and Divorce, 1928* (Washington, 1930), shows that of the total divorces granted from 1887 to 1906, 38.9 per cent were on the ground of desertion. As a ground of divorce, desertion has decreased in importance until, in 1928, it furnished the ground for only 30.2 per cent of the divorces granted. In the period from 1887 to 1906 desertion furnished the ground for 49.4 per cent of the divorces granted to husbands, and 33.6 per cent of those granted to the wives. In 1928 these figures had fallen to 43.9 per cent of those granted to the husbands and 24.6 per cent of those granted to the wives. Perhaps the diminishing importance of this ground for divorce has been due to the increase in the number of other grounds provided for by law in the various States. Or, was it due to a tendency for the disharmonious partners to get a divorce earlier, and thus obviate the necessity of desertion? We cannot answer these questions with certainty. Remember, however, that these figures do not give us the real factors behind this legal ground. What we should like to know is how many

of the cases of divorce not counted in the above records were preceded by actual desertion although some other ground was found more available for the purposes of the divorce court.

Moreover, do not forget that the census statistics furnish no index to the possible number of deserters whose cases never appear in the divorce courts. See then what information the other two sources can furnish.

For a number of years the social agencies have been studying this matter of desertion. They gave us the first figures which were not entangled with the legal grounds of divorce. Lillian Brandt, studying the reports of various charitable societies, wrote in 1905 that from 7 to 13 per cent of their cases are deserted families. She adds that one fourth of the cases of children committed to institutions in New York City are attributed to desertion.[1] In 1908, Dr. Devine studied five thousand cases which came to the New York Charity Organization Society, covering the years from 1906 to 1908, and found that exactly 10 per cent of this number were cases of deserted wives. Again, in 1916, a somewhat similar study was made of three thousand families by this same society and the desertion percentage of the total number was 9.9 per cent. In 1917, in the same organization, deserted wives constituted 11.7 per cent of the cases chosen for study.[2] Eubank, in 1916, after a study of the reports of a large number of charitable agencies both in this country and abroad, found that the ratio of desertion cases to all cases coming to the organization varied in this country from 7.1 per cent in Washington, D. C., to as high as 24.5 per cent in Indianapolis, Indiana. Only three of the reports received from abroad gave statistics on desertion. Glasgow, Scotland, gave 7.1 per cent for 1912, Adelaide, Australia, 6.8 per cent in 1913 and 3.1 per cent in 1914. These are the lowest figures to be found in this study. Edinburgh showed 16.9 per cent in 1914.[3] Miss Colcord, in her book entitled *Broken Homes*, estimated that from 10 to 15 per cent of the work of any family welfare society is concerned with deserted families.[4] Later reports show a slight decrease. A study of desertion in four Boston agencies in 1913-1914 shows that desertion and non-support account for 8.3 per cent of the cases in the Federated Jewish Charities, 10 per cent in the Family Welfare Society, 10.9 per cent of the cases coming to the overseers of public welfare, and 11.5 per cent in the Provident Association.[5]

[1] Brandt, *374 Deserters and Their Families* (New York, 1905), p. 10.

[2] Colcord, "Desertion and Non-Support in Family Case Work," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1918, p. 101.

[3] Eubank, *A Study of Family Desertion* (Chicago, 1916), pp. 24-25.

[4] Colcord, *Broken Homes* (New York, 1919), p. 51.

[5] Pear, "How Boston Meets and Supports its Public Service Programs," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1919, p. 492.

Patterson has studied the desertion cases which came into the Philadelphia Court of Domestic Relations and finds that one fifth of the marriages in Philadelphia land in that court on account of desertion.[6] His figures covered only the new desertion cases, not the repeaters, from 1916 to 1920. It is well known that many deserters are repeaters; therefore, we are conservative enough if we say that at least 20 per cent of the families in Philadelphia suffer from desertion regularly. Whether that situation is normative for other parts of the country we do not know. In that court in Philadelphia the desertion cases were almost twice as many as the average annual divorce suits filed and almost three times as many as the average of divorces granted.[7] The recurrent cases varied from 46 per cent in 1916 to 52 per cent in 1920. Consequently it is apparent from the statistics of a court of domestic relations in one city in this country that desertion is very much greater than is indicated by the two other sources.[8] These figures again show a situation in the American family symptomatic of a good deal of disharmony and considerable failure to meet the problems of adjustment within the family group. Turn now to consider the social consequence of a situation in the family of which family desertion is symptomatic.

CAUSES OF DESERTION

Why do men and women desert their families? Several methods have been used in the attempt to answer this question. Statistics have been assembled, case studies have been made, and certain conclusions drawn therefrom. Sometimes there has been a combination of statistics and case studies. Some students of the problem, not satisfied with these methods, have endeavored to probe more deeply behind the surface facts, and get at the process that led up to the deserter's willingness to leave his family. Doubtless if we could unearth the motivations behind desertion we could also explain why divorces occur. We could also explain disharmony in the unbroken family. The tendency at the present time among sociologists is to call attention to the influence of the rapid changes which are taking place in all phases of life. These changes break the continuity of the traditional controls which have operated to keep men within the conventional bounds in family life. Thomas and Znaniecki, in their study of the Polish peasant, have attempted to show the whole complex of conditions which explains the demoralization occurring in the family of the Pole who comes from his old social environment in Poland

[6] Patterson, "Family Desertion, and Non-Support," *The Journal of Delinquency*, September, 1922, pp. 262-263.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 264.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 267.

to this country. They have thrown a flood of light on a number of factors which hitherto have been somewhat neglected. Miss Colcord in her study has divided the factors into two general heads, (1) contributory factors in the man and woman; and (2) contributory factors in the community. She wisely points out that, although frequently one-sided theories have been developed to explain desertion, the truth is that, as in economic pressure, bad housing, and sex incompatibility, there is no one cause or group of causes which can be relied upon to explain the matter.

As an illustration of the attempt to study the causes of desertion statistically, Miss Colcord cites an analysis of over 1,500 cases which listed 25 causes, and calculated the percentage of cases due to each cause. Her summary grouped under five heads is as follows:

Factors	*Percentage*
(1) Distinct sex factors	39 03
(2) Alcohol and narcotic drugs	37 00
(3) Temperamental traits	15 40
(4) Economic issues	6 27
(5) Mental and physical troubles	2 30

These statistical percentages reveal only surface indications. As Miss Colcord has well said "Looked at from the point of view of the social worker, desertion is itself only a symptom of some more deeply seated trouble in the family structure." Without question before we are able to understand why families are broken up we shall have to get at the processes of interaction between the husband and wife and so reveal the steps that have brought about disharmony. Let us look, however, at Miss Colcord's analysis of the contributory factors.

Contributory Factors in the Man and Woman. The twelve contributory factors in the man and the woman, discussed by Miss Colcord, are (1) *actual mental deficiency*, meaning not only feeble-mindedness but also psychopathic personalities, (2) *faults in early training*, the most important of which she believes to be petting, coddling, and overindulging children in the home so that they become egotistical self-centered individuals, (3) *differences in background* By this category Miss Colcord means partners who are of different nationality, different religion, and different age. She cites Miss Brandt's study, showing that a difference in nationality was more than twice as frequent among cases of desertion in New York as among the general population of that city. She believes that differences in religion in the two

partners has a bearing, and in 27 per cent of Miss Brandt's families there was an age difference of more than six years. In 15 per cent the woman was older than the man. (4) *Wrong basis of marriage* Here she includes hasty, mercenary, unwilling, and forced marriages In addition she cites the irregular unions called common-law marriages. (5) *Lack of education* This category refers both to the morally and to the mentally undisciplined youth who are ignorant of the physical and spiritual basis of married life. This lack she thinks is a potent cause of desertion Likewise she considers limited industrial equipment as a factor. (6) *Occupational faults.* Because of the lack of proper industrial training many men are not able to hold a job, or the wife fails in housewifery (7) *Wanderlust.* She thinks this category as a cause of family desertion has probably been overestimated From the cases which she has studied, the thirst for adventure as a cause of desertion seems to be rare. (8) *Money troubles* There seems to be no connection between small incomes and desertion, however, the connection between low wage and non-support is closer. More important is the discord that arises from the matter of handling family finance. If the husband earns plenty but the wife wastes it or if the husband is wasteful, that may be a cause of marital disharmony. Sometimes a man deserts because debts pile up either from his own fault or from the fault of his wife. He runs away. (9) *Ill health, physical disability.* Lack of vitality in the man may cause irregular work, superinduce a condition of despondency and a willingness to give up. In the woman it results in careless housekeeping, loss of attractiveness, and disinclination to marital intercourse. A particular variety under this category is the pregnancy desertion. (10) *Temperamental incompatibility.* Sometimes this leads to sexual difficulties, but often the temperamental difference comes out about standards of right and wrong or proper and improper conduct. (11) *Sexual incompatibility* Unsatisfactory sexual relationships lie without question at the basis of much marital unhappiness A number of studies have been made in the matter, the results of which cannot be given here. They show positively that some family disorganization is due to this factor. The student who is interested will find references at the close of the chapter where the subject may be pursued further. (12) *Vicious habits* Sexual immorality seems, from a survey of the cases of desertion, to play a large part in family disharmony. It not only lowers the ideals of marriage held by one or the other of the parties, but often excites jealousy and leads to all kinds of quarrelling and frequently to desertion. Often in this connection there is to be found venereal disease which in many cases leads to desertion and divorce In this same connection alcoholism and the use of narcotics should be cited. Alcoholism in the woman seems to have the greater influence and most frequently leads to what is sometimes

called "justifiable desertion." Gambling by the husband also comes in under this category, because of its bearing on non-support.

Contributory Factors in the Community. Miss Colcord cites six contributory factors in the community. These are (1) *Interference of relatives:* Many case histories show that the young couple were getting along well until relatives interfered. Thomas and Znaniecki in their study of the Polish peasant found this cause to operate to a considerable extent.* (2) *Cultural attitudes toward marriage.* The attitude toward the sanctity of marriage characteristic of the people from which the individual sprang, the position of women, the importance of restraint in sexual relations, or the attitude toward sexual relations, seem to be of considerable importance. Miss Colcord does not give any convincing figures on this point, but Thomas and Znaniecki have cited cases and analyzed the situation, throwing some light upon the problem. They point out that sexual life among the American Poles has acquired a significance entirely out of proportion to the relatively secondary rôle which it possessed under the traditional system in Poland. There relations between the sexes before marriage were regulated in view of the family as an economic and social unit and not from the standpoint of abstract moral standards. When the Pole comes to this country those family and community mores and folkways have no longer any particular significance. Consequently the Polish immigrant feels free to play fast and loose with his wife, who is also bewildered by the changed social circumstances and the attitudes toward the family which she finds in America.[10] Miss Sherman has likewise pointed out the rôle of this factor in her study of five different racial and national groups.[11] (3) *Community standards.* Miss Colcord from her cases thinks that any attitudes in the community indicated by newspaper comics, movies, and drama which belittle or ridicule the ideal relationships between husband and wife, are disintegrating to young people who see or hear them. She says: "In so far as they overemphasize romantic love and disparage conjugal love, the theater and the popular press do this generation great disservice." However, she cites no facts to uphold this conviction but seems to gather it from her cases. She also thinks that the community's attitude toward marriage as reflected in the administration of civil marriage has a bad effect. The same is true with the divorce laws and public opinion on the matter. Hypothetically this is quite conceivable. What we should like to have, however, is some statistical evidence in support of the hypothesis. (4) *Lack of proper recreation.*

* See Thomas and Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, pp. 1729-1731.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 1703-1752.

[11] Sherman, "Racial Factors in Desertion," *The Family*, Oct., Nov., Dec., 1922, Jan., 1923.

Case after case can be cited where recreation has played a part in desertion. Miss Breckenridge cites one such case from Chicago records [13] (5) *Influence of companions* Miss Colcord points out that in close connection with the two points just discussed is the influence of companions who reflect neighborhood standards and transmit them through the small group standing nearest to the individual Such an influence on one of the partners in a marriage relationship may bring about desertion Often the man contrasts his condition with that of his unmarried companions and they, by their talk and example, stimulate in him a yearning for similar freedom. (6) *Expectation of charitable relief.* While earlier welfare associations found that collusion between the husband and wife seemed to have an influence in producing desertion, Miss Colcord reports that social workers feel that now few men deliberately desert the family in order to get charitable relief

After carefully considering all of these factors contributing to desertion, one is led to feel that after all only the surface has been scratched. The vastly more important matter is what Mowrer calls the "tensions" which disrupt the family, and lead to desertion Let us turn to consider Mowrer's theory of family tensions

THE TENSIONS THAT PRODUCE FAMILY DISRUPTION

Mowrer has attacked this problem in rather a different way. He has endeavored to find a unified system which will enable us to understand how family discords arise The conflict situations resulting in divorce or desertion, he thinks, may be described as arising out of differences in attitude which create tensions in family relationship [14] He classifies the various types of tensions under four heads (1) Incompatibility in response, (2) economic individualization, (3) cultural differentiation, (4) individuation of life pattern. He assumes that there is in each case one type of situation which is predominant in the conflict between husband and wife.

Incompatibility in Response. Incompatibility in response, according to Mowrer's theory, includes sexual incompatibility The attitudes toward sex which have been built up in the individual on the basis of his inherent qualities through his social experience at home and outside the home, result frequently in differences of opinion in the matter of sex The sex impulse itself varies from individual to individual and between the sexes This may be the result of physiological factors or temperament, or simply differences in culture In the course of their living together two people may become dif-

[13] Breckenridge, *Family Welfare Work in a Metropolitan Community* (Chicago, 1924), p 608

[14] Mowrer, *Family Disorganization* (Chicago, 1927), Ch IX.

fermentated in sexual interest or these differences may have already been in existence when they married. Fear of pregnancy may be one disruptive factor. Other interests may so sidetrack the attention of either partner that these relationships cease to be satisfactory to one or both. In studying 100 cases Mowrer found that 40 per cent represented incompatibility in response.

Economic Individualization. Mowrer is of the opinion that economic individualization more commonly affects the relations of husband and wife among the lower and middle classes than among the upper classes. While in every marriage there tends to be some individualization of economic interests, the two partners not seeing eye to eye with reference to economic affairs, conflict in the family sometimes results from differences in training and in personal experience in economic matters. Standards of living, methods of spending, differences in opinion as to whether a wife should work, vocational separation, and economic independence, all tend to give rise to this tension. The Cross family already cited reveals such a tension arising from differences in attitudes toward economic affairs.

Cultural Differentiation. These cultural differences in the husband and wife often result in family difficulty. Under this category Mowrer discusses the religious, racial, and educational folkways and mores of the group which form the background of the individuals in the marital partnership. These are such as were discussed by Miss Colcord under cultural background. Here conflict arises out of questions as to what is right and wrong, what is proper and improper conduct. One of the partners may not like the kind of friends the other has, the wife may not like her husband's table manners, or his discipline of the children. One may like music and the other may dislike it. One may like certain games while the other prefers different ones. Such difference in cultural background often leads to discord and frequently to separation.

Individuation of Life Patterns. In the course of one's development there comes about a philosophy or scheme of habits which is consistent and unified. This scheme may be called "pattern of life." "Individuation" means that the partners arrive at different life patterns. These may exist at the time of marriage or may arise afterwards. Sometimes they are determined by temperamental characteristics, sometimes by life experience. Frequently these individual life patterns do not function to produce discord until some crisis arises in the family. Differences of age between husband and wife may here play a part. Vocational separation may play its part.

This classification scheme is recognized by Dr. Mowrer as not sufficient but only preliminary to the discovery of sequence in events or processes. Case studies in numbers large enough to provide a picture of the various situations,

personalities, and reactions would constitute a fine means of understanding what leads to family disruption and to desertion. At the present time we do not have a sufficient number of such studies to enable us to predict what will happen in any particular case. Without question the rapid changes taking place in our American culture, the complex culture patterns, the wide variety of personalities and habit patterns developed on the basis of different physiological and psychological make-up, and the strains caused by changing from one culture to another explain in a general way why many couples find their relationships no longer satisfactory. Hence desertion.

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY OF DESERTION

By the social pathology of family desertion, I mean the maladjustment in social relationships and the dislocation of an individual within the social structure which this condition entails. What are the social consequences which follow desertion by the husband or wife after family relationships have been set up?

As in the case of divorce, when there are no children the social consequences are less serious and perhaps there may be even a social gain. However, there are serious calculable consequences when there is a family of children left, the most obvious of which is the economic difficulty of support.

Money Cost of Desertion. No adequate figures can be given to show the money cost of the desertion by the husband and father of families including children. The figures already given, showing the percentage of the cases in the charitable organizations due to deserted families, hold some hint of the financial burden entailed upon society by this pathological action. Eubank in his study found that Buffalo in 1913 spent 6.13 per cent of the whole charity budget on desertion cases, and in 1914, 8.1 per cent; Columbus in 1913, 6.7 per cent, Omaha in 1913, 16.2 per cent, New Haven in 1914 about one fourth, and Minneapolis fully one third. In addition to the outdoor relief given by these agencies, there must, of course, be counted the public outdoor relief and the institutional relief given. In 1913 a committee in New York found that fully 20 per cent of the children committed to orphan asylums in New York City were children of deserting fathers. The city spent approximately $700,000 per annum for their care. The committee estimated that the annual cost of abandoned children for New York City at that time was about $1,000,000 annually, for Philadelphia, $300,000. These figures suggest that the burden for the whole country, could we know it, is considerable.[14]

Bear in mind that there are many more men than women deserters. Miss Brandt's study of the matter showed, for the time it was made, that almost

[14] Eubank, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 and 33.

two thirds of the disruptions of the home through desertion rested with the husband. About 12 per cent was the wife's fault, in over 13 per cent both husband and wife were to blame, while in another 12 per cent the immediate responsibility lay in circumstances out of the control of both.

Like divorce, desertion also works for both good and ill. Sometimes desertion, like divorce, is the solution of an impossible situation in the family life. It eases the tension and relieves some of the emotional disturbances caused by two incompatible persons endeavoring to live together. On the other hand, as in the case of divorce, great emotional disturbances are sometimes caused by the desertion of either partner. This is especially true if the one who deserted left to take up life with some other partner. Jealousy without question plays a part. The one who remains feels himself (or herself) a failure. The impression upon his self-esteem and his mental composure can easily be imagined.

Perhaps of even more serious import in desertion than in divorce, is the result upon the children. Often in divorce cases alimony provides some means of financial support for the family. In desertion provisions for the financial support of the family are not made through the law. The only legal provision in many States is one by which the wife may swear out a warrant and have the man brought back. If, however, he has not been a source of support before desertion his return will help little in that matter. In some States provision is made in the so-called mother's pension law for the support of the family after a certain period of time has passed since the desertion and under the condition that the wife has endeavored to have her husband brought back. In the laws of twenty-one States deserted mothers are provided for in that fashion.[18]

Every study has shown the large number of children who are reduced to dependency upon some public or private agency through the desertion of the father. Eubank years ago showed the large number of children which become dependent on others than their family by reason of family desertion. In Montreal 36 out of every 100 children in charity institutions of that city were deserted children. The Juvenile Protective Association of Cincinnati in 1913 found that the number of children deserted in Cincinnati was 5.13 per cent of the entire school attendance of that city. In Seattle 26.5 per cent of the children appearing before the juvenile court in 1912 were from homes broken up by desertion and divorce. Miss Brandt estimated that 25 per cent of the commitments of children in New York are attributable to desertion. Eighteen per cent of the children who appeared before the juvenile courts of Cook

[18] Lundberg, *Public Aid to Mothers with Dependent Children*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 162 (Washington, 1928), p. 6.

County from 1904 to 1914, had been abandoned by their fathers.[14] Breckenridge and Abbott, in their study of delinquent children in Chicago showed that 8 per cent of those delinquents had been deserted by their fathers.[17] Thus from the standpoint of economic support and of childhood care, the deserted family with children in it on the whole suffers great damage.

The demoralizing effect of family desertion may be seen in other respects. Often the deserted wife, and the children as soon as they are of working age, must go to work. The consequences in the lack of proper parental care and consequent demoralization of the children when the mother works have often been pointed out The children who are forced to go to work too early are deprived of proper schooling They often get into bad company and are placed in hazardous situations which often result in juvenile delinquency and social inefficiency [18] The emotional disturbance which desertion causes sometimes registers itself in the demoralization of the wife. The Chicago Vice Commission in its study published in 1911, pointed out 30 among its cases who seemed to have entered a life of prostitution because they had been deserted by faithless husbands.[19] Kneeland in his *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City* gave some figures which throw light upon this matter. Of 671 prostitutes studied in Bedford Reformatory, New York, 55 were married women Their husband's desertion was given by 14 5 per cent as their reason for becoming prostitutes Mr Kneeland studied 492 prostitutes in other institutions. Of these 115 were married women Over 10 per cent of these assigned desertion by their husbands as the reason for entering the life. He also studied 1,436 street prostitutes of whom 213 were married Sixteen per cent of these assigned the husband's desertion as the reason for their becoming prostitutes [20]

These statements of the women themselves may be merely a rationalization of their conduct rather than a real explanation. The fact remains, however, that a considerable percentage of these prostitutes were deserted wives.

If desertion results in the habit of throwing off one's responsibilities instead of facing them, doubtless the effect upon the personality of the individual concerned is bad If either party gets the notion that he can throw off responsibility as soon as it becomes unpleasant, family relationships will come to be regarded as a matter of individual whims.

[14] Eubank, *op cit*, pp 28 and 29 Brandt, *op cit* (New York, 1905), p 10

[17] Breckenridge and Abbott, *The Delinquent Child and the Home* (New York, 1912), p. 92

[18] Gilkn, *Poverty and Dependency* (New York, 1926), pp 81, 82, 84, 85

[19] *The Social Evil in Chicago*, 1911, pp 166, 168

[20] Kneeland, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City* (New York, 1913), pp 233, 241, 246

On the whole, therefore, we have to say that the social costs of family desertion are rather great. Add to that the financial cost of supporting a family thrown upon the public or upon private philanthropy, and add also the demoralization of those personal and social relationships so important to a well-organized community, and it is not difficult to see that the total equals a real problem in social pathology.

Many of the plans which have been proposed to control this situation and to remedy these pathological conditions are mere guesswork, and often do more harm than good. The laws, for example, against family desertery, especially in the case of immigrants who have come with a different culture complex, as Thomas and Znaniecki have shown, often confound the situation rather than clarify it. What we need at the present moment is a better understanding of why men and women desert their families and by what process they have come to the place where they are willing to disrupt the relationship. Then we shall better be able to plan wisely in the prevention of divorce and desertion.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is meant by the statement that desertion is the poor man's vacation? Why is it not the equivalent of divorce?

2. Why has desertion decreased as a ground of divorce, as shown by the Census Bureau's figures?
3. If the figures available for a few cities in which desertion figured in charity cases are normative for the whole country, what proportion of dependency is due to desertion?
4. If the study in Philadelphia is indicative for the country as a whole, what proportion of the marriages in a community are dissolved by desertion? Would you expect the proportion to be as high in country as in city? Why?
5. Why are desertion figures more significant as to the prevalence of domestic disharmony than divorce figures?
6. Point out the most significant pathological results of family desertion.
7. What are the chief types of family deserters?
8. Name the chief causes of desertion. What is the relative importance of each of these causes?
9. What are the chief contributory causes of desertion in the individuals concerned? In the community?
10. What are the chief tensions which produce desertion?
11. What objects are sought in laws against family desertion? What is the social effect of these laws?
12. Suggest a program by which desertion may be lessened.

CHAPTER 14

DEPENDENT AND NEGLECTED CHILDHOOD

In this chapter our concern is primarily with the dependent normal child The mental defective, the problem child, and the physically handicapped child are considered in other chapters

The problem falls naturally into two parts—the problem of the infant, and that of the older child. In the one case the task is to secure the survival of the child; in the other his proper education and social development Infants, unless carefully tended, show an astonishing tendency to die Throughout the country as a whole even at this day with its emphasis upon child welfare one out of every fifteen born dies before it reaches its first birthday, while one in every seven or eight perishes before the fifth birthday. In the institutions for children the death-rate has often run as high as 75 per cent of those received

However, after the child has attained the age of five or six, he shows a very high vitality as compared with the infant But with the increase of his viability comes the problem of his social development

Social Importance of Early Care of Children. The problem of the physical development of the child is comparatively easy Even children's institutions have been able to cut the death-rate very materially The problem of the mental and social development of the child is much more serious While modern medicine has made it rather clear and rather simple to prevent the death of healthy infants, we are just beginning to get light upon how to solve the much larger problem of the proper mental, emotional, and social development of children. While it may not be the most important factor in dependency, an unsocial personality, by which is meant an individual lacking adjustment of his personality to the social conditions under which he lives, plays a rather important part The families and individuals which come to the attention of the social worker do not all have bad heredity, not all are physically disabled; the minority are feeble-minded, epileptic, or insane Among them are personalities without ambition, repressed, unable to adapt themselves to a given situation, fearful of what may happen if they get out of the ordinary rut of their lives, timid on the one hand, or over-aggressive on the other, suspicious, easily stirred to resentment, unemployed because they

do not fit into the economic and industrial machinery, unable to adjust themselves to the complex conditions of life, partly because of their biological heritage, and in part because of some experiences back in their career, usually in the early days of their development Many children in normal family life go wrong Parents do not know how to handle them. How much more important that the children who have been deprived of normal home conditions be handled with great care and understanding, and how doubly important that those who have charge of them should be of an understanding heart.

Dr. Thom says.

"By force of circumstances, children, taken as a group, are destined to spend their early years in closest association with adult personalities who are lamentably ignorant of the most elementary principles which govern behavior. Children are dependent upon adults not only for physical care, intellectual stimulation and moral precepts, but also for an environment in which to live that is not contaminated by the unsatisfied emotional strivings of the parents. That the mental life of the child and its relation to its future health, happiness and efficiency, has been little appreciated in years past, is evidenced by the lack of recognition this important phase of hygiene has received, even at the hands of the various professional groups, such as physicians, educators, lawyers, and others directly interested in problems of the gravest social significance.

"The conduct of the child which deviates from the normal and which is unusual or unexpected is as great a mystery to the average parent as certain types of adult conduct are to the child. The parents often have as little comprehension of the underlying forces that account for temper tantrums, fears and personality twists in the child, as has the child who has been punished for some act, the wrongness of which could not possibly lie within his comprehension

"To be sure, when such punishment has been inflicted, the child is aware that something is wrong His whole horizon is changed from one of joy to sorrow. He is ostracized and humiliated by an effective blow, which has not only hurt his physical being, but damaged his self-regarding sentiment He struggles blindly with unseen forces over which he has no control, to regain his lost world The whyness and the justice of the act are perhaps years beyond his intellectual grasp, and the emotional reaction has all the sorrow, bitterness and resentment, while it lasts, that any adult could experience. How little of all this emotional turmoil is understood by the average parent! (And how feeble the attempt to interpret or alter the results in terms of mental hygiene!) One would not be far wrong in stating that most of the serious situations occurring during pre-school years, and the very ones that are most apt to leave scars which incapacitate in later life, are created by the personalities with which the child has to deal. All too frequently we find parents resorting to methods for obtaining desirable conduct that are simply reflections of their own emotional instability.

"The over-solicitous mother produces the dependent, clinging-vine type of

child. The stern, rigid, righteous father, with all his strivings for authority and self-assertion, is not infrequently the creator of the child who feels inferior and inadequate. The parent who is quick-tempered and hands out discipline in the most erratic manner, and the parent who bribes and cheats the child, are accountable for a group of personality deviations in their offspring to the same degree as though they had crippled them by physical force."[1]

The Hopefulness of Work with Children. No class of humanity offers such possibilities as children. They are plastic beings. Hereditary tendencies being equal, the child can be molded much more easily than the adult, already more or less fixed in habits, and possessing ideals good and bad. Response to treatment is much more emphatic, therefore, in the child than in the adult Neglected, the child is much more likely to revenge himself on society for such neglect than the adult. Properly cared for, taught by good example and noble precept, the child is much more likely to develop the characteristics necessary for usefulness and success.

Most children live in sight of the end of the rainbow. Possessing the will to live and to achieve, they have no acquired pessimism to shadow their path to a better future. They dream dreams In their adolescence they build their "house of dreams," to use Jane Addams' phrase With proper treatment, therefore, they grow up into useful citizens, as the work of every modern, well-conducted child-placing agency attests. Children taken from the meanest environment, from the poorest homes, placed in a good environment constantly surprise us by turning out well.

We must not forget, however, that a child is most expensive to raise from infancy to maturity. The prolongation of infancy, as John Fiske pointed out long ago, provides the long period necessary for the development of the mind and habits of the child necessary to enable it to function in social life. This means that a child must be supported much longer than the young of any other animal. The consequence is that the rearing of a child is a rather expensive matter. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has recently made a study showing what it costs to rear a child from infancy to eighteen years of age. The conclusion was based upon a study of families with an average annual income of $2,500. They found that the cost of rearing a child was $7,250. This figure represents the cost to the family, without considering the cost to the community in the shape of education, sanitation, and other

[1] Thom, "The Importance of the Early Years," *Concerning Parents* (New York, 1926), pp 100 and 101 See also Kenworthy, "From Childhood to Youth," *Ibid*, pp 118-138 See also Groves, *Personality and Social Adjustment* (New York, 1923)

public services. If this figure is correct it is apparent that low-income people with a large family of children are much more likely to provide dependent children for the community to care for than families with higher income. While money or the lack of it is not the only factor in producing child dependency, nevertheless it is clear that without an adequate income a large family of children cannot be given the proper attention, provided with education, permitted to share in those elements of culture and to have that self-respect and confidence in themselves which every child ought to have. Moreover, while we do not know whether money is the main factor in producing marital unhappiness, we do know that differences over money and the discouragement that comes both to the father and the mother by reason of inadequate income to care for the family many times lead to domestic difficulties and sometimes to the break-up of the family. In all these ways child dependency is increased by the lack of an adequate income properly to develop them.

PRESENT SYSTEM OF CARE FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

As the result of the development which we have traced for more than a century, we have in this country to-day seven systems for the care of dependent children—(1) care in almshouses, (2) the State school with placing out, (3) county children's homes, (4) support in private institutions at public expense, (5) boarding out, (6) placing out directly through private organizations or by State authorities, and (7) temporary care in public or private institutions for children whose parents for the time being are unable to care for them.[4]

Care in Almshouses. This system, originally very general, has proved to be quite unsatisfactory and is gradually dying out. Yet, in 1900 only twelve and in 1913 only fourteen States had excluded children from almshouses.[5] This decrease is shown by the fact that in 1880, 5.8 per cent of the inmates of the poorhouses were children under five years of age. This number had decreased in 1890 to 3.5 per cent; in 1904 to 1.6 per cent, in 1910 to 1.4 per cent, and in 1923 it was only 1.1 per cent.

In many of the States there are county agencies which have authority to place children in family homes. Among such States are Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Ohio, and Indiana. In Ohio, Indiana, and Connecticut, where county children's homes have been established, there

[4] Hart, *Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children* (New York, 1910), p. 57.

[5] Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 10. *Summary of State Laws Relating to the Dependent Child*, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1914), pp. 13-300.

is a growing tendency to turn these into receiving homes and place the children out in all cases where this is possible.[4]

The South Central, the East South Central, and the West South Central had the largest proportions of children in their poorhouses.[5] Nearly half of the children were under five years of age.[6] These figures show a decided decrease in the use of the poorhouses for dependent children. To a marked extent they are being used for the aged and infirm. Children are being cared for in other ways.[7] Most of those remaining in almshouses are either under two years of age or are illegitimate children.[8]

Nevertheless, the fact that in 1923 there were enumerated in the poorhouses of the United States 1,896 children below fifteen years of age is a condition which demands attention. Over a thousand of these were five or more years of age. A poorhouse is no place in which to bring up an impressionable child. He needs a home. Perhaps we may justify keeping a nursing child with his mother in the poorhouse until he is a year old, but in many States they are there contrary to law. In time this practice will be stopped.

State Schools. In 1910, eighteen States had public institutions known as State schools for children. There were also five municipal institutions. In these twenty-three places there were 4,614 inmates.[9] While these institutions constituted only 10 per cent of the children's institutions in this country, in 1910 they contained 15.3 per cent of the inmates of all institutions for children.[10]

In 1923 about twenty-five State agencies had authority to place children in family homes in the United States. Among these Massachusetts did by far the most important work. On November 30, 1921, the Division of Child Guardianship of the Massachusetts State Department of Public Welfare had under its care and supervision 12,039 children. Of these 3,918 were in boarding-homes and 1,362 in free homes, or a total of 5,280 children in family

[4] Atkinson, "An Ohio Experiment," *The Survey*, November 10, 1921, p. 177; *Foster Home Care for Dependent Children*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 136 (Washington, 1924), p. 8.

[5] *Paupers in Almshouses, 1910*, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1913), pp. 35, 36.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[8] The States having the largest numbers of children in almshouses in 1910 were Massachusetts (209), Pennsylvania (291), Ohio (165), Illinois (162), Tennessee (134), Virginia (131), West Virginia (128), Kentucky (144). *Ibid.*, p. 116. One of these States, Pennsylvania, is one of the twelve which Folks cites as having laws forbidding children over two years of age to remain in almshouses. Over one half of these children had both parents living, one third had mother only living, and over 27 per cent of them were illegitimate. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[9] *Benevolent Institutions, 1910*, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1913), pp. 27, 63.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

homes. Boston for many years has maintained a child welfare department. On January 31, 1921, this department had under its care 1,387 children, of whom 680 were in boarding-homes and 181 in free homes.

In many of the States there are county agencies which have authority to place children in family homes. Among such States are Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Ohio, and Indiana. In Ohio, Indiana, and Connecticut where county children's homes have been established, there is a growing tendency to turn these into receiving homes and do placing-out from them in all possible cases.[12]

County and City Children's Homes. In 1910 there were ninety-two county homes in three States—fifty in Ohio, seventeen in Indiana, and seven in Connecticut—with 7,518 inmates.[13] There were only five municipal institutions for children at that time and these held only 445 inmates.[14] The county home system has not proved to be the success its sponsors had hoped for.[15] It is expensive, it has difficulty in securing properly trained people to manage it, and it tends to become a catch-all for all kinds of dependent children. Here and there it is being given up for a placing or a boarding system.[16]

Support of Public Charges in Private Institutions. Nearly 40 per cent of the private institutions for the care of children and 46.3 per cent of the societies for the care of children in 1910 received appropriations from public funds. The institutions received $5,516,694 or 18.8 per cent of their total income. The societies received $699,413 or just one third of their total income.[16] Up to 20 years ago the tendency in many of our States was to provide in private institutions for children maintained at public expense.[17]

The experience of New York and California, which have this system,

[12] Atkinson, *loc. cit.*, p. 277, *Foster Home Care for Dependent Children*, p. 8.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 83.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

[15] Folks, *The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children* (New York, 1902), pp. 111-114. See also Hart, in Children's Bureau Publication No. 136, p. 8.

[16] Atkinson, *loc. cit.*, p. 277. Quinn, "A County's Homeless Children," *Ibid.*, December 15, 1924, p. 347.

[17] *Benevolent Institutions, 1910*, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1913), p. 79. "In the United States there are 2,100,000 children in 1,200 private institutions for the care of dependent children, of whom 37,094 are in the State of New York in private institutions which receive public aid, including 25,397 in 30 New York City private institutions receiving public aid."—Strong, *Report to Governor Whitman*, Albany, 1916, p. 91.

[18] Says Mr. Strong, "In 1894, among the children under the age of 16, one child in every 35 was an inmate in such institution."—Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

reveals a constant tendency to sustain an ever larger number of children at public expense in private institutions. In New York this tendency continued from 1875 to 1894.[29] In California, where, as Folks says, the private charities have been told by the State to take care of as many children as they like as long as they like, and that the State will pay the bills, the system shows a steady increase in the number of State-supported children in private institutions.[30] From 1890 to 1900 the number of children supported in such institutions by the State increased 51.4 per cent, while the population of the State increased only 22.9 per cent.

Moreover, this system usually shows an increasing cost to the public. Says Folks:

"The amounts spent by the states of Michigan and Minnesota for the care of destitute children seem almost ridiculously small when compared with the amounts expended in other states; yet there is every reason for believing that the needs of the destitute and neglected children are nowhere more adequately met than in those states."[31]

Under this system the children tend to be kept too long in the institution Mr. Charles Strong, who investigated the State Board of Charities of New York for Governor Whitman, reports that nearly 10 per cent of the children discharged from institutions in that State during the year ending September 30, 1915, had spent more than three years in the institution and nearly 10 per cent over five years, some over ten years.[32]

While in most States having this system some State authority is supposed to inspect the institutions, Mr. Strong found in New York that the staff of inspectors under the State Board of Charities was utterly inadequate in number and was poorly paid.[33] His investigation has shown that the education furnished the children in such institutions is inadequate. The State Board of Charities had no rule calling for vocational training in any form. The board itself reported that in many of the institutions the methods, organization, and facilities for manual and industrial training in their simpler forms, which are required by the constitution, were far behind the needs. Classes were too large, the teachers not qualified. The secretary of the board stated in 1912 that the children of twelve institutions had only two hours' school work daily, some children not being in school at all, that the teaching

[29] Folks, *The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children*, p. 127.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 133.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 97. Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
[32] Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 102.

force was poorly equipped, and that little industrial training existed except such as the children picked up in caring for the institution.[33]

Commissioner Strong believes that the public system for children's institutions has in it the seeds of dissension. He says: "It has always seemed to me obvious that the 'New York system' as it is called, of granting public aid for the partial maintenance and training of the inmates in private institutions—necessary in a measure as it has come to be, and possessing reciprocal advantages to the municipality and the private benefactor—has within it nevertheless seeds fruitful for dissension when rigid official inspection enters." [34]

Every well-recognized authority on child care agrees that the system is of dubious value at the best, and at the worst is intolerable. It is not easy to see how, where it exists, the system can be changed at once, how in a State like New York with vast numbers of such institutions, and with such large numbers of children to be cared for, this system could be supplanted immediately by any other. In the course of time, however, such a system could be displaced by a combination of the State school system such as exists in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, with the Massachusetts system of placing children directly in families without the use of an institution. Wherever the system has not been established it should not be allowed to strike root.

Boarding Out and Placing Out. Massachusetts has the most perfect system of this kind in the United States, entirely under the control of the State Department of Public Welfare. The only children left in almshouses in Massachusetts are defective children and children with mothers. In 1911 of 4,500 destitute and neglected children in the State's care and custody, more than two thirds were at board. Through the boarding-out system the death-rate of infants was greatly reduced.[35]

Dr. Brackett is authority for the statement that the cost of placing children in Massachusetts "is still less than the cost in any institution which can be recommended by a White House conference." [36]

Massachusetts has found no difficulty in securing enough good homes for the placement of children. Her experience has not shown that the use of

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 100-104. See also Doherty, "A Study of Results of Institutional Care," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, p. 174, also published as a separate pamphlet by the Department of Child-Helping of the Russell Sage Foundation (New York, 1915).

[34] Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[35] Brackett, "Tendencies in the Care of Destitute and Neglected Children in Massachusetts," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1912, p. 94.

[36] Brackett, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

boarding-homes cuts off the supply of free homes. Dr. Brackett believes that institutions for temporary care until children can be placed are not necessary. For good placing and boarding-out to work successfully until the children can be placed in free homes, there must be enough skilled visitors to thoroughly supervise their care and to investigate homes carefully before they are placed.

New Jersey and Pennsylvania do not have as unified a system as Massachusetts. New Jersey handles the problem through her State Board of Children's Guardians, and Pennsylvania by arrangement with the private Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society. Only in Massachusetts is the system as good as or better than the State public school with its placing agents and close supervision, such as is found in Michigan and Minnesota.

The tendency of child welfare experts in recent years has been to emphasize the importance of placing children in homes either at board or in free homes. The practice of indenturing children in free homes on contract, which survived in some States even in the State public schools from an earlier time—even though the contract has in it a clause providing for the taking away of the child by the placing organization if the latter thinks that the child is not being given a fair chance—is condemned.[37]

Relative Use of Different Methods. In 1923 the Bureau of the Census made a study of the relative numbers of dependent and neglected children cared for by different methods in the United States It was not found possible to separate the delinquent children from the dependent and neglected in the reports, therefore, the picture is not exact. In that year, however, of the 218,523 children who were dependent on some agency or institution, 64.2 per cent were cared for by institutions and receiving homes, 23.4 per cent in free family homes, and 10.2 per cent in boarding-homes, 2.3 per cent being cared for elsewhere or not reported.[38]

EVALUATION OF THE DIFFERENT SYSTEMS

The efficiency of the State home and school for dependent children rests upon the personnel of the institution, the adequacy of the force it employs to place and supervise the children and the alertness of the State board which controls it. In the States in which this plan has had its greatest success these conditions have been measurably fulfilled. The State home and

[37] *Children Indentured by the Wisconsin State Public School*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 150 (Washington, 1925).

[38] *Children under Institutional Care, 1923*, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1927), p. 16.

school has distinct advantages if it is properly supported and efficiently manned. The funds are more likely to be adequate than for private institutions. With a wise board it is possible for supervision to be closer and more directly under the control of the State board. Properly conducted it is not subject to the objections almost inevitable in subsidized private institutions. In our best States the State institution shows a better record than the best county homes from which children are placed in families. Its only successful competitor in the public field is the Massachusetts system for placing dependent children directly in homes from families with whom they are put to board until they can be placed. In Massachusetts the placing agents are under the direct control of a very efficient State Department of Public Welfare.

In actual practice the State institutions for dependent children suffer from inadequacy of funds and too few persons to place the children, so that large numbers of them collect in the institution instead of being placed in normal homes. Moreover, in States which have not adequate provision for feeble-minded and physically disabled children, the State school and home is likely to be a harbor for these unfortunates. It is the only place to which such children can be sent, and since they are very difficult to place they remain while the normal children flow through the institution to homes. The difficulty, of course, calls for the care of these defective and disabled children either in a separate plant or in different institutions.

On the other hand, the best private child-placing institutions have set a splendid example. As in private charity organization societies the standard of good work has been set, so in the best of our private child-placing agencies, standards and technique have been worked out which must be followed if the care of dependent children is to be successful.

The White House Conference on Dependent Children. A great impetus was given to the care of dependent children by a conference called by President Roosevelt in 1909 at the White House in Washington. In this conference the best experience of the nation was centered upon this problem. Its conclusions have had wide attention. It set standards which have had a decided influence on the work for dependent children. Out of it grew the Children's Bureau. That Bureau has had a greater influence on the care of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children than did any other agency in this country. Guided from its origin by capable, well-trained social workers, it has enjoyed the confidence of all well-informed and intelligent workers in that field. Through conferences, studies in the field, and publications it has exercised a most important influence on the development of child welfare in every aspect since its foundation. It has been instrumental in gath-

ering together experts in this field and getting them to formulate standards for workers with children. These standards have been of the greatest value in improving the quality of work with children.

STANDARDS FOR THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Out of the experience of caring for dependent children certain general principles have been evolved which the Children's Bureau has published as the normal standards for such care.

(1) In general, for all children needing special care, there are certain fundamental rights. These are "normal home life, opportunities for education, recreation, vocational preparation for life, and moral, religious, and physical development in harmony with American ideals and the educational and spiritual agencies by which these rights of the child are normally safeguarded" [29]

(2) The State has the ultimate responsibility for children who are in need of special care by reason of unfortunate home conditions, physical, or mental handicap or delinquency. While private organizations may undertake to discharge this responsibility of the State, they must do so under the supervision of that ultimate authority.

(3) In the discharge of that responsibility, the State must see to it that the neglected or dependent child is provided normal home life. Such a home demands primarily the basis of an adequate income. It must also furnish the proper guidance in order that the child's personality may be developed to usefulness.

(4) When mothers are competent to care for their own children, the State must see to it that the home is not broken up merely for poverty. An income must be provided by the State in the absence of any other resource sufficient to enable the mother to maintain her children suitably in her own home, and without resorting to such outside employment as will deny her children proper care and oversight.

(5) A State supervisory body like a State board of control or a State board of charities should be charged with the responsibility for the regular inspection and licensing of every institution, agency, or association, incorporated or otherwise, which receives or cares for mothers with children or children who are dependent or without suitable parental care. It should have authority to revoke such licenses for cause, and to require reports and prescribe forms for reports. This inspection must be in the hands of people who are acquainted with the standards of proper care and are skilful in securing the adoption of such standards.

(6) When the welfare of the child demands it, he should be removed from

[29] *Minimum Standards of Child Welfare*, Children's Bureau (Washington, 1919), p. 10.

his home, but only when the home cannot be made a fit place for the child. He should not be permanently removed from home unless conditions other than poverty affect the home. If the child is removed temporarily until the home can be reconstructed, he should then be returned.

(7) Children who must be removed from their homes should be provided home life as nearly normal as possible to safeguard their health and to insure for them the fundamental rights of childhood named above, except for disabled and defective children.

(8) In placing children, the following principles should be observed:

(a) In seeking a temporary foster-home for a child, consideration should be given to many circumstances, among them health, mentality, character, family history, reputation among neighbors, ability to furnish adequate moral and spiritual training, experience, education, income, environment of the family, and sympathetic attitude toward the child. Usually they should be families of the same religion as the child's parents.

(b) The child, before being placed in other than a temporary foster-home, should be carefully examined as to his health, mentality, so far as possible his character, and the history of his family. Any physical defects and any diseases should be corrected before placing. If the child has congenital syphilis or has a history of mental defect in the family, that certainly should be made known to the foster parents.

(c) Complete records must be had of the child to understand his heredity and personality, and his development while under the care of the agency.

(d) Particular attention should be given to the careful placing of defective children, or those who require care adapted to their peculiar needs.

(e) A complete record of each foster-home should be kept giving the information on which approval was based, together with entries showing the contacts of the supervising agents with the family after placing, and stating the condition and care of the child. In this way special abilities in the families will be developed and conserved for children and if another child is later placed in the family, reinvestigation need not be so thorough.

(f) Supervision of the children placed out must be frequent enough by properly qualified and well-trained agents to make sure that the fundamental rights of the child are being cared for. It has been suggested that periodical physical examinations of the children so placed should be made.

(g) Where children are boarded out the investigation must be no less careful and the foster-parents must be trained for their task.

(h) Transfer of the legal guardianship of the child should not be permitted without the consent of the proper State department or court of proper jurisdiction.

(i) In case of adoption the court should make a full inquiry into all the facts connected with the family and the child before awarding the child custody.

(9) Children should not remain in institutions for dependents any longer than is necessary to have them properly placed. The children who are there should have their rights safeguarded as far as that can be done in an institution. They should be carefully studied frequently to ascertain whether they should return to their own homes, be placed out, or be transferred to institutions better suited to their needs. So long as they are in the institutions efforts should be made to see that as nearly a normal family life as possible is provided for them.**

Recent Tendencies in the Care of Dependent Children. The new psychology and sociology have led to quite a new emphasis in the care of dependent children. There can be no question that recent psychology has thrown a great flood of light upon the springs of human conduct and has led to a new approach in the care of human beings. It has affected education, has stimulated inquiry into the early habits of the child in the home, as indicated by the widespread habit clinics which have been established by the Commonwealth Fund, has given social workers a new approach to the problem of the dependent, both juvenile and adult. Sociology, taking advantage of this new light from psychology, has fled from the old institutional method of caring for children except as a temporary expedient to be done away with as soon as possible; has turned away from the hit-and-miss placing of children in homes, and insists upon a thorough understanding of the social background both of the child, his family, and of the family into which it is proposed to place him. No longer can successful work be done with children without taking into account these advances in knowledge. Consider this picture presented by a social worker who has found light in the new psychology.

"But in the dependent child there is operative a set of factors not present at all in the non-dependent. These factors fall entirely in a mental category and have to do with mental states arising from the consciousness of the condition of dependency. They are no doubt, as well as our limited understanding permits definition, emotional states arising from injury to the instinctive tendency of self-regard or self-esteem as a result of the breakdown of family integrity. The 'family romance' as it is aptly phrased by Dr. William White, is one of our most deep-seated and cherished personal

** The author is indebted for the main points in the discussion above to the publication of the Children's Bureau already cited. See *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11. For a good statement of the contentions of the institutionalists, see Thompson, "Health and Happiness in an Institution," "The Matter of Orphanages," *The Survey*, September 15, 1925, pp. 621-625.

concepts and race traditions. It cannot be torn from us without an emotional struggle. In his book, *Mechanisms of Character Formation*, Dr. White writes illuminatingly of the 'family romance' in its relation to general mental growth away from infantile attachment to true adulthood. But so far as I know no one has called attention to its peculiar application to the problem of the dependent child.

"A discussion of the origin and the nature of the family image and its influence on the development of the individual human mind cannot be entered into here. But one has only to recall the mental experiences incident to the growing-up process to realize what an important part the assurance of family integrity or at least of family intactness played in shaping mental and social development. The family circle formed a kind of medium of security which gave impetus to growth and self-expression. The security was no doubt mostly unrecognized by the growing subject, much as a fish swimming always in water probably never recognizes water at all. It has a water consciousness only when it lies panting, flopping, stranded on the shore. Then comes the feeling of helplessness and of 'difference,' which perhaps is something like that experienced by the young subject when its family medium is swept away. At bottom there are varieties of inferiority feelings, but since in our cases they have a special and a common origin in the condition of dependency we shall term them dependency feelings or the dependency complex.

"To bring about a feeling of self-approval without which no human being can thrive, these dependency feelings must be somehow alleviated or compensated by the child himself. Alleviation does not seem to come through external means except perhaps in the case of the very young child or the person whose mentality remains at child levels. The self-approval must be a mental self-approval, and to bring it about, psychological operations must be set going. The demand for psychological alleviation or compensation probably is not insistent until the subject begins to be socially conscious. The age varies, of course. We believe we have seen it as early as six years, but probably it appears commonly about nine or ten years in the individual of average intelligence. If the child overdoes the compensatory process, he is almost sure to have feelings of grudge, resentment, jealousy, malice, persecution and the like. If he underdoes the compensatory process, he is equally likely to have feelings of depression, inadequacy, self-pity and the like. To escape the distress of reality he very often resorts to the creation of phantasies. These mental tendencies are largely unrecognized by the subject, in any event they are almost never interpreted, but they find outlet in various modes of troublesome conduct and difficult dispositional traits such as disobedience, stubbornness, secretiveness, sullenness, rejection of authority, unfriendliness, and other anti-social reactions or in asocial reactions such as inertia, lack of normal ambition, laziness, lack of interest and application to studies, careless and untidy personal and home habits. To be sure, some of the traits mentioned may be seen more or less frequently in all adolescents. But in our dependent subjects they are much more exaggerated and persistent. They are the traits which give almost constant trouble to the supervisors of dependent children. They are the ones which lead foster mothers so frequently to report, 'I cannot

get along with ——', and which consequently are the most frequent causes of change in homes.

"Is it not possible that in these mental operations by which the dependent child seeks to create self-esteem, to reconcile his feelings of difference and to assuage his consciousness of family breakdown there lies the explanation of the difficulty in the management of the dependent child, his frequent resorts to misconduct, his well known irregularities of disposition and his frequent failure to measure up to school and home standards?

"On this hypothesis it may be seen that in every dependent child there are present the genetic elements of a mental disorder based on the fact of family breakdown. Add to this the almost invariable factors of bad inheritance, for whatever that may count, the poor physical makeup, and the frequently inferior grade of intelligence and it is truly astonishing that a full-fledged psychosis does not more often develop. That it does not is due no doubt to the innate tendency of the human mind to assimilate its experience to constructive ends That the by-products, so to speak, of this emotional cataclysm—for such it really must be in the inner consciousness of the child deprived of its family relationship—should so often give rise to irregular conduct and difficult dispositional traits is not in the least to be wondered at. The psychology of the dependent child is potentially a psychopathology, and as such it must be met if the dependent child is to have a fair chance for development into a successful citizen." [21]

What a flood of light such a picture throws upon the causes of failure of many dependent children and how suggestive it is to the change of methods which must be made!

Consider the complexities which face the person who has to deal with dependent children. Those who undertake to adjust the social relationships of children have a most delicate task. They must understand children, if they are not to do infinite damage. They must also have skill, developed through the experience of years by those who have dealt with these difficult problems. Consider the following case, which, while not illustrative of all the angles presented by dependent and neglected children, yet shows the importance of understanding and technical skill in dealing with such cases.

"There were seven children in the J family, all but one of whom were sent to Sparta. The court commitment stated that the father had deserted, and the mother was unable to care for the children There were no relatives able to assist The father was the son of a man spoken of as a 'dead beat and a bad egg generally' The mother married Mr J at the age of 17, much against the wishes of both families The couple lived together more or less unhappily for several years, aided occasionally by relief agencies and their own parents. They then began associating with a 'fast crowd,' and trouble resulted.

[21] Gulbord, "The Handicap of the Dependent Child," *The Survey*, August 16, 1930, p. 514.

"Amos was 10 years old, and Jane was 8, when they were placed together in their first indenture home, just 12 days after their admission to the State school, with a childless couple considered wealthy by their neighbors. The foster parents owned a well-cared-for 80-acre farm, which the man worked by himself except during the rush season They did not take a daily newspaper and seldom heard of the outside world Jane was popular at school and made many friends, but when she had been in the home for 1 year and 10 months she was returned to the State school on the ground that she was dishonest and disobedient and would not help in the house. Amos remained about a year longer and then ran away. He also was returned later to the State school.

"Jane's second home was with a middle-aged couple in comfortable circumstances and with no children of their own The child was well liked at school and active in sports The foster parents hoped to send her to college. She did well in the home until she accidentally met her father while on a vacation during her second summer in the home. After this she became difficult to manage and wished to go to her father The foster parents sent her back to the State school She was then 14 years of age She begged to be permitted to return to the indenture home, but the foster mother was not willing to take her. At the time of the study Jane was still at the State school, as her own home was not satisfactory

"Amos's second home was with thrifty, hard-working people on a large farm. The home was neat and comfortable, but the boy was unhappy Amos was popular at school, and his work was good His teacher believed that he was misplaced, he was a 'city type' and hated farm life. There was continued friction between the boy and his foster parents because he liked to remain in town in the evenings, and they considered that he was too young to do so. He ran away from this home at the age of 13, after having been there about three and one-half years

"He was found in the city and taken to a near-by farm. The family liked the boy, and an indenture was later arranged, but permission for the boy to go to this home was given before the home had been investigated. This third indenture was not satisfactory The boy had to work too hard and was not allowed sufficient time for recreation, even though the foster parents were fond of Amos and proud of his school record He ran away from this home after about eight months. He had been in high school but a short time

"Amos then went to the home of his maternal grandparents and was released to them at the request of the county judge At that time the boy was a few months over 14 years of age About a year later the judge wrote the school that the grandfather could not control the boy and wished to return him. The school was not able to take him back, and Amos was sent to his father, who put him in high school, where he remained until the end of the term Not quite a year before the study, the boy wished to return to his first indenture home to work. His former foster parents would not take him, and he secured work with a neighbor, Mr. E. After two weeks he was sent away because he had wantonly destroyed several articles of furniture and had stolen 12 jars of preserves and $10 in cash which he spent in one evening at a carnival.

"He then worked with another farmer for one week. During his employer's absence he broke into the safe and stole money, for which offense he was discharged. The boy then 'bummed' around the neighborhood and broke into his first foster home, stealing money and preserves. He then returned to the E's home and stole $20. Mr. E had him arrested, and he was confined in jail for several days.

"Amos next went to a city, where he secured work in a grocery store. When it was found that he was under working age, he was returned to his father. Mr. J outfitted the boy and sent him again to high school until spring. He then worked in the same store with his father until he was discovered stealing. Amos was then sent to his paternal grandfather in another State, where he worked in a store for a short time and earned about $16 a week. The last time the father heard from the boy he was working in a moving-picture theater. The superintendent of schools in the boy's home town thought that much of Amos's trouble came from lack of understanding at home. The boy had not been given proper clothing and felt there was no real place for him in the home.

"Amos's sister, Sarah, was 5 years old at the time of her commitment. Her first home must have been most unsatisfactory unless the home conditions in 1917 were very different from conditions at the time of the bureau agent's visit. The foster parents were 'border-line dependents' and received occasional help from the county. The home was slovenly, and the three small children were half dressed and very dirty. The foster mother was barefooted, and her breath smelled of liquor. They complained that Sarah was rude and stubborn and refused to obey. She was returned to the State school at the end of two weeks.

"Sarah's second home was on a farm in a poor, sandy section. The foster parents had moved, and the only information that could be secured was that the child was not liked by the foster parents and was not treated as a member of the family. The impression of the neighbors was that the child had to work hard for her age. She was only 8 years old when she left the home after a two and one-half year indenture period.

"Since Sarah's return from this last home she had remained at the State school. A recent mental examination classified her as border-line feeble-minded.

"Jean was 2 years old at the time of her commitment and was still in the indenture home in which she was first placed.

"Nettie was 11 years old when sent to the school. She remained in her first indenture home for a little over two years. The reasons given for her return were increasing disobedience and fondness for boys, which made the responsibility of her care more than the foster parents wished to continue.

"Leslie was 3 years old at the time of his admission to the State school and remained at the school for almost five years. He was indentured about a year before the study, but his home was not visited.

"The parents of these children were divorced some time after the children's commitment, and the father remarried. His second wife was much younger than he. At the time of the study they had a 3-year-old child and lived in a comfortable five-room flat in a city. The stepmother seemed to

be interested in her stepchildren and hoped to have them home as soon as they could afford it Mr J appeared to be doing well, considering his early background The mother of the children was said to be living in Canada with a man to whom she was not married, she had a young baby "[32]

The Social Pathology of Dependent and Neglected Childhood. The new knowledge has influenced not only the treatment of neglected and dependent childhood. It has thrown a flood of light likewise on the diagnosis of inefficient and delinquent adults, and fairly poses the question: Why do children who have not had the proper upbringing so often fail in life?

According to the Census Bureau, of 16,060 children in institutions for juvenile delinquents on January 1, 1923, forty-six per cent had been deprived of either or both parents According to this study more girls are orphaned than boys, and more colored children than white Of the girls 68 4 per cent were deprived of both parents, and of the boys 54 4 per cent, 55 9 per cent of the white children, and 70 per cent of the colored had not been living with both parents [33]

Moreover, this study showed that of 8,699 white juveniles admitted to institutions for juvenile delinquents during the first six months of 1923, 58 3 per cent had, before commitment, been under the care of agencies or institutions caring for children, or had been on probation.[34] The like figure for the colored was 52 4 per cent. Deduct those who have been in institutions for juvenile delinquents and on probation You then have 12 per cent of the juveniles admitted to institutions for juvenile delinquents for the first time formerly the wards of child-placing or child-protective agencies (3 9 per cent), or of institutions for dependent children (8 1 per cent). It is not without significance that in that section of the United States in which institutions for dependent and neglected children are the most numerous, for example, the Middle Atlantic, the percentage was 19 6. In New York, the Middle Atlantic State having the greatest use of children's institutions, the rate was 30 6 Is it not clear from the delinquency figures that institutional treatment of dependent and neglected children contributes most to pathological relationships in the after-life of children?

At present we have no way of measuring the effects of dependency and neglect upon the later economic and social efficiency of children It is believed on the basis of common observation and from case histories that a

[32] *Children Indentured by the Wisconsin State Public School*, Children's Bureau Publication No 150 (Washington, 1925), pp 50-61

[33] *Children Under Institutional Care, 1923*, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1927), p 321

[34] *Ibid*, p 327

child who does not have the proper home conditions suffers in his personality development. It is believed that so much of his future efficiency as a citizen depends on the understanding, kindly, social influences of a good home, that their lack leads to impaired physical health, mental disturbance, lack of ambition and ability to make a home for his own children, as well as to discharge his responsibilities as a good citizen. Mathematical demonstration of such opinions must wait upon more careful studies than are now available. So far as we can see at the present time it appears that dependent and neglected childhood, unless adjustments are made so that the child may have a proper home environment, lays the foundation for social demoralization in the next generation.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Outline the importance of the early care of children
2. What facts indicate the hopefulness and the tragedy of dealing with children?
3. In what sense do parents and other older people "spoil" children?
4. Why does it cost so much more to rear a child than the young of any other species?
5. What bearing does the cost of rearing a child have upon the care with which it should be handled?
6. What influence did Christianity have upon the care of dependent children?
7. What four types of private orphan asylums existed in this country prior to 1850?
8. What other types arose after that date?
9. For what class of dependent children should the institution be reserved according to the present opinion among child welfare workers?
10. Evaluate the seven present systems for the care of dependent children
11. How is the day nursery looked upon to-day by students of child-welfare?
12. Compare the value of the care given children by those States which have private and public institutions for the care of dependent children with that given by a State such as Massachusetts which has no public institution for such care
13. Outline the chief standards of the Children's Bureau for the care of dependent children
14. Outline the chief pathological results of dependent and neglected childhood.

CHAPTER 15

THE SOCIAL PATHOLOGY OF CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

Judging from the amount spoken and written at the present time about childhood and youth and the difficult problems they present, one would suppose that the subject is entirely new Has there been a sudden revolution in the attitude of childhood and youth toward adults? Only he who is blind to the past could come to any such superficial conclusion The literature of every people is full of admonition to children and young people. These problems were presented to the minds of Plato and Aristotle as they wrote their immortal works; they are presented in the proverbs of the wise men of Israel, they figure in the literature of the Chinese and of the Hindus Childhood and youth have always presented problems to the adults of their generation The eternal conflict between age and youth is nothing new in the history of mankind, but comes to expression in times of rapid change when it attracts unusual attention How shall we account for that conflict?

Reflect upon the process of growing from childhood to manhood It involves not only very great physical changes, but also mental changes, as the child adjusts himself to the complex system of relationships devised by society Long ago John Fiske pointed out that the prolonged infancy of man makes it possible for him to develop a very great variety of adjustments to life, and accounts for his wide range of emotional and intellectual characteristics, not to be found in any other animal Man is born into the world probably with a less complicated series of instincts than any of the lower animals In the lower forms of life the young require very little care by the parent, because in their nervous organization there is that mechanism called instinct which provides for the necessary reactions to stimuli presented by the external world. The human infant, however, must be very carefully tended and provided for if it is to survive at all. His whole pattern of response to the complexities of social life has to be developed over a long period of time. In that long process of development which we call childhood and youth, working itself out in a highly complex human environment, the human being is more likely to fail to make adjustments than the young of animals.

THE GENESIS OF MALADJUSTMENTS IN CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

Let us look at some of the ways in which socially pathological developments occur in childhood and youth We need to recall some fundamental

facts with regard to the complex conditions under which the human organism develops. It is a platitude to say that every human being born into the world lives in a social complex and not in a social vacuum. Nevertheless human kind has not acted upon that platitude. Each one of us is a product of all that has been in the past. Inevitably its dead hand lies upon us in both the biological and social spheres. Through endless generations there has been handed down from the past an organization—physical in its nature, dependent upon physical, chemical, and biological forces—which determines the fundamental pattern of our organism. Reflect upon its intricacy and the marvelous adaptation of the various parts of the body to the functioning which is necessary in order merely to survive. No such delicate machine has ever been made by the genius or hand of man. Distributed through it are various glands which produce complex chemicals regulating digestion, growth of bones, muscle, teeth, nails, skin, organs, hair, and nerve cells. The relation between these various parts of the body are delicately adjusted by the play of these substances. Growth and decay go on year after year, the wasted and worn out parts being eliminated unconsciously and automatically. Muscular cells, bone cells, brain cells, and all kinds of tissue cells perish and develop in accordance with delicate adaptations produced by the chemical stimulation and retardation of these marvelous products poured out into the blood stream by their manufacturing units known as glands. Emotions, deeper and wider in range than those which we can discover in any other animal, well up within man. An intellectual curiosity which wonders about the multifarious phenomena of the universe, from the behavior of the electron to the cosmic rays of interstellar space, appears only in man. The mind of man considers the phenomena of nature and out of them produces a picture of the universe—the processes by which it goes on and the connections between its various parts, from the minutest to the greatest—and conceives of the world of things and of being as a cosmos, orderly in every part, magnificent in its proportions, and delicately adjusted in its relationships. Moreover, that mind reconstructs from the fossil remains of the world's past, a picture of how the present has come into being. The rocks, the trees, the physical configuration of the landscape, the many species of animals which inhabit our globe, all tell a story of what has happened through aeons of the past. More than that, mind projects its considerations into the future and predicts within limits what will happen. No wonder Hamlet could exclain, "What a piece of work is man!" In spite of man's pettiness and the limits still set upon his knowledge, his achievements are the acme of the achievements of all living beings. All of these things are the products of that marvelous machine, a human being.

Man's greatness is partly due to what he has inherited from the past. So also are his limitations and his failures. The products of that past lie heavy upon him in body, in social structure, in points of view, and ways of life. His hopes, dreams, and ideals, as well as his phobias, hatreds, prejudices, and suspicions are based upon that past.

On the other hand, side by side with those influences from the far distant past are others nearer to the human being in time, often of our own generation. New discoveries, giving rise to new knowledge and new philosophies, affect our feeling and our thinking. New experiments for our consideration are being tried out, not only in the world of physical nature but also in the sphere of human relationships. Some of us successfully adopt their implications, and in the course of our development adjust ourselves to new points of view, new social interrelations, new emotional expression—in short, to change. We measure the old by the new. Upon old situations we exercise new techniques. And there is conflict, inevitably. In some of us the desire for security, for satisfaction with the conditions of life, is thwarted, with the result that we experience emotional upheaval. We may see illustrations of this in traditional religion, in philosophy, and in practical life. Once a thing has become a custom, some people suffer emotional disturbance when it undergoes change. When a new style of dress is presented to the astonished eyes of an established community, shock is likely to result. How much graver is the shock when deeply rooted religious convictions, established and satisfying philosophies, and, conventional behavior, are challenged. Are we not told that the women of Zambezi could not understand how English women could be content with monogamy? Conversely, a European, save such a widely traveled man as Livingstone, might be expected, with his background of traditional morality, to be shocked at the polygamy of the Zambezi women!

The Maladjustment in Children. With this background in our minds let us see what modern knowledge reveals as the bases of maladjustment in children. Consider that their conduct is based upon two sets of factors. The first of these is the inherited drives, basic in the physical make-up of each individual. These inheritances, we must remember, are nothing but potentialities. The probability is that each one of us carries over from our ancestors an almost limitless number of possibilities in our biological structure. The child born with a physically defective organism doubtless does not have the same potentialities as one born with the potentialities of a strong, well-integrated organism. Within limits occur the individual variations of capacities common to the race. With these individual inherited differences clearly in mind, we may say that there is a wide range of possibilities in every human

being, represented upon the curve of the normal distribution of all human beings. Whether those potentialities develop depends upon conditions under which the physical organism is developed.

The second factor which determines the conduct of children and later of adults is what we call the environing conditions. These conditions are not merely those of the physical environment—the social, economic and political structures, ideals and institutions which have been handed down from the past—but also and perhaps most potent of all, the human personalities with which the developing organism comes into contact. These personalities serve as stimuli to the responding organisms and call out reactions. These reactions we call conduct.

Recent study has indicated that the child's behavior is conditioned very much and very early by the behavior of those with whom he comes in contact in his early development. The largest single factor in the child's maladjustment to social standards is perhaps his parents. These are the beings to whom he learns first to respond. They care for him in ways which determine whether he shall live or die. His very survival depends upon them, and, as we have said, his earlier reactions, which have an enormous effect in establishing his later habits, are determined within the limits of his possibilities by the behavior of those nearest to him upon whom he is most dependent. The child-guidance clinics have given innumerable examples of children whose conduct, a great trouble to their parents, was the result of overanxiety on the part of the parents themselves. Dr. Thom describes a case which illustrated how such a mental state in the parents set up a certain ideation in the child with bad results even on the physical level. A little five-year-old girl was taken to a clinic by her worried parents because quite suddenly she had refused to take food or to swallow, and exhibited a constant dribble of saliva. In the clinic office her father was pacing the floor while the mother was weeping and wringing her hands. In the study of the case it came out that the child had been taught by her intelligent parents that germs caused disease and that germs were often conveyed by a kiss. Therefore, she was never to allow any one to kiss her. Furthermore the parents had adopted a practice of not coddling the child, bringing her up without any great show of affection. They had overdone the matter, as the sequel shows. On the afternoon of the previous day when she had gone to her first dancing class some man stooped down, patted her on the head, and kissed her on the mouth. She came home upset by what had happened, because she had learned about infection from kisses. Her parents noticed her emotional state, accompanied with nausea and excessive saliva. They did not know what had caused it, but they reacted vigorously with loving attention of the sort she was not

accustomed to receive, and for which she was naturally starving. For the first time in her life the child, as the result of her pauses and the dribbling of saliva from her mouth, found herself the center of anxious attention on the part of the parents. This was so satisfactory to her that she continued to do it in order to secure satisfaction for her famishing emotional nature.[1]

Sometimes, however, overanxiety leads to coddling and spoiling, the outcome of which may be very undesirable social traits. The child becomes a veritable tyrant, because in that way his sense of importance is ministered to and his passion for domination is satisfied. He becomes egotistical, selfish, and a general nuisance. Happy the parent who is able to combine solicitude for the welfare of the child with intelligent judgment as to how far that solicitude should go in expressing itself by ministering to the child's whims and desires.

Another sort of early training which leads to maladjustment in childhood is that of stern repression. If a child does not have an actively aggressive personality he becomes subdued under such treatment, lacks initiative, and is cowed like a whipped dog. The seven-year-old Margaret cited by Dr. Wile is an illustration of the way in which this complex comes about. Margaret was the victim of her grandmother's usurpation of the attentions of the family when she came to live with them. Her grandmother's grief, isolation, and nervousness made her the center of interest and solicitude. Gradually the home was regulated to suit her desires. Margaret was always required to be quiet in manner and to refrain from active or noisy games in order not to disturb the old lady. She could have no children visitors, and she was taught that it was a very bad thing to annoy her grandmother. Consequently her whole childhood was repressed. Since she did not revolt, but simply accepted the situation, she came to lack all initiative, was solitary in her habits, did not make friends easily, was always tired, and did not get along well in school.[2] The other side of this repressive method of dealing with children is to be seen in Peitro, about eight years of age, whose family had attempted to repress his vagrant tendencies. Peitro, instead of submitting, revolted with all kinds of disastrous results.[3]

Repression usually has one of two results from the standpoint of social pathology. In the submissive, non-resistant type of individual like Margaret, repression so cramps and curbs the normal development of the individual that it prevents the proper socialization of the personality. Such repression is likely to result in later life in a psychopathic condition and to land the

[1] Thom, *Concerning Parents* (New York, 1926), pp. 115 and 116.
[2] Wile, *The Challenge of Childhood* (New York, 1936), p. 204.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 199 ff.

individual in the hospital for the insane. On the other hand, the resistant individual is stimulated by repression to all kinds of anti-social action in order to preserve his personality. Here you get the bad boy and the bad girl, who in the fight to maintain their liberty, find satisfaction in resisting every social pressure that is put upon them. They transfer their resistance from oppressive parents to every one else in authority. They give trouble in school and unless their lives are finally directed into constructive channels, they are likely to turn out to be the rebels against society who fill our prisons and reformatories and give endless difficulty to the authorities.

Another factor in the home which often leads to pathological conduct, is the jealousy between brothers and sisters or other persons in the home who compete with each other for the affection and the sense of security which every child craves. How difficult it is for parents to deal even-handedly with their children! This is especially true if there is marital maladjustment in the home and one parent prefers one child while the other parent prefers another. Freud has made much of this conflict on the basis of sex, working out what he calls the Oedipus and Electra complexes in explanation of personality difficulties. Oedipus was the son of a king in Greece. He killed his father and married his mother. Electra was the daughter who hated her mother and loved her father. Freud placed this attitude on the sex level in order to explain some of the difficulties of personality development by generalizing this tale of Greek tragedy and applying it to modern individuals. Without question this preference of the female child for her father and of the male child for his mother exists. Careful studies, however, show the probability that many of these cases are not rooted in the sex complex but grow out of the conflict of attitudes and personalities on the part of father and mother toward their children.

Whatever may be the basis of this preference for one child over another, it results disastrously when it causes the developing child to lose that sense of security and affection which ought to be the heritage of every child in the home. By reason of this emotional confusion, it frequently happens that the child develops the wrong kind of attitude toward life, gets a grudge against his family, transfers that grudge to society, and on the basis of it develops anti-social traits which interfere with his efficiency in every plane of life.

Still another home condition which produces terrible devastations in a child's emotional life, and leads to pathological reactions is a conflict between the husband and wife. Innumerable examples are to be found in the case studies of the ravages perpetrated on the personalities of the children in such a family. Caroline was a pale, quiet, little girl of about nine years,

At times she cried easily, was nervous and hysterical, and was given to telling lies. Her emotional condition dated from the time when she had first seen her father beat her mother. She wanted to intervene but felt helpless and cringed before this brutal exhibition. Fear and anger were stirred within her, but as her father was superior in strength, fear dominated. She wanted to run away from the situation, but felt it her duty to stay. She consequently developed a mood of abject depression with much crying. These outbreaks resulted in attacks of hysterical blindness, probably an endeavor to shut out this difficult world. Love and hate battled within her for supremacy and finally she was taken possession of by anguish and despair. She compensated for this situation by day-dreams in which benevolent figures played outstanding parts. Out of these phantasies developed her habit of lying.[4] Other compensatory arrangements worked out by children subjected to such discord are stealing, flight from the home, truancy from school, lack of interest in life, and sometimes suicide.

Parental ambition, itself the result of old disappointments, may produce sad or disastrous results in children. Some parents make an effort to find the satisfaction of their unrealized hopes through their children. An example is a child of brilliant parents who does not have the inherent capacity to get along in school as well as they did, and is urged therefore beyond his powers. He becomes disappointed, develops a feeling of inferiority, and finally works himself into such a state of emotional upset that even what capacity he has he is not able to use efficiently. Or again, it may happen that the mother, failing to find satisfaction in her relationships with her husband, attempts to find in the child the fulfilment of her hopes. She binds the child to her with ties which, at a certain period in his development, ought naturally to be cut. If her unhappiness is of some types, she is likely to attempt to find in her son emotional outlet for her disappointment, with a consequent warping of that son's personality which will have disastrous results in his future life. She may bind him to her by such bonds of sympathy, may so curb and confine his affections that he will be an impossible husband to the woman he marries. The child who is used as a surrogate or substitute for some other person is often damaged beyond repair.

Not only can the home do infinite damage to children in these and other ways, but the school has some share of blame for distorted personalities. Consider the tremendous pressure which is placed upon the child who enters school. A study for the Commonwealth Fund of New York, by E. K. Wickman, has revealed the infinite potentialities in the school system, both for socializing the child and for damaging him. This study, called *Children's*

[4] Wile, *op. cit.*, p. 196 ff.

Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes, shows what teachers believe to be the bad qualities in school children, and the relative rank of these qualities. Mr. Wickman has, in a brief diagram, set forth in a rough way children's behavior problems.[1]

DIAGRAM OF BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS CONCEIVED AS EVASIONS OF SOCIAL REQUIREMENTS

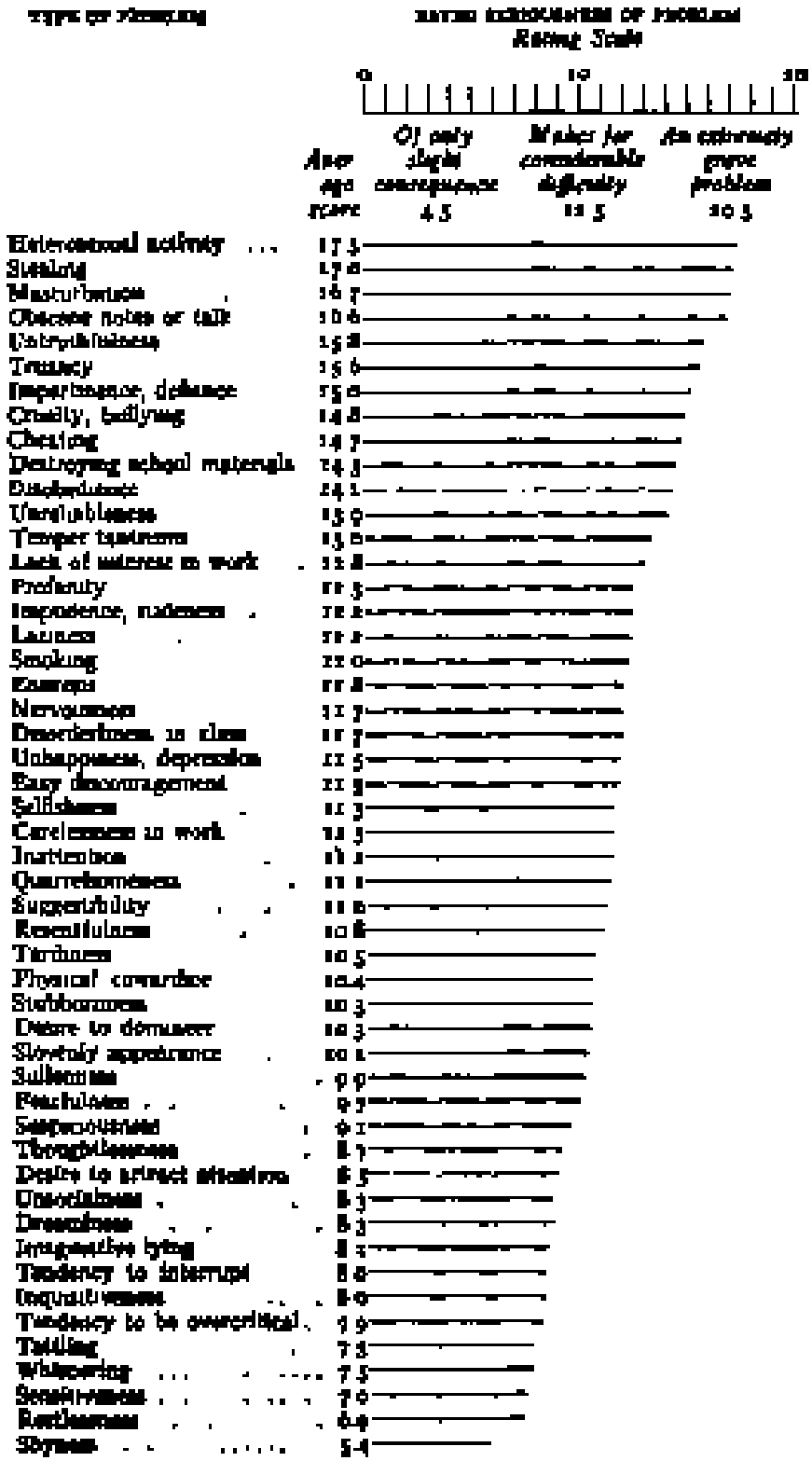
REQUIREMENTS IMPOSED BY SOCIAL FORCES ON INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR	EVASIONS OF REQUIREMENTS BY WITHDRAWAL	EVASIONS OF REQUIREMENTS BY ATTACK
Requirements for child behavior imposed by family, neighborhood, companions, school	Fearfulness	Temper tantrums
Requirements for adult behavior established by social institutions, traditions, customs, the law	Sulkiness	Disobedience
	Dreaminess	Overactivity
	Shyness	Aggressiveness
	Dependency on adults	Defiance to authority
	Cowardliness	Fighting
	Unsociableness	Delinquency
	Dependency on routine	Rejection of routine
	Pedantry	Pursuing own method of work
	Solitariness	Wanting to direct
	Fear of criticism	Breaking conventions
	Suspiciousness	Antagonistic attitudes
	Inability to carry responsibility	Exploitation of own authority
	Inefficiency	Contentiousness
	Social inadequacy	Egocentricity

REGRESSIVE ESCAPES	RETREATS INTO PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY	CONSTRUCTIVE ATTACKS	DESTRUCTIVE ATTACKS
Neurotic complaints	Invention	Competitive sports	"Psychopathic" tendencies
Economic dependency	Research	Exploration	"I won't Work"
Alcoholism	Science	Industrial exploits	Crime
Drug addiction	Literature	Social and political reforms	
Functional insanity	Art		
Suicide			

[1] Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes* (New York, 1928), p. 139

Teachers' Ratings on the Relative Seriousness of Behavior Problems in School Children

(Ratings given by 511 teachers)



If you examine this diagram carefully you will see that Mr. Wickman outlined two methods by which the child may meet the standards of conduct expected of him in the school. On the one hand he may withdraw, become a docile, subdued student with all initiative gone, and without that sound development of personality which prepares one for the eventualities of life. On the other hand he may resist. Then he finds himself in conflict with teachers and school standards He may turn truant, and exhibit in school habit patterns which later transfer themselves to all kinds of behavior out of school

It is interesting to notice the ratings of the seriousness of student misbehavior by 511 teachers in various schools of the country investigated by Mr. Wickman for the Commonwealth Fund[5]

An inspection of this chart shows that teachers consider most serious the problems of immorality, dishonesty, and transgressions against authority. Second in importance are problems of disorderliness in the classroom and lack of application to school tasks Third in importance are extravagant and aggressive personality traits Least important are the withdrawing behavior and personality traits[6] This makes it clear that teachers consider the attacking attitude of the student very much more serious than the withdrawing attitude. As we have seen, however, it is a question whether from the standpoint of social adjustment and good citizenship the child who flees from a social situation may not develop into a more serious social problem than the one who aggressively resists social repression At any rate the teacher's rating of the personalities and behavior problems in school children is radically different from that made by the mental hygienist Thirty clinicians ranked the following characteristics as the most serious in the behavior problems of children unhappiness or depression, resentfulness, tendency to be domineering, suspicious, or overcritical of others; sensitiveness, and shyness[7]

The ratings given by teachers reflect the moral standards of society, and the ideals of their own profession, namely, to impress current standards upon their charges, and, by one method or another, pass them from grade to grade If these ideals seem shortsighted it must be remembered that teachers are human beings, and that some of them, at least, are overworked Nor do they always understand the personalities of children That they have tremendous influence upon their pupils, and that they and the routine which they must impose, can increase a child's tendency to be aggressive or timid, deceitful

[5] Wickman, *op cit*, p 113
[6] *Ibid*, p 155
[7] *Ibid*, p 124

or outbreaking, we know. In the school-room social characteristics may develop which are unproductive of good results in personality and character

From this discussion of the influence which parents, teachers, and other children have upon a child's growth it can be seen that the same principles of influence occur in his contact with the rest of the world At every point he feels the pressure of "socialization," of the necessity to conform to approved conduct. Authority, itself, perhaps a reaction against the oppressions of its own childhood, tries to dominate him A child, thus made a sort of emotional safety valve for the personalities around it, is surely in a situation harmful to it and ultimately to society

ADOLESCENCE

The pathology of behavior in adolescents need not be discussed at length as many characteristics manifested during that trying period are those which have been developed in earlier years Let us assume, therefore, that in adolescence there has been such background as we have seen above There is the additional factor of physical change A new crisis of the very greatest significance arises in the life of the youth. A new world opens before him He feels himself to be a different person

Frankwood Williams says that parents perpetrate two abuses upon adolescents, (1) the refusal to allow children to grow into adult freedom and (2) the treatment of the sex question

The parent's attitude toward the child often persists into the child's adolescence The youth rather suddenly feels new impulses, manifests new attitudes, often looks upon his former action as "babyish," and longs for freedom from patterns of conduct which until now has seemed to his parents and to himself a matter of course The parent, often bewildered by these adolescent actions, may see that the child has become suddenly rude or ungrateful, or perhaps merely ridiculous, he is "climbing fool's hill" On his part the adolescent may feel a sense of irritation and injury, and receive a mental "set" inimical to the development of a socialized personality What he needs is sympathy and understanding from those whom he loves best and their recognition of the rôle which his physical maturity has brought to him. Many a child is sinned against by the parent who does not understand adolescence.

Similarly the parental reaction to the adolescent's conduct toward the opposite sex may produce disturbances of the most disastrous nature in the young person Parents, fearing that the changes of adolescence will result in conduct at variance with social standards, try to preserve the innocence or

ignorance of childhood in the maturing youth He, receiving unsavory information elsewhere, may develop repressions or habits of considerable seriousness. Or he may fail to relate his new feeling to his maturity, and find himself without any key to self-knowledge. Furthermore it must be remembered that some things looked upon with disfavor in the relations between adolescents do not have the significance for young people which they have for adults seeing them from later years. Consequently children are often charged with intent to act against the standards held by adults when, as a matter of fact, they have no such intention, but, ignorant and insufficiently understood, are only struggling to find their way through an unknown land Until then the child has been looked upon as an individual who must be guided and cared for by his parents When he feels within him stirrings entirely different from those which he experienced as a pre-adolescent, he no longer submits to guidance unthinkingly. Often he manifests a gruffness entirely foreign to his previous character. He seems to lack consideration for those with whom he has been closely associated, especially his mother Often his language becomes rougher, characterized by more slang and sometimes vulgarity He becomes intolerant of the other children in the family and almost always becomes less confiding, more secretive All of these characteristics and many more which are familiar to any one acquainted with adolescence come as a shock to parents and to school-teachers.

What do these things signify? To the confused parents they mean one thing, to the youth another, but to the experienced observer they mean only that the maturing person is trying to find himself in a new world of being, emotions, and ideals into which the coming of puberty has thrust him His uncouthness and his aggression reflect the struggle he is making to emancipate himself from childhood, and all its now irksome, controlling ties Some parents comprehend the child's revolution and help him with silent tact, in ways which do not embarrass or conflict with his new aspirations Other parents may experience resentment at the child's gruffness and stubbornness As a matter of fact, the youth who does not show active desire for self-emancipation should cause more concern to parents than the rebellious one The adolescent on the leading string may grow up to be the incapable and unsocial adult, a being shunned by his fellows. The adolescent who resists the leading string may, if it be too tightly drawn, develop terrific emotional disturbances because he cannot fulfill the hopes of his elders and at the same time realize the fulfilment of his own desires. This leads to overcompensation in the endeavor to show that he is indeed an adult. Here trouble begins The same is true with girls, who manifest their reaction against restriction which they think is suited only to childhood in ways peculiar to the feminine

Thomas has pointed out this process in his book on *The Unadjusted Girl*.[9]

On the social level the outcome of youth's reactions to efforts to keep it in childish submission, in spite of its struggles to attain the status of manhood and womanhood, is a socially pathological personality. It makes little difference from the standpoint of the welfare of society whether the result is an obstreperous, resistant personality which attacks society in all its ways or whether it is a personality subdued, crushed, without initiative, filled with fears of every sort, which leaves it an incapable and sometimes a psychoneurotic. The former is most hated by those in authority whether they be policemen, unwise parents, or non-understanding teachers. They do not see that such a type is a product partly of their own reactions to the efforts of youth to attain maturity, no matter how gross and tough-hewn those efforts may be.

Important as is the struggle to attain the status of maturity, and tragic as are the results of the adult mishandling of youth in this matter, even more important is the struggle of youth to attain heterosexuality. The tragic results of the conflict of youth with the mores of sex are scattered about us everywhere, some of them open to all eyes, others hidden and coming to light only in the divorce courts and the unhappy homes where sexual maladjustment is rife.

Frankwood Williams defines heterosexuality as, "a healthy adult level of sexuality in which the primary sex interest of the individual is in the opposite sex."[10]

So great is the anxiety of adults over the adjustment of adolescent youth to the new world of sex that the home, the church, the school, and society in general act like the overanxious mother or father whose nervousness tends to put almost every possible obstacle in the path of the youth and often succeeds in hampering his progress to healthy sex development.

In the pre-adolescent years there is a period when it seems that boys and girls have an antipathy for the opposite sex. In this way nature seems to be at work preparing them for the onset of puberty. With the coming of adolescence, however, their attitude suddenly changes. It is in this next four or five years that young people must make the adjustments to each other which will probably fix the pattern of their reaction to sex for their whole lives.

Youth must be trained for adaptation to this primary urge and all of the feelings and attitudes which grow out of sex, if it is to avoid disaster. We cannot train youth for proper conduct in relation to the opposite sex by

[9] Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl* (Boston, 1923).

[10] *Concerning Parents, A Symposium on Present Day Parenthood* (New York, 1926), p. 149.

keeping the sexes apart We must train boys and girls in contact with each other And attitudes of silence, or shame, or depreciation of sex on moral grounds, prejudice this training and warp its receivers Equally unfortunate is the point of view sometimes presented to boys that they are to look upon all women as they would upon their sisters or their mothers. That is not true. Other women are not in the same social relationship as are sisters and mothers The youth, therefore, should be taught to look upon other women in accordance with the actual situation, rather than from the standpoint of some false ideal

This lack of preparation for the new life which is ushered in with adolescence is often destructive of personality and productive of attitudes which are extremely vicious in their bearing upon the relationship of an individual to the social codes and conditions of conduct at this level

Just at the present time we are going through what is oftentimes looked upon as a revolution in the attitudes of youth to sex Some very disagreeable results are appearing Characterizing this period we have such slogans as "the revolt of modern youth" [11] "Flaming youth," "flappers," "flapper chasers," are other designations applied by adults to these young people who are endeavoring to emancipate themselves from childhood and find status on the sexual level in adult society

This revolt of youth, sometimes thought of as modern, but really common to all times, assumes serious aspects in times of radical and extensive change Adolescent adjustment is difficult enough in a stable society, but it is vastly more difficult in a time of enormous social change Youth finds itself between the shocked disapproval of its elders, on the one hand, and the lack of definite social dogma on the other Is it any wonder, therefore, that it has a difficult time? Of course it is revolting Certainly it is in conflict If these rapid changes are disturbing to those who are already established in their habits, how much more unsettling are they to the youth who has not yet established patterns of attitude for himself toward the whole complex of life, but is attempting to do so.

As a consequence of the process of adapting himself to a new world for which he has been poorly prepared, the adolescent finds himself wandering hither and yon, making experiments of all kinds, and in some cases tripping on the road which leads to a well-adjusted life Pathological relationships and pathological personalities inevitably result in a certain percentage of the cases.

The way in which these adolescents respond to the somewhat perplexing social situations of to-day depends upon their innate characteristics, the con-

[11] Lindsay and Evans, *The Revolt of Modern Youth* (New York, 1925)

ditioning they have experienced in childhood, and the attitude taken by the adult world toward them as they endeavor to find status for themselves in the adult scheme of things

The pathology of the situation on the social level is indicated by the fact that most of our delinquents and criminals find themselves in trouble with the social code at this adolescent period or a little later The high point in the age curve of criminality in this country is from twenty-five to thirty-four It rises very rapidly after the age of fifteen. It is estimated that the average age for prostitutes is the early twenties. The age of incorrigibility is within the period of adolescence.

Also, this period of adolescence and early maturity is marked by a sudden outburst of mental instability and downright mental unbalance. *Dementia praecox*, the most outstanding form of insanity, is the dementia of youth Only recently have we begun to ask what lies back of sudden breakdowns in the mental balance of large numbers of our people. Here, in this struggle of adolescents to shape their lives for the demands of adulthood, lies the explanation Some people, to be sure, have a poor constitutional basis on which to develop this adjustment All breakdowns, however, whether in individuals of poor or of good constitutional ability are significant of the misunderstanding and mishandling which they have undergone during this period and perhaps earlier in their childhood at the hands of adults who should know better

This analysis, which is by no means complete but which calls attention only to the main factors in the situation, will perhaps indicate some of the things which ought to be done to prevent the development of socially pathological personalities and pathological relationships.

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VAN WATERS, *Parents on Probation* (New York, 1927).
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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Explain why the child or the youth has greater difficulty than the young of animals in adjusting to the adult pattern of conduct.
2. What is meant by the statement that problem children are the products of problem adults?
3. Name and discuss the types of problems seen in children and youths.
4. Outline the ways in which maladjustment originates in (a) childhood, (b) adolescence
5. After studying the tables, showing the opinions of the teachers as to the relative seriousness of behavior problems in school children, point out (a) the bearing of these standards on the standards held by the adults of the community; (b) the conflict which is likely to arise in the minds of the children between biological impulses and these social standards
6. Discuss whether it is the duty of teachers to impress upon children the adult standards of the community
7. If youth is the period in which most innovations in the social mores are introduced, what is the effect upon social development of the adult attitudes toward youthful innovations? What is the effect upon the personalities of the youths themselves?
8. Point out the significance of youthful revolt for social pathology.

CHAPTER 16

ILLEGITIMATE PARENTHOOD

The illegitimacy rate may be computed by dividing the total number of illegitimate births by the total births during a given period of time. A second index is sometimes obtained by dividing the number of illegitimate births by the number of single, widowed, and divorced women of child-bearing age in

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN SPECIFIED COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

	ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS, 1914		PER CENT OF LIVE BIRTHS ILLEGITIMATE
Country	*Number*	*Per cent of total live births*	*Annual average, 1906–1909*
Austria Hungary.			
Austria	102,845	11.9	12.3
Hungary	63,301	8.5	9.4
Belgium	19,975	6.4	6.3
Denmark	8,395	11.5	11.0
Finland	6,846	7.8	6.9
France	66,000	8.8	8.9
German Empire	176,270	9.7	8.7
Bavaria	25,180	12.6	12.2
Prussia	99,172	8.5	7.4
Saxony	18,803	16.0	14.1
Wurttemberg	5,737	8.6	8.3
Great Britain and Ireland:			
England and Wales	37,329	4.2	4.0
Ireland	2,943	3.0	2.6
Scotland	8,879	7.2	7.0
Italy	52,813	4.7	5.1
Norway	4,406	7.1	6.8
Portugal	20,601	11.0	11.3
Roumania	25,367	8.1	9.1
Russia in Europe	118,159	2.3	2.3
Spain	28,858	4.7	4.6
Sweden	20,481	15.8	13.3
Switzerland	4,341	5.0	4.4
The Netherlands	3,728	2.1	2.1

the total population.[1] The preceding table taken from the study by the Children's Bureau gives the illegitimacy rates in a number of the leading countries of Europe. In certain countries there was a slight increase during the period covered by the table, only Hungary showed a slight decrease.[2]

European cities on the whole show a higher rate than that of the country in which they are located. The following table indicates the situation in thirty-eight of the large cities of Europe.[3]

AVERAGE ANNUAL PER CENT OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN EUROPEAN CITIES, 1905 TO 1909

City	Population, 1909	Per cent of live births illegitimate, 1905-1909	City	Population, 1909	Per cent of live births illegitimate, 1905-1909
Amsterdam	567,000	4.4	Lyon	472,000	22.2
Barcelona	547,000	6.6	Manchester	655,000	3.8
Belfast	387,000	3.4	Marseilles	517,000	17.2
Berlin	2,107,000	28.1	Milan	594,000	9.5
Birmingham	564,000	2.6	Moscow	1,452,000	24.0
Breslau	503,000	18.8	Munich	571,000	27.8
Bristol	378,000	3.2	Naples	612,000	9.7
Budapest	823,000	26.3	Odessa	467,000	14.0
Christiania	233,000	13.6	Paris	2,760,000	25.5
Cologne	472,000	11.9	Petrograd	1,596,000	20.2
Copenhagen	450,000	25.5	Prague	467,000	28.7
Dresden	546,000	19.4	Riga	356,000	6.3
Dublin	398,000	3.1	Rome	534,000	16.5
Edinburgh	355,000	8.5	Rotterdam	415,000	4.0
Frankfort on the Main	367,000	13.8	Sheffield	463,000	4.3
Glasgow	872,000	7.0	Stockholm	340,000	33.5
Hamburg	888,000	13.6	Turin	392,000	11.4
Leipzig	538,000	19.1	Vienna	2,064,000	30.1
London	4,834,000	3.5	Warsaw	746,000	9.1

The larger percentage of illegitimacy in the cities can be accounted for partly by the fact that so many illegitimate births are registered where the maternity hospitals and institutions for such children are located. Since the general situation in Australia and New Zealand is somewhat similar to that

[1] *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 66 (Washington, 1920), Pt. I.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

in the United States, the following table is inserted in order to provide a comparative picture [4]

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

	ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS, 1914		PER CENT OF LIVE BIRTHS ILLEGITIMATE				
			Annual Average				
Country or State	*Number*	*Per cent of total live births*	1905-1909	1910-1914	1915	1916	1917
Australia	7,263	5.3	6.2	5.6	5.1	4.8	4.9
New South Wales	2,836	5.3	6.9	5.7	5.0	4.7	4.7
Victoria	2,015	5.6	5.7	5.8	5.7	5.2	5.5
Queensland	1,148	5.8	7.4	6.2	5.4	5.1	5.0
South Australia	500	3.9	4.2	4.3	4.0	3.8	4.0
Western Australia	388	4.1	4.3	4.3	4.2	3.8	4.2
Tasmania	355	5.9	5.5	5.3	5.3	5.1	5.3
Northern and federal territories	21	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Zealand	1,307	4.6	4.5	4.3	4.1	4.0	4.1

Recently the rates in Australia and New Zealand seem to have slightly decreased

There are no comparable statistics from the Oriental countries except Japan. There from 1905 to 1909 the rate was 9.1 per cent, from 1910 to 1914, 9.1 per cent, and in 1915, 8.7 per cent. However, information is lacking as to the effect of illegitimacy in the lives of the 150,000 illegitimate children born in Japan

In the United States we labor under the distinct statistical disadvantage which grows out of inadequate birth registration In 1915 only sixteen States and twenty of the sixty-two cities having populations of 100,000 or over provided adequate data by which to calculate the number of illegitimate births. The Children's Bureau has given for what it is worth the following table covering sixteen States [5]

The illegitimate births for these sixteen States in 1915 constituted 1.8 per cent of the total number This percentage, however, is probably too low as is indicated by the fact that the five New England States and the Middle

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 16
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 23

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN SEVERAL STATES OF THE UNITED STATES

	LIVE BIRTHS IN 1915 [a]			PER CENT OF LIVE BIRTHS REPORTED AS ILLEGITIMATE [b]			
		Reported as illegitimate					
	Total	*Number*	*Per Cent*	*Annual average, 1910-1914*	1916	1917	1918
Alabama:							
White	31,424	302	1.0	—	0.9	0.9	—
Negro	17,340	2,448	14.1	—	13.7	12.8	—
Connecticut	31,910 [b]	356 [b]	1.1 [b]	1.0	—	—	—
Indiana	61,850	881	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.4	—
Maryland:							
White	26,126	622	2.4	2.3 [c]	—	—	—
Negro	6,241	1,295	20.7	15.2 [c]	—	—	—
Massachusetts	93,394 [d]	2,108 [d]	2.3 [d]	—	—	—	—
Michigan	81,100	1,363	1.7	1.6 [e]	—	—	—
Minnesota	55,233	1,117	2.0	2.0 [f]	1.9	1.8	—
Missouri	71,543	1,504	2.1	2.4 [g]	2.2	2.4	1.3
Nevada	1,290	12	.9	.8 [h]	1.9	1.0	.3
New Hampshire	10,003	84	.8	1.0 [h]	—	—	—
Pennsylvania	219,061	4,448	2.0	—	—	—	—
Rhode Island	13,987	215	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.2	—
South Dakota	13,650	107	.8	.8	.9	.9	—
Utah	12,983	109	.8	.7 [g]	.7	.7	—
Vermont	7,875	149	1.9	1.7	1.4	1.8	—
Wisconsin	68,014	840	1.2	1.2	1.6	1.5	—

[a] Except for the State of Massachusetts, information was furnished by State departments of health and bureaus of vital statistics. In some States it was impossible to tell with absolute certainty whether or not still-births were included in the number of births, this was especially true in the case of illegitimate births.

[b] Figures for 1914, figures for 1915 not available.

[c] Average based on three-year period 1911-1914, statistics not given for white and colored separately prior to 1912.

[d] Figures for 1914, compiled by the U. S. Children's Bureau from original records.

[e] Average based on two-year period 1913-1914. Reports previous to 1913 included still-births in illegitimate births, and it was impossible to obtain the number of illegitimate live births.

[f] Average based on two-year period 1913-1914.

[g] Average based on four-year period 1911-1914.

[h] Average based on three-year period 1912-1914.

Atlantic States, which are all in the birth-registration area, have comparatively higher rates.

The situation in the cities of this country is similar to that in the Euro-

pean cities. The explanation is probably much the same, namely, the position of the city as a refuge and center for hospital and other types of care. Then, too, the conditions of life in the large cities are possibly more favorable to illegitimacy than are those of the villages and open country. The following table illustrates the situation in 1915 [a]

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN TWENTY CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES HAVING MORE THAN 100,000 POPULATION [a]

City	Live births in 1915			Per cent of live births reported as illegitimate			
	Total	Reported as illegitimate: Number	Reported as illegitimate: Per Cent	Annual average, 1910-1914	1916	1917	1918
Baltimore:							
White	11,460	359	3.1	3.8	2.6	2.1	—
Negro	2,174	533	24.5	23.3	22.7	21.6	—
Boston	19,725	800	4.6	4.1	—	—	—
Buffalo	12,683	263	2.1	2.0 [b]	2.2	2.5	1.8
Cincinnati [c]	7,804	299	3.8	3.7	—	—	—
Cleveland	16,623	386	2.3	2.3	—	—	1.2
Denver	3,793	105	2.8	3.0 [d]	2.9	3.6	—
Detroit	21,088	547	2.6	2.7 [e]	—	—	—
Grand Rapids	3,157	117	3.7	2.7 [e]	—	—	—
Kansas City [g]	5,418	329	6.1	6.1 [f]	6.2	7.9	8.2
Milwaukee [g]	11,278	292	2.6	2.6	2.8	2.6	—
Minneapolis	8,519	365	4.3	4.4 [h]	4.0	4.0	3.8
Newark	10,955	152	1.4	1.5	1.3	1.1	—
New York [h]	141,256	1,703	1.2	1.4	1.1	1.0	—
Philadelphia [i]	40,849	1,122	2.7	2.5 [j]	2.4	2.3	—
Pittsburgh	16,139	490	3.0	3.6 [k]	—	—	—
Providence	5,835	123	2.1	2.2	1.7	2.1	—
St. Louis [g]	14,143	529	3.7	4.3 [g]	3.9	3.6	3.6
St. Paul	5,291	272	5.1	4.5	4.5	5.0	—
Toledo	4,495	118	2.6	2.5 [b]	1.7	1.8	—
Washington:							
White	4,872	110	2.3	2.1	1.6	2.3	—
Negro	2,195	427	19.5	20.9	18.2	18.8	—

[a] Statistics furnished by State or city departments of health or bureaus of vital statistics, except for Boston, where the statistics for the period 1910-1914 were compiled by the U. S. Children's Bureau from original records.

[b] Average based on two-year period 1913-1914, no previous statistics of illegitimate births.

[c] Separate statistics for white and Negro births not available. In 1910, the population

[a] *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, p. 25.

The Children's Bureau provides figures for some of the cities for 1916, 1917, and 1918, not included in the table. The tendency seems to have been for the percentage to decrease during those years. The Bureau has estimated on the basis of figures available that in 1915 there were about 35,100 illegitimate white births. The rate for negroes is very much higher.

SUPPORT BY THE FATHER

Social agencies and the courts are practically unable to secure the support of the child from the father. Support was secured in Boston in only 31 per cent of the cases of illegitimate births, in Milwaukee in 36 per cent, and in Philadelphia in 40 per cent. The court assisted in enforcing support in accordance with law in a very small portion of the cases. In Boston, for example, in only 11 per cent of the cases which have come to the attention of the agencies in one year did the court take a hand, and in only 9 per cent was it able to enforce support. In Milwaukee the percentage of cases taken to court was 18, in Philadelphia 48, but with success in only 20 per cent in the former city and 30 per cent in the latter.[7]

THE FACTORS IN ILLEGITIMATE PARENTHOOD

What factors lie at the bottom of illegitimate parenthood? As in the interpretation of all other social phenomena we are met with numerous simple

of Cincinnati was 54 per cent Negro, of Kansas City 95 per cent, of St Louis 64 per cent

[a] Average for the period 1912-1914

[b] Average based on two-year period 1913-1914 Reports previous to 1913 included still-births as illegitimate births, and it was impossible to obtain the number of illegitimate live births

[c] Average based on four-year period 1911-1914

[d] Includes still-births The percentages would have been slightly lower had still-births been excluded

[e] New York City is a center of maternity care for surrounding territory, and the percentage of illegitimate births would be expected to be high Workers in touch with the local situation suggest that the low rates shown by these figures may be due to the fact that large numbers of unmarried mothers when entering a hospital claim to be married One reason for this may be the provision of the New York law which makes the inquiry into paternity compulsory in cases in which the child is chargeable to a county, city, or town, and which in such cases requires the mother, under penalty, to disclose the name of the father (Bender's Penal Law and Code of Civil Procedure, 1918, secs 840, 856)

[f] In 1916, 5 5 per cent of the population was Negro The percentages of illegitimate births, including still-births, among the Negroes were 1915, 16.4, 1916, 13.4, 1917, 13.6. The percentages among the whites were. 1915, 1 1, 1916, 1 8, 1917, 1.6.

[g] Rate for 1914, no previous statistics of illegitimate births

[h] Average based on reports for four years—1910, 1911, 1913, and 1914.

[7] *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Pt. III, pp 5-6.

explanations For example, the socialist is sure that the economic system in capitalist countries explains that straying from the straight and narrow path which so often results in illegitimacy or prostitution or both Others will tell you that the lack of religion is the important explanation. Still others declare that the home is primarily at fault. That any of these explanations or any other single explanation is inadequate is probable The fundamental question which leads us close to the root of the matter is, why do certain social situations lead some girls and boys into immoral relationships while others escape? Conduct is the outcome of the effect which external conditions have upon the individual's reaction to life situations and no one set of external factors alone adequately explains it. In general we can summarize the factors of illegitimate parenthood under three heads—the economic factor, the social factor, and the personal factor.

Economic Factors. It has frequently been pointed out that a large majority of the girls who go wrong have received low wages Mrs. Bowen, in a study of bastardy cases in Chicago, found that of 216 cases less than 3 per cent received $12 00 a week and 92 per cent less than $12.00 a week, the average wage being $6 75 a week.[8] In the study made by the Federal Children's Bureau of the illegitimate children under the care of Boston agencies, the earnings of the fathers were ascertained in 209 cases In almost half the cases (48 per cent), the fathers earned less than $15.00 a week in 1914. In only 21 per cent were the fathers earning $20 00 a week or more, while in 30 per cent the fathers earned only $15 00 to $19 00 per week.[9]

In the case of the mothers of these children, as of the fathers, the great majority were in a low income class The girl with a low income has difficulty in securing decent living conditions and achieving a normal social life A low income in the case of a boy likewise frustrates the desire for normal relationships and often contributes to misconduct.

Another economic factor is working conditions in factories, stores, and sometimes in homes themselves. A large proportion of the mothers of the illegitimate children were engaged in personal and domestic service or in factory work How do such surroundings contribute to the breakdown of the sexual inhibitions? We have no statistics which will throw light upon the problem, but case studies indicate that these women, driven to despair by their hard lives, the failure to secure the homes they have coveted and the breakdown of their ambitions, are at length easily solicited by employers, foremen, and men of superior position. They hope for marriage at first.

[8] Bowen, *A Study of Bastardy Cases* (Chicago, 1914), pp. 10-11

[9] *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Pt. II, Bureau Publication No 35 (Washington, 1921), p 215

It is possible that low wages, working conditions, and bad homes affect them only indirectly, since some of them at least give themselves to men in order to achieve social objectives. But directly or indirectly, the economic factors set up resentment and emotional disturbances, block hope for the realization of dreams, and lead to despair which oftentimes makes them careless of their moral relationships.

Social Factors. By the social factors we mean those external conditions, not economic, to which boys and girls are subject and which affect their personal relationship to life, such as housing, family life, training, etc.

Economic incomes determine, in part, the kind of homes in which people live. The desire for cheap housing develops what we know as "slum areas" in our cities, where homes are usually congested upon the lot and crowded in the rooms. This makes it impossible for children to be raised in that degree of privacy necessary for the preservation of decency. The sense of decent regard for one's own physical person is destroyed by the necessities of crowding. In these areas the boys and girls in the family often sleep in the same bed, not infrequently in the same room with their fathers and mothers. Not only do the people with low economic standards congregate in these sections, but people with low moral standards are to be found there in great numbers. On the streets, in the alleyways, and from one home to the other the children see sights and hear sounds which are not conducive to high regard for sexual morals. Years ago Breckenridge and Abbot pointed out that nine tenths of the cases of delinquent girls came from the homes of the poor.[10] They have been accustomed from earliest childhood to immorality, drunkenness, obscene and vulgar language, and degraded and filthy conditions of living. They have lacked proper playground space and proper direction of their spare-time activity. Often the mothers from these poor homes have to work and do not have the opportunity to supervise the activities of the children.

Partly as a result of conditions in these poor homes and partly as a consequence of parents badly prepared for parenthood the training of children is in some proportion neglected. The latter reason affects children of rich and poor alike. In the study of illegitimate parenthood it frequently comes out that girls have not been taught anything about the functions of sex and do not know that sexual activity leads to pregnancy. In the vast majority of cases they have been given no careful instruction as to sex hygiene by their mothers and fathers. What they know about it has been picked up by conversation with other children, and sometimes from

[10] *The Delinquent Child and the Home*, p. 74.

older people who give them distorted ideas. Too frequently the whole subject of sex is beamirched with an atmosphere of nastiness which cultivates an entirely wrong attitude in the young person Parents fail in their duty to their children in this respect because they themselves have never been taught, and because they share the popular attitude that sex is not a matter to be taught to children but is subject to the taboo of silence More important, however, is the attitude which is so often held by parents themselves on moral standards As Thomas has pointed out in *The Unadjusted Girl*, we are living in a time of dissolving moral codes and standards, of increasing individualization of conduct, and consequently adults do not have a clear attitude toward these matters defined for them by the mores of the community The children suffer as a consequence Even the young people who have been taught a code of sex morals by their parents are bewildered when they come into touch with the dubious attitude of the community One of the signs of the dissolving moral code is illegitimate parenthood

Moreover, in our civilization at the present time there is such a multiplication of stimuli as perhaps has never been seen in the history of the world For the first time in human history the social surplus has enabled the common people to have comforts and luxuries hitherto denied them Luxuries cheaply produced are available to every one save the very low income class The poor girl sees her sisters only a little above her in economic status affording them, and longs for them herself She discovers that her working companions live and dress beyond her means How do they do it? Some of them are quite willing to tell her how Baffled, when she tries to provide for herself the luxuries and comforts of her companions, and stimulated by the knowledge that some of them have been able to get a home and a lover and thus realize their desire for recognition and for security,[11] she yields herself to a young man who promises that if there are any untoward consequences he will marry her. She sometimes finds when the time comes that he either will not or cannot do so. Add to this the example of the pressure of the folkways of the new generation breaking with the mores of the past generation, and it is not hard to understand how some of our boys and girls are ready to engage in illicit relationship

Personal Factors. The reader must refer to the chapter on personal disorganization for a more complete discussion of this situation Certain outstanding factors in the personal organization may here be recalled as bearing specifically upon the question of illegitimate parenthood.

[11] Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl* (Boston, 1927), Ch. 4

FIG 4

THE BACKGROUND OF ILLEGITIMACY *

(Data secured from Record study in one city, including 2,175 children of illegitimate birth under care of social agencies)

MENTALITY

(Mother, father, and maternal grandparents)

CHARACTER

(Mother, father, and maternal grandparents)

Normal or not known

Normal or not known

Borderline mentality

Feeble-minded or insane

One or more immoral or otherwise of poor character

* *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, U S Department of Labor, Children's Bureau publication No 118, Part III, p 8

The first of these which appear in the studies made of illegitimacy is mental defect. The study by the Federal Children's Bureau in Massachusetts showed that 11 per cent of illegitimate parents had been diagnosed as feeble-minded, subnormal, or insane, while a further 7 per cent were considered subnormal. In a similar study among the Philadelphia agency cases, 8 per cent were diagnosed as not normal mentally. A like study in Milwaukee showed that 9 per cent were not normal mentally The rural sea coast section of Massachusetts studied by the Children's Bureau showed 13 per cent of the mothers mentally abnormal or subnormal, while 23 per cent were reported as probably subnormal In the 18 counties of New York State 16 per cent were diagnosed as feeble-minded, subnormal or insane, and an additional 7 per cent were thought to be below normal mentally.[13] The study of Dr Woolley and Jean Weidensall in Cincinnati puts the number of deficient and subnormal mothers of illegitimate children very much higher They stated that, "from 40 to 45 per cent of the unmarried mothers are without question so low grade mentally as to make life under institution care the only happy one for themselves and the most economical and only safe arrangement for society" [14] The percentage of feeble-minded and subnormal fathers seems on the face of the returns to be less.

Emotional instability on the part of the mothers and fathers of illegitimate children seems to enter in as a factor although we are unable to give statistical measurements of its extent and effect. What we have already said about changing social standards and how they lead to conflicting ideas of right and wrong throws some light upon the emotional crises which may lead to illegitimate parenthood The same conditions which make some people insane may drive others to undisciplined sexual habits The disintegration of social checks gives adolescents who have not yet formulated their own codes a false sense of unlimited choice of behavior.

Perhaps of even greater importance in this matter is a biological factor which, in the absence of strong and thoroughly recognized and approved social control, affects the matter. Healy has pointed out the importance of precocious physical and sexual development in delinquent girls. He found that physical overdevelopment was a factor in the delinquency of the girls in his cases in Chicago.[14] Healy and Bronner found that of 2,000 juvenile recidivists in Chicago from 70 to 73 per cent of the females were over-

[13] *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 128 (Washington, 1924), Pt III, p 8

[14] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charity Correction*, 1917, p 204

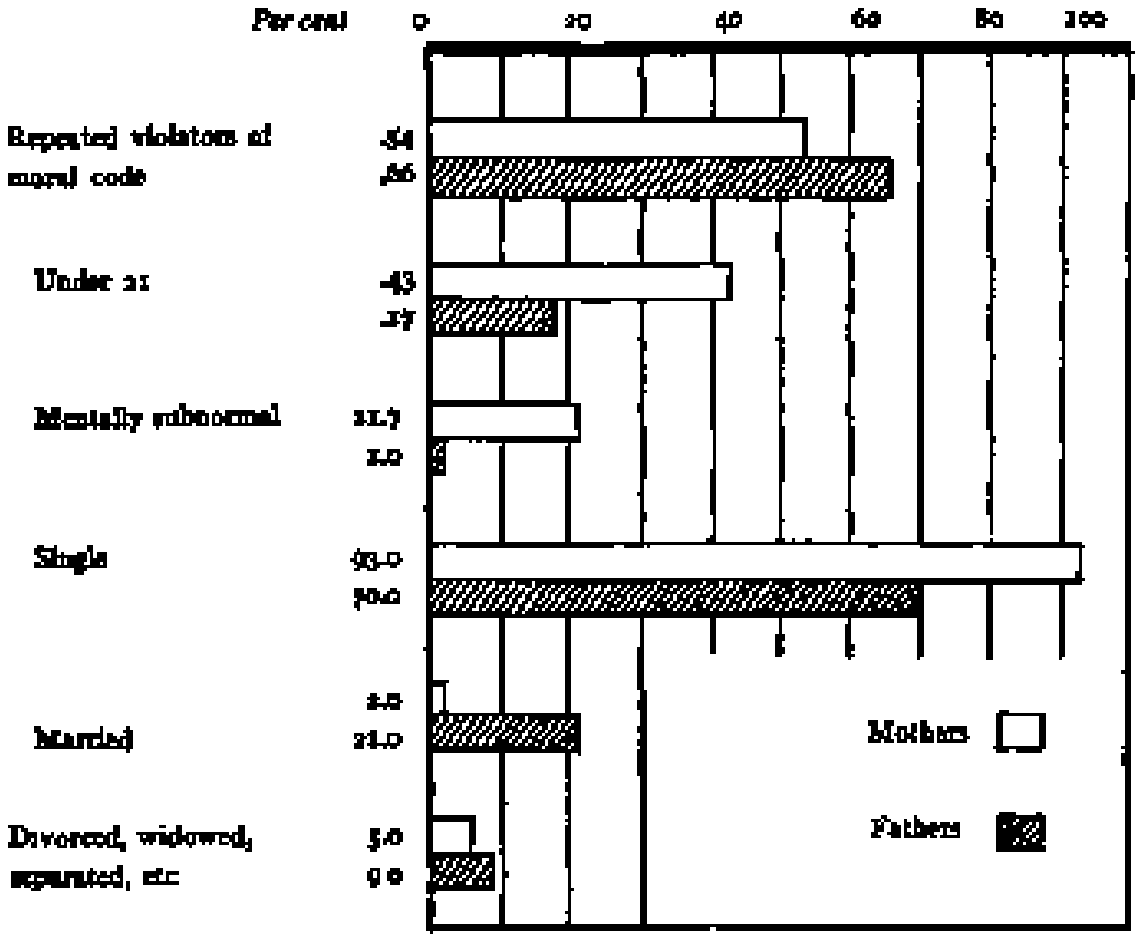
[14] *The Individual Delinquent* (Boston, 1915), pp. 135 and 136 and Bk. II, Ch. IV.

developed physically.[14] In some cases this physical overdevelopment is due to hereditary factors.[15]

Perhaps of even more significance as a personal factor are the low standards which many of these illegitimate fathers and mothers have accepted

FIG. 3

COMPARISON BETWEEN MOTHERS AND FATHERS OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN IN BOSTON*



* From data in *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Part 2, pp. 39-41, Children's Bureau Pub. No. 75.

as a code of conduct. This results partly from their own personal make-up and partly from the standards imposed upon them by the particular class of society in which they have been brought up. Consider in this connection that so many of them are from poor homes, located in parts of the city or in rural districts where the standards of sexual morality are rather low.

[14] "Youthful Offenders," *The American Journal of Sociology* (July, 1916), Vol. 22, pp. 44 and 45.

[15] Gillin, *Criminology and Penology* (New York and London, 1926), p. 163.

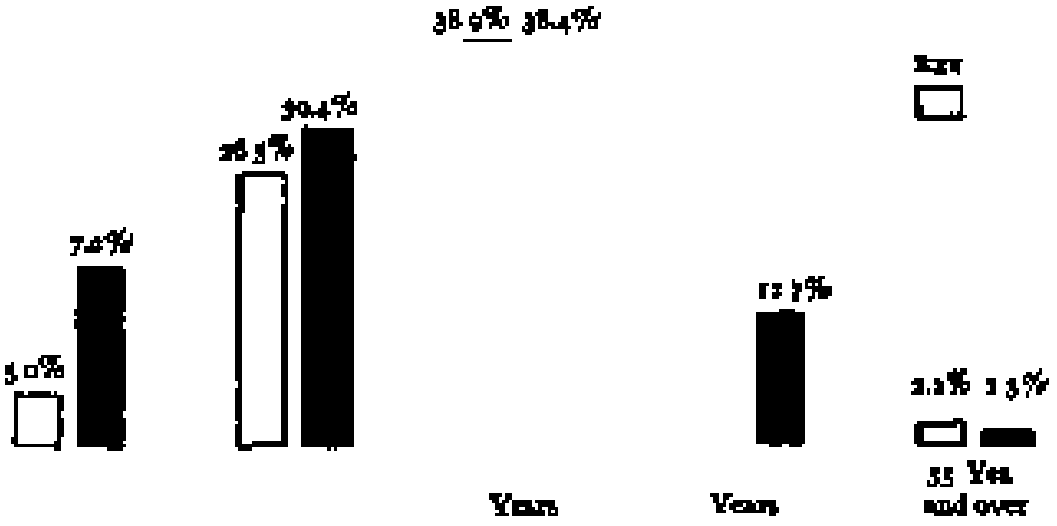
They experience no emotional conflict because from their earliest childhood they have been habituated to standards of conduct characterized by immorality, obscenity, and vulgarity.

Perhaps more important as a personal factor among large numbers of young people are the economic and social considerations which in their adolescence and early maturity offer them only frustration of what Thomas

FIG 6

COMPARATIVE RATES OF MARRIED AND UNMARRIED MOTHERS*

Based on births in one year to white mothers having no previous children, 4,116 legitimate births in 4 cities, and 1,480 illegitimate births in 4 cities Data secured from U S Children's Bureau studies covering 4,116 married mothers in Baltimore, Gary, New Bedford, and Waterbury, and 1,480 unmarried mothers in Baltimore, Boston, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia The nativity distribution of the total white female population 15 to 44 years of age is practically the same in these two groups of cities, with 77 per cent native in the former and 74 per cent in the latter)



* *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Part 3, Children's Bureau Publication Number 118, p 7

has called the fundamental "wishes," viz., desires for recognition, for response, for security, and for new experience, all of them so closely connected, in this period of their lives, with a mate. These longings so closely connected with the "biological imperative" have social and economic sanction, e g., the desire for a home and for economic support on the part of the women, the longing of the young men for a complementary companionship and for assistance in the struggle for economic success. If they cannot afford to get married, they will often attempt to establish sexual relationships without the sanction of law. The sexual urge is very strong in youth,

yet our civilization sometimes makes it impossible of realization The desire for new experience is sometimes a means of feeding the ego in its development, and this longing often expresses itself on the sexual level The boy wishes to prove to himself his power with the opposite sex; the girl desires to prove to herself that she is attractive to young men, and without adequate control they express these desires in illicit relationships

On the whole, therefore, we can see that the factors which produce illegitimate parenthood are based partly on the hereditary qualities which young people have carried over from previous generations, partly upon the social conventions and standards imposed upon them, and partly in the conflict of standards in a changing society, with resultant confusion as to right and proper means of satisfying biological desires and socially generated longings.

THE SOCIAL PATHOLOGY OF ILLEGITIMATE PARENTHOOD

What are the results of illegitimate parenthood? What effect does it have upon social organization?

Through unnumbered centuries of human experience there have been built up certain codes of human conduct and standards of action which are as strong as the granite of the eternal hills Unchangeable they are not, but they dominate men's minds as if they were Like the Greenland glaciers, to the eye that looks upon them at a given moment, they appear to be fixed forevermore. The individual born into this world for only a short time is molded by them, he adopts them as his own. His code of conduct, his ideals, are in a large part handed to him by a society which has received them from an immemorial past.

Among these codes of conduct, the product of past generations of human experience, is the code regulating sexual relations It forms an integral part of the concept which we have of the family Illicit relationships are frowned upon by that code and the frown is perceived by many of us as soon as we become adults and often long before Without discussing the question as to whether this code which has come down to us from the past is the best possible one for our particular civilization, we must recognize that it is there Our personality is formed with reference to the supposition that sex relationships are not to be had except in the bonds of legal marriage That code is known to almost every youth who has had a share in the cultural heritage of our civilization.

Now, then, in connection with that apparently immovable structure of customs and tradition, sanctioned by law, by religion, and by social approval or disapproval, consider what takes place in the personality of a young person brought up under such a code, who finds himself struggling

against the sexual impulse. This impulse radiates in all sorts of directions. We do not understand why we feel as we do, why we have certain likes and dislikes, why we are attracted to certain people and repelled from others. The rush of these primal emotions in adolescence oftentimes throws to the wind all social conventions, customs, codes, and under certain circumstances drives individuals to find biological fulfilment in a manner contrary to social conventions.

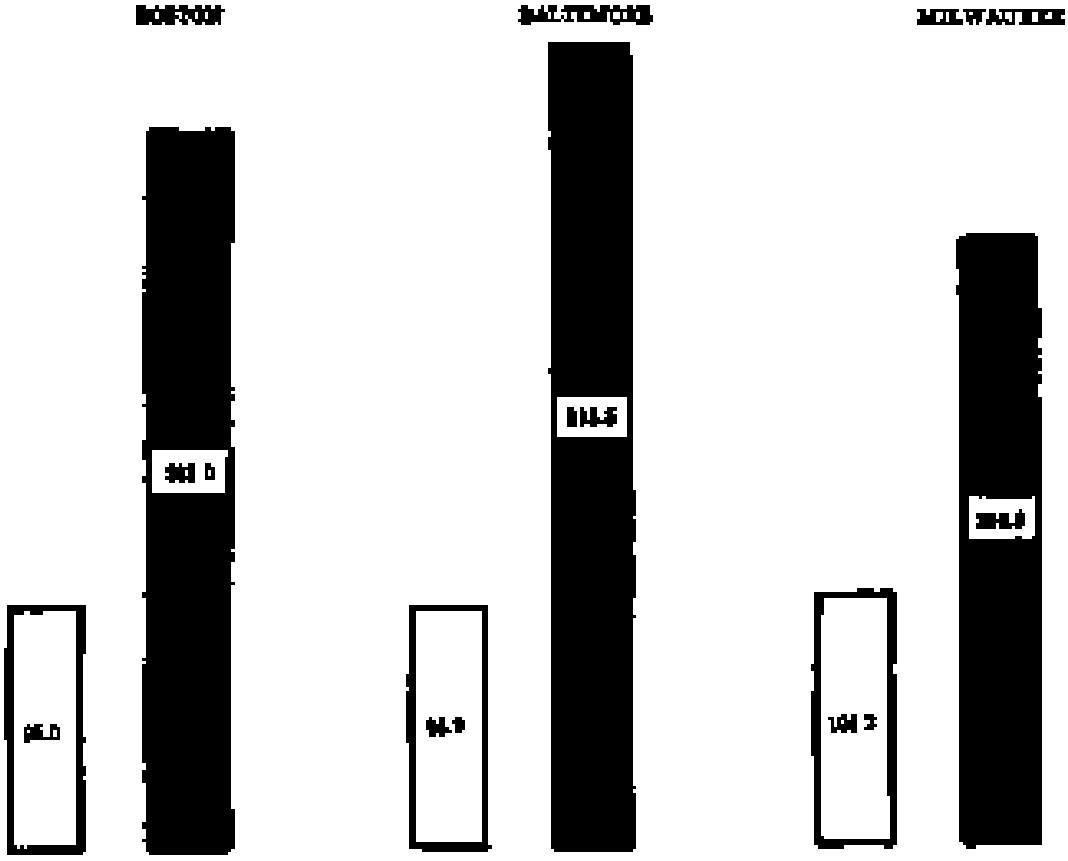
Personal Disorganization. What happens to the personality of a well-brought-up individual who experiences this conflict in his own conduct? He is confused and troubled. On the other hand, those individuals who have been so conditioned by their early surroundings and training that sex experience has been a part of their lives from an early date feel little of that emotional conflict. They rationalize their conduct in accordance with the standards of their group. Among these, of course, there is probably very much less personal demoralization than there is in individuals of the well-brought-up class of which I spoke a while ago. With those whose sex experience came early perturbation begins when they find that their conduct is against the mores of the dominant group and contrary to law. Consider then the girl, about to become the mother of an illegitimate child, or who has already borne it. Personal disorganization frequently occurs because she knows that loss of status will follow when the public or her family or friends know of her illicit relationship. For those who experience this loss of status, as a result of having departed from the social code in these matters for the first time, the jolt is terrific. The case histories of illegitimate parents everywhere betray this fact. It is much greater for the mother than for the father because of our double standard of morals.

A terrific mental disturbance often results to individuals who are faced with the twofold trouble of having fallen from their own ideals, and lost the esteem of their community and their status in the process. Often these girls will tell you that when they first appreciated their position they felt that they would go insane. They take the most hazardous and dangerous methods to destroy their unborn children. They and their families often go to any length to prevent the shameful facts from becoming known. There is the struggle often between the girl's love for the father of her child and the social code. She is torn between them.

The Menace to the Future Welfare of the Child. Not only do the relationships between the parents and those between each partner and the social group suffer from illegitimate parenthood, but experience shows that such a condition provides tremendous risks for the future welfare of the child. Consider first his physical welfare. The infant death-rate of ille-

FIG. 7

COMPARATIVE INFANT MORTALITY RATES FOR INFANTS OF LEGITIMATE AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH*



Boston, 1914
Baltimore, 1915
Milwaukee, 1916–1917

* *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, U. S. Children's Bureau Publication, Number 128 (Washington, 1924). Part III, p. 4.

gitimate children is three times that of legitimate children. Often this is the result of the deprivation of a mother's care in the early months of infancy due to the fact that the girl or her family is endeavoring to get rid of the child so that the stigma upon the mother and the family will be evaded. Frequently, however, it is due to the fact that the mother or the father or both have been diseased and the child starts in with a handicap.

Then there is the menace to mental stability In so far as the mothers are mentally deficient, the children are likely to be of low mental capacity. The Federal Bureau studies show that there is a much higher proportion of illegitimate mothers who are mentally deficient than there is of legitimate mothers Consequently these children come into the world handicapped by that heritage. However, the matter of mental stability goes much further than this Consider what happens to the child as he grows up and hears himself called a bastard or other names often thoughtlessly bestowed upon the natural child. See him upon the playground where other children shun him, point fingers at him, or laugh at him It is a well-known fact of child psychology that the child who is stigmatized in any way develops tremendous fears and mental conflicts Oftentimes he compensates for this felt inferiority as he grows up by some form of anti-social conduct.

Consider also the effect of illegitimate parenthood upon the economic security of the mother and the child The Federal Children's Bureau showed that in Boston illegitimate children accounted for 13 per cent of cases handled by the child-caring and child-protecting agencies in 1914. In Delaware the proportion was 14 per cent., in the District of Columbia 25 per cent. In Massachusetts, of more than 7,000 children under the care of the Division of Child Guardianship of the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare 23 per cent were born out of wedlock [17] If the mother must support her child, or if the child has to be boarded or placed out, how frequently it happens that educational opportunity is denied. That also is the sowing, the harvest of which will be reaped in years to come, often in inefficiency, both economic and social

Stability of the Family. Illegitimate parenthood is not so serious a matter if the parents marry even after the child is born, or if the mother is able to secure a husband after a short time. A certain percentage of mothers of illegitimate children do marry men other than the fathers of their children. However, the situation is of very serious importance when,

[17] Lundberg and Milburn, *Child Dependency in the District of Columbia*, Children's Bureau Publication No 130 (Washington, 1924), pp 4 and 5 See also *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Children's Bureau Publication No 75 (Boston, 1921), Pt. II, p 37.

as is frequently the case, the father of the illegitimate child already has a wife and family. The stability of the man's former family is threatened, while the illegitimate child and the woman who bore it are cast forth in the world unfitted for the existing scheme of things

Case after case can be found where even though the illegitimate parents have subsequently married each other, the remembrance of illegitimate relations before marriage produces jealousy and results in the break-up of the home Both the man and the woman are conscious of their departure from the social code and often that works as an irritant in the family life

Delinquency and Criminality. Every study of delinquents and criminals shows a large number of illegitimate children Because of the greater probability of mental defect or mental conflict the illegitimate child stands a greater chance of arriving in the juvenile court than a legitimate child In addition, the social disapproval visited upon him generates in him that sense of inferiority and emotional disturbance which is so frequently to be found in the juvenile delinquent. Even in the institutions for adult criminals the number of illegitimates is large

Thus in numerous ways illegitimate parenthood disturbs and disorganizes personal relationships Since these relationships are the most important units in the social organization, and since so many of our values are generated and tied emotionally to the family, irregular sexual relationships have tremendous consequences upon the individual personality The individual personality which does not function well in its social group contributes to the disorganization of that group and thus to the pathological condition of society.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Explain the divergence in illegitimacy rates among various European countries
2. Suggest explanations of the higher rates in the cities as compared with the countries as a whole
3. Why are the rates for negroes in this country higher than for the whites?
4. Are there any factors aside from the comparatively inadequate statistics in the United States to account for the lower rates in this country than in European countries?
5. Why is it so difficult to secure support for the illegitimate child from the father?
6. Name and discuss the factors of illegitimacy
7. Outline the pathological results of illegitimacy.
8. Suggest in outline a program for the prevention of illegitimacy.

CHAPTER 17

IMMORALITY AND VICE

Man is endowed with two great hungers necessary for the preservation of the race—the hunger for food, the hunger for a mate. Each gives rise to an urge for action, terrific in its power. Each, while elemental, is of such a nature that it can attach to itself all kinds of supplementary motives and methods of expression. From these two elementary urges develop many forms of social activity, both beneficial and menacing, which are greatly elaborated and enriched by the interplay of other social interests and urges. For example, out of the hunger for food develop the multifarious activities connected with feasts, festivals, and other ceremonies, and also many of the economic activities of our richly variegated industrial and commercial life. On the other hand, uncontrolled manifestations of hunger for food show in the individual as gormandism or gluttony, and are allied with selfish grasping for more than one needs. So, also, out of sex hunger emanate the finer manifestations of kindliness, gentleness, conjugal love, paternal affection, and unselfish labor for great causes, with the multiplicity of social structures and ideals which root themselves about the home and family, flowering up into unselfish regard and labor for the community and for the nation. On the other hand, uncontrolled and mishandled sexual desire produces some of the greatest tragedies. The most striking results of the sexual impulse on the socially pathological level grow out of the venereal diseases. In such cases, health, a fundamental condition of economic and social functioning, is undermined. With increasing knowledge of the psychological results of the conflict between the sexual urges and the channelization of their expression approved by society, it is clear that often even the sexual diseases are not more terrible in their ravages than the emotional tensions and aberrations resulting from this conflict. The raping of innocent children or even of adult women has serious enough consequences. Illegitimacy, abandoned mothers and children, bastardy with all the stigma which society often places upon the entirely innocent child, sexual perversions, prostitution, and those pathological expressions of the sexual impulse known as masochism and sadism have roots in this primal hunger of human beings.

Except for pathological conditions in the organism of the individual, which

are inherited or acquired, and which concern medicine, most of the "vicious" manifestations of the sexual urge are the consequences of society's efforts to curb its expression. Others grow out of the artificial sexual stimulation incident to civilization. In savage and barbaric societies many of the difficulties growing out of sex in civilized societies are unknown. That is not because sex is not socially controlled in savage societies, but because it is differently managed. Margaret Mead in her two books [1] points out that in these barbaric societies a great deal of sexual experimentation is permitted at certain ages, and that the boy and girl are familiar from childhood with the fundamental facts of sex physiology. They do not have a social heritage of the taboo of silence such as is characteristic of our civilization. Malinowski has pointed out the same thing among the Trobriand Islanders. However, savages, in spite of their early sexual experimentation, recognize sexual immorality. In other words, in both savage and civilized society the sexual impulse in certain individuals revolts against the channelized outlets socially approved for its expression. While among the Trobriand Islanders there is none of the early sexual repression demanded by our moral standards, very severe taboos exist against intercourse between people within certain totem relationships. In civilized society much sexual maladjustment is supposed to arise from late marriages, postponed until education or income is secured. But our marriage statistics show that our people, far from postponing the age of marriage, to-day are marrying earlier than they have been for a half century. Our mores have not approved a period of sexual experimentation before marriage, although the folkways of certain strata of society have permitted it for men and excused it in women.

Definitions. Socially unapproved methods of gratifying the sex impulse have been designated as immorality, i.e., not according with the mores. In the most serious phases such sexual relations have been termed "vice." *By sexual immorality, then, we mean those sexual relationships which are not approved by the group.* Sexual relationships which in one culture are looked upon as immoral may not be so considered in another. The contrast between pre-marital conduct among the Trobriand Islanders and among ourselves illustrates this point. *By vice we mean immoral sexual relationships which have become habitual and are usually mercenary.* While there are other kinds of immorality and other species of vice, the importance which this particular kind holds in the estimation of men is indicated by the fact that when we speak of immorality or vice we usually think of the sexual variety.

If irregular sexual relationships had no consequences save for the two

[1] Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York, 1928), and *Growing up in New Guinea* (New York, 1930).

persons concerned, the matter would not deserve the consideration of the social pathologist. It demands our attention, however, because even a cursory examination shows that it has direct results on a number of social relationships. Immorality affects the stability of the family In certain forms it has a bearing on children, on dependency, on crime, on health, on religion, on social ideals and standards of conduct, and on the attitude of the individual to the group In short, in certain cases it contributes to social demoralization, in others to personal disorganization.

Extent of the Problem. There is no method by which we can ascertain the extent of irregular sexual relations One available index of the socially pathological results of such relations is the incidence of venereal disease. Other indications, not measurable, are to be seen in family disorganization and in personal disorganization The figures given in the following chapter on prostitution need not be considered here, although they throw some light upon one aspect of the matter However, we do not know how much sexual disease is due to commercialized vice and how much to simple sexual irregularity How extensive is the practice of non-commercialized sexual relationship no one knows Some recent studies, to be mentioned later, indicate a greater prevalence than most of us suspected.

The Social Pathology of Immorality and Vice. Theoretically social pathology in general is a function, to speak mathematically, of social variables in the total situation That is, it is produced by the joint action and interaction of these variables In human society there are many variables. In general, we may say that human conduct is the result of the interaction of (1) hereditary drives with which we come into the world, (2) the physical world in its various aspects which as stimuli play upon human beings, and (3) the social stimuli which flow in upon individuals from other personalities and from social institutions The social pathology of sexual relations may be conceived of in the same terms Human beings come into the world with certain inherent drives. The sexual impulse is one of these which varies in strength with each individual The influence of the physical universe upon this inherent urge also varies in different parts of the world The climate is cold here, hot there, with consequent differences in the way in which the physical organisms of human beings respond Again, people in a given physical environment and with varying inherent tendencies are subjected to differing stimuli from parents, siblings, playmates, schoolmates, teachers, workmates, and also from the institutions which surround them from birth to adulthood One grows up in an environment of frankness and of clean sexual idealism, another developes in an atmosphere of shame and repression concerning things sexual. Out of that complexity of varying inherent urges

and of differing social views regarding sex, people are bound to emerge with different attitudes towards it and to express themselves in divergent sexual conduct

Trouble arises when the individual who has developed one set of attitudes on the sexual level comes into a situation where those attitudes are not generally accepted What is stated on this point in the following chapter on prostitution applies here Meantime, let us say, for example, that a girl comes to America from Austria or Hungary She has been reared in a society which does not condemn pre-marital sexual relations, providing the man marries her if pregnancy results She arrives in this country where different sex mores prevail and follows the custom usual in the old country She finds herself condemned in the eyes of respectable society especially if she becomes the abandoned mother of an illegitimate child She may become diseased Or puzzled by the situation, emotionally upset, she may become utterly demoralized Healy has shown that emotional conflict due to sex often results in such juvenile delinquencies as truancy and stealing, actions seeming to have no connection with sex [2]

The tangled relations of our lives are clearly seen in the problems which grow out of immorality and vice. Begin with almost any social maladjustment and you find involved with it many others Immorality does not end with immorality The results of it flow out into almost all the relationships of life Often it means great economic loss It affects a number of our social institutions It creates problems for city government. It thrusts its naked ugliness into the churches Even the schools are affected by it Our homes are not immune from it Dependency and crime have close relationships with it Dependent children are often a consequence Many of the wrecked minds which fill our hospitals for the insane and our asylums are its result The broken lives of young men, the blasted dreams of manderhood, the love of husbands and wives, and the hopes of parents, dashed to earth and scattered in broken fragments, are often the results of immorality and vice

Let us consider in somewhat greater detail some of the problems more intimately connected with vice

(1) **Family Disorganization.** No other class of diseases puts such a strain upon family ties as venereal diseases Other types of sickness may cement more strongly the ties of sympathy in the family, but these diseases cut the very roots of affection and romance. Syphilis, especially, is the enemy of the family Often it precludes the possibility of marriage, for when the person afflicted is conscientious, he may feel himself forever barred from matrimony, no matter how vigorously he may have pursued treatment, and

[2] Healy, *Judge Baker Foundation Studies* (Boston, 1923), Series 1, Cases 16, 20.

no matter how apparently free he may be from infection. Others, on the advice of their physicians, postpone marriage for a time lest the disease break out again and bring suffering to mate and offspring. Frequently both the two important venereal diseases produce sterility, disappointing the hopes of the married couple for children. Often such infections known only to the two partners, to the physician, and to the attorney, are the real reasons back of the legal grounds on which divorce is secured. The frequency of death, chronic invalidism, and economic dependence due to venereal disease can only be known to the social worker. With the present mores and opinions dominating our society, no statistics can set forth the damage which known pre-marital or marital sexual immorality have done to conjugal idealism, to faithfulness in the marriage relationship, and to the high purposes for which a family exists.

The standards of conduct between the sexes which have been built up slowly and painfully over hundreds of years by custom, taboo, law, morals, and religion, cannot always withstand the strain of moral laxness. Happiness in the family is dependent upon the mutual understanding, respect, and affection of those who are members of it. It is the unit of society in which cooperation is raised to its most intense power. Destroy the basis of cooperation, as known or suspected immorality in one of the partners often destroys it, and the very foundations of the superstructure are undermined. Nothing but a concrete case can show the working of this matter in all of its naked ugliness. Consider the following story.

The Donovan Family. In a midwestern State one evening the newspapers carried the banner headline announcing that a Mrs. Donovan in a little town adjoining the state capital had shot and killed her husband. They were respectively 27 and 28 years of age.

He had gone to France to fight in the World War, had returned after the Armistice, had married this girl whom he had known as a boy. They settled in a little home in this small town to begin their married life and to build a home. He obtained employment for a time, but was not well, had spells of sickness frequently when he had to stay away from his job, and finally lost it. He tried several other occupations, losing one after the other, and finally in order to get money began to cash checks on banks where he had no deposit. Finally he began to forge names to get money. Ultimately he was caught and tried, convicted and sent to the State's prison for a term of years. There he was suspected of sending out and selling goods made in the prison. His term expired and before anything could be proved upon him, he was discharged and disappeared. He was being sought by the officials in connection with this theft at the State's prison at the time the tragedy occurred.

Let us look at the woman in the case. The daughter of a well-to-do farmer, she had been reared gently, and had grown up to a normal, healthy womanhood when she again met this young man after he had returned from Europe. Having known him as a boy she had been attracted to this ex-soldier

lad and looked forward with high anticipation to their married life. Soon after they settled down in their little home she began to have physical troubles of a kind she had never known before. Upon going to a physician she was informed of the nature of her trouble. She was told that she was afflicted with syphilis, and was treated for that disease. In the course of time her first baby was born to her dead. Steadily her health declined. After a year or more another child was born prematurely, also dead. She came to feel that the dream of her girlhood had been ruined and that she herself was doomed to a slow but terrible death. She refused longer to live with this man whom she had learned was responsible for her condition, and when he was sent to prison she felt relieved of his presence.

On the occasion of the tragedy he had returned to her in the endeavor to get her to live with him again. He had sent word that he was coming. Fearful of what he might do, since he had threatened to kill her if she would not return to him, she placed upon the table, partially hidden, a shotgun. He came about nine o'clock at night and spent from then until after midnight with her, pleading for her to return to him. She steadily refused. As he was about to leave he got up and said: "So you will not come with me?" She said "No." As she reported afterwards, she thought he reached for his hip pocket. Believing that he was about to shoot her, she grabbed the shotgun and fired, killing him instantly.

No comment is necessary to suggest the mental agony she endured before the tragedy of the gun. How many times she had died a living death as she contemplated the havoc wrought in her by his perfidy, imagination can easily picture. This is only one of innumerable cases which show the devastation wrought by these diseases in the family relationship. Others could be cited in which children live to be born but are helpless cripples and monstrous deformities as long as they live.

(2) **Defective Children, Sterility, and Surgical Operations.** In addition to these facts, consider the blindness in babies, 25 per cent of which at least is due to the infection of the baby's eyes at birth with gonorrhea. This fact has led to a law in most States requiring that every child, when born, must have nitrate of silver dropped into its eyes in order to prevent infantile blindness. Consider the sterility produced in married women by husbands who infect them with these diseases. Think also of the operations on women made necessary by such infection. Dr. Prince Morrow estimated that 80 per cent of the serious surgical operations on women were made necessary by venereal diseases. Count the weak and defective children produced by congenital syphilis, and you have some of the elements of the picture of family disorganization wrought by vice and immorality.

Is it any wonder, then, that a few of our States have felt that this matter is so important that they have enacted so-called eugenics marriage laws, under which the husband at least must present a certificate of freedom from these diseases before a license to marry is granted. Would it not help greatly if each

engaged young person insisted that the other, before securing a marriage license, should present such a certificate, signed by a reputable physician? Any young woman might very well suspect a fiancé who refused to secure such a certificate

(3) **Dependency.** Immorality and vice operate to produce dependency chiefly through ill health. It is well known that anything which breaks the home by death or illness, or which makes the wage-earner of the family a chronic invalid, leads directly to dependency Syphilis requires long treatment and is expensive Often syphilis leads to paresis Many times the paretic becomes insane, frequently his improvident financial operations reduce his family to poverty, while his anti-social behavior bring it to disgrace.

Consider also the effect of these diseases on the future earning capacity of the children Born crippled, blind, paralyzed, or reduced to imbecility by congenital syphilis, such children often go through life dependent upon public charity Every institution for the feeble-minded, the deaf, the blind, the insane, the epileptic, has a large proportion of the victims of gonorrhea and syphilis.

These children, like the illegitimate children, are a product of immorality, and the data given in the chapter on illegitimate parenthood on the relation between illegitimacy and dependency are also pertinent here Certainly we shall not be far wrong if we conclude that immorality and vice account for a considerable share of the dependency of our country at the present time[3]

(4) **Crime.** Immorality has close connection with crime This is indicated by the large number of men afflicted with venereal disease who are incarcerated in the jails and prisons of our country Thus, at Elmira Reformatory, New York, where Dr Christian examined 8,000 admissions to that institution, 43 per cent were found infected with venereal diseases upon their admission.[4] Dr Rock Sleyster, reporting upon an examination of 592 prisoners at the Wisconsin State Prison, stated that 40 per cent have a personal history of venereal disease, while of 120 recidivists in the same prison, 50 8 per cent had such a history. Concerning the connection between vice and crime, he says:

"The frequency with which the criminal visits the prostitute is shown in the table on personal habits. It is the rule rather than the exception, and

[3] *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Children's Bureau Publication No 66 (Washington, 1920), Pt II (Washington, 1921) Spencer, *Children Deprived of Parental Care*, Children's Bureau Publication No 81 (Washington, 1921), p 18 *Child Dependency in the District of Columbia*, Children's Bureau Publication No 140 (Washington, 1924)

[4] Brockway, in *Physical Basis of Crime, a Symposium* (Easton, Pennsylvania, 1914), p 136

another manifestation of his degeneracy He has been a slave to sexual excitement, both natural and unnatural, from his early life, and, even when confined in prison, gives much of his time to thoughts of a sexual nature as evidenced by the quantity of obscene and filthy notes and pictures which are found whenever a search is made of his cell or person " [8]

Naturally the women delinquents have a much higher incidence of venereal disease since most women delinquents are more frequently sexual offenders

(5) **Morbidity and Mortality.** It is estimated that syphilis causes more deaths than tuberculosis in the United States at the present time Dr William Osler calls syphilis "the greatest killing disease" He gave it as his opinion that from one sixth to one fifth of the infant deaths in England are due to it and it is by far the most common cause of death during the first month of life We are warranted in saying that syphilis is a greater menace to our infant life than scarlet fever, diphtheria, influenza, or tubercular meningitis It is perhaps the most common cause of abortion and of still-birth, accounting for from one fourth to one third of the still-births in some of our larger cities [9] Venereal diseases are the most important cause of sickness in the United States Army and Navy.

(6) **Religion.** So far as the history of the Christian Church is concerned, the one outstanding sin against which it has massed all of its power is immorality

In this attack of Christianity upon vice is revealed the belief of Christian leaders that immorality strikes at the very foundation of social order How can the sexes be equal if one of them is an exploited class, looked upon as only the vessel for the satisfaction of the lusts of the other? How can that ideal of the family which is characteristic of Christianity be realized? How can fellowship and fraternity come to fruition in unrestrained license of the imperative sexual passion? In olden days how could the female slave, the victim not only of her master's economic greed, but also of his passion, achieve the freedom preached by the early Christian evangelists, unless sexual relations were brought to a high and noble plane? How could the child, the very center of Christian regard for personality and the symbol of its highest values, be protected against the devastating ravages of all that followed in the wake of vice, if the Church passed idly by this monstrous evil? Therefore, with certain insight into the fundamental antipathy between immorality and

[8] Sleyster, "Physical Basis of Crime as Observed by a Prison Physician," *Physical Basis of Crime*, pp 130-131

[9] Knowlton, *Syphilis and Infant Death*, Reprint No 696 from *Public Health Report*, U S Public Health Service (Washington, 1921), pp 6, 7

Christian ideals, the Church from the first century to the twentieth, has fought immorality with its most powerful weapons There is no heaven for the fornicator, for the adulterer, for the sexual pervert. Christianity attempted to raise marriage to a spiritual plane above its mere biological basis by urging husbands to love their wives as their own bodies, and even as Christ loved the Church. Immorality destroys the values of Christianity, crushes its ideals into the mire and flouts its appeals to the higher nature of man. The Church may formerly have been and may still be blind to the vision and deaf to the message of its Lord when it casts out the erring woman (John VIII.1-8) and looks down upon the illegitimate child. But in its conflict with immorality it is true to the fundamental concepts of its founder, whose profound words were, "He that looketh upon a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery already with her in his heart."

Perhaps influenced by the misogyny of St. Paul, the Church may have introduced a standard of sexual conduct too high for many people under the changing social and economic conditions which destroy the social props of conduct, make normal family life difficult, and incite sexual desire By its repression of libidinousness and by its exaltation of celibacy it may have put upon some natures strains they were unable to bear without consequent neurosis and psychosis. It may have been responsible for universalizing a norm of sexual control originally intended only for those who were by nature either less highly sexed than others or better endowed with the potentiality of self-control or of sublimation of desire Paul, despite his insistence on the subjugation of sexual passion, recognized the importance of providing for its socialized expression See I *Corinthians* VII 1-7.

Yet, perhaps the Church's attitude may be understood, if we appreciate with historic insight the practical situation with which it had to deal It was face to face with a decadent civilization The rigid control of sexual conduct, characteristic of the early Roman society, had relaxed Sexual looseness permeated all strata of society Change had wrought havoc with the old standards in all relationships of life. The Church had to fight sexual vice, or be doomed. What if in its battle it overemphasized sexual restraint and set up ideals which only the few could reach without disaster? Freudian psychology was not available as a warning The Church had to choose the means at hand to accomplish its purpose In spite of its high ideals, in the course of time it provided, through the sacrament of penance and the toleration of marriage as a lower state, a way of escape for those who did not possess adequate self-control.

The present situation, however, is somewhat different, but not less difficult. Now, the Church, with a heritage of tradition fixed by twenty centuries of

history, again faces a world undergoing vast changes. A paganizing of sexual mores has set in. "Puritanism" is being assailed by "highbrow" and "lowbrow." Freud has suddenly been adopted as a prophet by every leather-lunged, blatherskite libertine and by those "emancipated" souls who have not the courage to flout in their own lives the sex morals of respectable people but who through verbalized, adolescent day-dreams and phantasies enjoy vicariously the liberties of the indecent. They attack the Church for its "old-fashioned" and "unscientific" repression of "natural" impulses. They charge that society, by frowning upon sexual looseness, is producing a race of neurasthenics and psychotics. They offer as the panacea the exhortation "Be yourself," or "Express yourself," all oblivious of the fact that, under any system of society, sex is controlled in the interest of certain values. They do not seem to know that sexual disease—the result of sexual looseness, alcohol, and strains due to other social situations or economic conditions—probably produces more neurotics, hysterics and other types of the "insane" than does sexual repression.

However, there is a grain of truth in what these enthusiastic rebels say. They are simply doing what the Church did in its fight with immorality—overemphasizing a partial truth. Some people do have difficulty in reconciling native and socially stimulated impulses with social norms intended to conserve certain values. Religion as a conservative institution lags behind in applying newly discovered truths. It takes time for it to adjust its traditions to modern psychological and sociological insight. The social mores change slowly. In the end it is to be hoped that the Church and society at large will adapt their methods to what science has to teach in these matters. It is likely, however, that the Church will do so slowly so as to conserve the ideals it cherishes. It will not "throw out the baby with the bath." Problems? Maladjustments? Certainly. Any dynamic society has problems and maladjustments. These are the signs of change. Sexual looseness is a challenge to the values the Church holds with regard to personal and family relations. These it cannot surrender. It may, however, modify its technique of conserving them.

How can the Church do this? If it learns from the experiments made during its history it will not try as it once did, to meet the problem of illegitimacy by building orphanages and foundling asylums, by ostracizing the unmarried mother, and by letting the father go scot free. Perhaps it will learn that its founder was wise in looking with understanding and sympathy upon the Magdalen and the socially wayward. Perhaps it will apply modern psychology and sociology to the reorientation of misguided youth. And, most to be hoped for, it may address itself to the conditions responsible for the incitement of

lust and to the ignorance and fear which are the chief roots of social misconduct.

(7) **Social Standards and Ideals.** One can lie and still retain his social standing. One can cheat, swear, or lose his temper and still not lose caste. But for a man to be known as a roué, a libertine, means loss of status. The situation is worse for a woman. In spite of the commonness of divorce, and of increasing looseness in sexual relationships, to be looked upon as an immoral woman is a grave social danger.

This fact is due not only to the transference of Christian ideals to our civilization, but to the consciousness common to both Christianity and civilization, that vice attacks fundamental social institutions. Our ideals of self-control, of fairness to our fellowmen, of consideration for the weak, of protection and succor for the unprotected and helpless, are threatened by all that is inherent in immorality and vice. Vice means destroying reverence for family standards and ideals. The selfish satisfaction of lust, rather than unselfish devotion to social ideals and to the integrity of our social life, is at the basis of immorality. Lack of consideration for the welfare of society is the most outstanding characteristic of vice which destroys the idealism of youth, the hopes of middle-age, and the support of old age. Vice scorns our scale of social values—health, moral and social integrity, the innocence of childhood, the glory of womanhood, the strength of manhood, and unselfish endeavor for the common weal.

SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS

Vice and immorality are at least as old as history. Provisions for their punishment are found in the oldest code of laws known to man, the Code of Hammurabi. Practically every code of laws from that time down to the present has endeavored to repress vice. Religion, especially Christianity, has railed at it and brought the most terrible interdicts to bear against it. Civilized society has cast out its victims. Nevertheless, vice still flourishes and the efforts of mankind seem to be of little avail. Does modern science have nothing to say about this important social problem? Does sociology have nothing to contribute? Law and religion have failed—is there nothing else to give any hope of solution?

Vice as a Health Problem. Since the development of modern medicine, the social diseases resulting from vice have attracted much attention. Medical studies have shown that the diseases of vice are most important. Medical bacteriology has discovered the germs which cause these diseases, traced their history, discovered cures, pointed out preventive measures, taught the importance of clinical facilities, hospitalization, and social hygiene instruction.

It has exploded the old notion that sexual expression is necessary for good health—a rationalization which lay so long at the basis of prostitution. Medical science has thrown much light upon the principles of sane sexual life, but it gives us very little information on how difficulties growing out of sex can be managed to a successful issue.

Sex as a Psychological Problem. Psychology has contributed much to this phase of life as to many others It has revealed to us the consequences of repression, of ignorance, of shame. We now know that so strong is this sexual impulse in human life that, if it is crushed down into unconscious, it may manifest itself in ways which seem to have no relationship to their root. On the other hand, psychology has shown us how sexual appetite may, in some individuals, be sublimated by multiplying the possible emanations of the libido and channeling them towards other objects For example, the mother may lose her love for her husband, but may sublimate it by devotion to her children Or, psychology reveals how the restlessness born of sex may be translated into approved activities by absorption in religion, social work, art, athletics, or the education of children By throwing light upon the nature of the emotions, psychology illuminates some of the conditions of immorality and vice and helps us to understand the imperative nature of the sexual passion It is social psychology, however, which gives us an understanding of the consequences to the personality of loss of status, of shame, and the difficulties which the immoral person experiences in regaining the respect of the community. It also illuminates the greater difficulty of the woman in such a condition as compared with that of the man.

Sex Morals and the Police. At the present time vice, especially prostitution, is treated as a problem of social order by the police and the courts. As a menace to the established social order, especially the fundamental social institution—the family—it is repressed in the interest of social groups. Experience, however, has shown that, considered merely as a police problem, it cannot be solved This negatively repressive policy of society does not reach the roots of the matter and consequently, while not entirely a failure, it is a very limited success as a preventative remedy for the most extreme form of vice Police deal only with results, so there is no solution for society from this point of view.

The Educational Attack. Parents and teachers, social and religious workers need to have a command of the knowledge which psychology gives of the relation of the emotions to sex. Equipped with such information they will understand how to impart to children and youth the knowledge which should guard them from the pitfalls incident to adolescence, and give them the basis for an education of the emotions which will lead to useful citizenship and to a

proper adjustment to the conditions of life. The adults themselves will be freed from the shame complex of this subject and from the repressions and fears through which they so often warp the development of children and youth. It is the belief of some who deal first-hand with young people who go wrong that one of the reasons for their so-called immorality is lack of proper education—primarily in the home, secondarily in the school, and finally in the general atmosphere of the society in which they live. Judge Ben Lindsay, in discussing these matters, especially the changed situation in which modern youth finds itself, with all the new inventions—the telephone, the automobile, and all the rest—says:

"Either you must keep on with the chaperone—which is impossible—or you must prepare young people for the new convention by seeing to it, not only that they have a voluntary, informed, and responsible code of conduct, but also that they know all about Sex, and its place in the lives of men and women. So far we have refused to do this on the ground that Sex is an unclean and shameful thing, rather than a sacred and lovely thing. If you, by implication, by silence, by innuendo, by concealment, by putting up veils, by talking in cryptic phrases, by winking, nodding, and looking significant, make it clear to children from their very infancy that Sex is essentially and fundamentally bad, what can you expect of them later? The most wicked thing in life, the uncleanest thing in life, turns out to be one of the most necessary and pleasant things in life. And so, convinced that they are doing wrong and yet determined to do it, they proceed to investigate Sex for themselves, with frequent disasters of a totally needless sort, and so the new freedom, instead of liberating them, destroys them."[1]

There is no question that the conspiracy of silence into which adults have entered concerning sex accounts for many of the tragedies that we see about us. Greater frankness is needed in meeting natural curiosity instead of the endeavor to shame that curiosity into silence. How shall youth learn the wisdom of age if there is no frankness between youth and age? Modern youth demands to know the truth.

Can the Social Mores be Given Tolic Guidance? At present the mores of society are dominated by false standards with respect to sex. Not only are they shot through and through by a double standard of sex morals, but, what is worse, they defile the whole attitude toward sex, treating it as a degraded subject. Sex is looked upon and treated as unclean. Crude jokes are made of it. It is discussed in whispers, and with sly innuendo. Vulgarity clusters about it. It is bespattered with filth. Our sex mores tolerate sexual looseness in the male, visit condign punishment on the female, and show no rationality toward the whole subject. The result is ignorance, false beliefs,

[1] Lindsay, *The Revolt of Modern Youth* (New York, 1925), p. 160.

an unwholesome attitude on the part of most people toward sex, and no solid basis in the folkways of youth for a sound code of sexual behavior.

Can these attitudes be changed by purposeful efforts? Every study of the results of propaganda shows that change in the mores can be directed. Take but one example: The health mores of whole peoples have been modified. Research on the basis of observation of experiment in sex mores must be relied upon for guidance. Studies such as Dr. Davis' investigations of the sex life of 2200 women must be multiplied along more extensive lines.[4] We must have more data on the results of sexual irregularity both on the personality of those involved and upon their later marital relations. Then in the light of that knowledge we may safely proceed to develop a new public attitude towards the subject.

Grant for the sake of argument that the present standards of sexual conduct are too strict for many persons under the confusion of present changing conditions. Admit that certain types of what, according to accepted standards, is immorality, such as pre-marital intimacies, are not under all conditions inimical to the family, or to the integrity of the personality. As a practical matter are we sure that by relaxing the standards we shall not do as much harm to individuals and to the institution of the family as by maintaining them? More knowledge than we now have is needed before we can experiment with sexual laxness.

In the meantime on the basis of what we know of the results of repressive treatment of the person who has broken the sex mores, we can take a constructive rather than a supercritical attitude towards the offender. We know that repression has ruined forever many an "erring" young girl, and has put the stigma of disgrace upon the child born out of wedlock. In both cases a negative attitude has contributed to the shame, loss of status, and personal demoralization of mother and child. The need for less reliance on police repression with more upon positive character-building efforts is indicated by past experience.

Furthermore, society knows now as never before the part played by economic and social conditions in the production of moral deviation. It knows that the factory worker and the shop-girl, the domestic and the office worker have to submit to unusual temptations, economic and social. It is not impossible for society to relieve some of these strains, to throw protective devices about young men and women, to provide occupation for leisure time and means for the decent satisfaction of fundamental impulses, meanwhile

[4] Davis, *Factors in the Sex Life of 2200 Women* (New York and London, 1929). Hamilton, *A Research in Marriage* (New York, 1929). Dickinson and Beam, *A Thousand Marriages* (Baltimore, 1931).

destroying the agencies which artificially stimulate sexual passion. How to do part of these things we already know What we do not know, we may learn by experiment and careful study. In short, science only can guide us in safely modifying sexual standards

The Rôle of Religion. Religion has an opportunity to make a contribution to the prevention of immorality and to restore those who have taken the first false step. It may be doubted if the negative attitude which the church has so often taken toward the boy, and especially the girl, who has made a mistake in sex matters, does as much good as harm Too often the girl who has made a misstep has been frowned upon by the church and cut off from the uplifting and constructive influences at the command of religion She has been made to feel that there is no hope for her Her "sin" has too often been looked upon as irremediable, she has been given the status of a bad woman and thereby a wall has been built up between her and decent society. How easily the church has forgotten that scene in the life of its Master when the Pharisees brought to Him the woman taken in adultery The negative repressive attitude of these Pharisees grated upon His sensitive nature Beginning with the oldest they slipped out, each suddenly discovering he had business elsewhere Then Jesus lifting himself up and seeing only the woman cowering, fearful, ashamed, said to her, "Woman, where are those thine accusers, hath no man condemned thee?" She replied, "No man, Lord" Then He said with all of the fullness of understanding and desire to help, "Neither do I condemn thee, go and sin no more"[9] When the Church once learns to take the attitude of her Master toward boys and girls, not only before they make a mistake, but even more so after they have stepped aside from the path of right conduct, the fewer tragedies we shall have

The solution of the problem, then, so far as we can see at the present time, lies, first, in the repression of commercialized vice to prevent the incitement of the sexual instinct to undue activity, second, in the education of the child in the home, in the school, and in the church, third, in the creation of the proper attitude on the part of adults in answering with frankness the inquiries of the young, and guiding their feet in the ways of righteousness, fourth, in the scientific study of the results of sexual irregularity and of repression, and, finally, in religion making its contribution in a constructive rather than a negative fashion.

READINGS

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EXNER, *The Sexual Side of Marriage* (New York, 1931).

[9] *John* VIII . 1-11.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is the difference between vice and immorality?
2. What social problems are affected by social vice?
3. Which sex would you say is the more vicious? Why?
4. Analyze the factors in the failure of the Donovan family.
5. What in your judgment is the most hopeful attack on vice? Why?
6. What in your opinion is the value of segregation, certification and regulation, as practiced in some European countries, as a method of controlling vice? Why?
7. Discuss the value of the so-called "eugenic marriage laws" in the control of the social diseases.

CHAPTER 18

PROSTITUTION

Socially connected with the same fundamental difficulties which produce divorce and desertion, is that old, old practice known as prostitution. Lecky describes the prostitute as, "a figure which is certainly the most mournful, and in some respects the most awful, upon which the eye of the moralist can dwell. That unhappy being whose very name is a shame to speak; who counterfeits with a cold heart the transports of affection, and submits herself as the passive instrument of lust, who is scorned and insulted as the vilest of her sex, and doomed, for the most part, to disease and abject wretchedness and an early death," and he adds that she "appears in every age as the perpetual symbol of the degradation and sinfulness of man. Herself the supreme type of vice, she is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue But for her, the unchallenged purity of countless happy homes would be polluted, and not a few who, in the pride of their untempted chastity, think of her with an indignant shudder, would have known the agony of remorse and of despair. On that one degraded and ignoble form are concentrated the passions that might have filled the world with shame. She remains while creeds and civilizations rise and fall, the eternal priestess of humanity, blasted for the sins of the people." [1] His description of the prostitute and of society's attitude toward her is not overdrawn. We find her in every civilized society, but she does not always die a miserable and shameful death as Lecky supposes, nor is she the savior of a great many homes as he infers On the contrary she is the means whereby many happy homes are blasted. Modern knowledge has corrected some of these statements of the great historian of morals, and the prostitute remains the symbol of man's degradation and lack of self-control, the sign even to-day of the unrestrained primal sexual impulse.

HISTORY OF PROSTITUTION

Prostitution has a history almost as interesting as that of marriage. Among primitive and ignorant people, many of whom believe in what is called imitative magic, prostitution serves as a magical means of promoting material

[1] Lecky, *History of European Morals* (New York, 1913), II, 281-283.

prosperity, by making the crops grow and the cattle fruitful. Imitative magic is the producing of a desired effect by imitating in ceremonial procedure those acts supposed to be preliminary to the results desired. For example, if one wants to have his enemy die, he may make a little wax figure representing the enemy, stick it full of pins, or melt it before a slow burning fire, at the same time pronouncing over it incantations which transfer the fate of the image to the man. Such magic was also supposed to have a desirable effect in increasing the number of the tribal group.

When religion came to occupy the place of magic in the economy of a people, a similar practice was connected with sacred places for the same reason. Then you have religious prostitution. In almost every historic country at some stage of its development there has been sacred prostitution. When I visited India, I was not admitted to one temple in Benares. Upon inquiry I was told by the priest who guarded the door that no one but devout Hindus were allowed within. I could not enter because sacred prostitution which scandalized foreigners took place therein. Outside the gate there were displayed for sale numerous phallic symbols which were supposed to have the value of an amulet for pious Hindus who bought them. At many places throughout India, phallic symbols are to be seen and upon them the devout hang garlands of flowers in reverential devotion.

Eventually, for varied reasons, opposition to this practice arose. Perhaps the clearest picture of the reason for the struggle against sacred prostitution is presented by the history of Israel. Among the Israelites prostitution was known early.[3] According to the Old Testament the prophetic party had as its greatest struggle the effort to keep the Israelites from following the worship of the Baalim. Baal was a fertility god, an agricultural deity, and his worship was considered an element in the success of the farmer. The Israelites, settling in Canaan, became an agricultural people, and nothing was more natural than that they should depart from Jahveh, their ancestral desert god, and turn to Baal, whose worship since he was a fertility god, was characterized by sexual orgies. Opposition to such practices probably began about the eighth century B. C. The writings of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, leaders in the opposition, give a clear picture of the struggle against these rites which in their minds were tied up with social injustice. Many of these ceremonies seem to have been taken over by the Hebrews in their local shrines, such as the one at Bethel. The great writing prophets so identified the worship of Canaanitish gods with sacred prostitution that their worship by Israel was called harlotry. Hosea could write, "Rejoice not, oh Israel, for joy, like

[3] *Genesis* XXXVIII: 12-30.

the people; for thou hast played the harlot, departing from thy gods; thou hast loved hire upon every grain floor."[8]

The Christian church carried over this later Hebrew attitude toward illicit sexual relationship, as well as a hearty detestation of the sexual looseness of the Roman world and that Greco-Roman culture against which they were in protest. One only needs to read the early Christian fathers to perceive how strongly they opposed the sexual looseness which characterized that decadent society and the emphasis which they placed upon regulation of the sex relationship.

In the popular philosophy of the Greco-Romans there was an element which aided this protest. Neo-Platonism had emphasized the conflict between the flesh and the spirit. Christianity took over that attitude. It fitted in nicely with the Christian mores and doctrines concerning sex. So from the beginning until the present time Christianity has fundamentally opposed prostitution.

The Church had great difficulty in holding to this position. In addition to the drive of the sexual impulse, the androcentric system of society aided in lowering the position of woman and created the double standard of sex morals. Therefore, among both Jews and Gentiles, in spite of the attitude of religion toward sexual irregularities, there was a tendency to be more strenuous in opposition to sexual irregularity among women than among men. The inevitable degradation of woman by reason of that fact, the lowering of the Church's expectations of morality from the large numbers of barbarians which came within its circle, and the growing emphasis upon pure doctrine instead of pure life, combined to make a place for irregular sexual relationships, especially upon the part of the male. Hence even in the best days of the Church of the Middle Ages there was sexual irregularity, and in the worst days there was scandalous sexual profligacy.

THE PREVALENCE OF PRESENT-DAY PROSTITUTION

In order to discuss the prostitution of the present time we must define our term. Flexner defines prostitution as a *sexual relationship characterized by barter, promiscuity, and emotional indifference.*[9] He includes in his definition even transient promiscuity, but does not include immorality and unconventionality in the sex relationship.[10] The latter may, in all but law, be real marriage or it may be mere depravity.[11] We shall follow his definition. In a

[8] *Hosea* IX 1.
[9] Flexner, *Prostitution in Europe* (New York, 1914), p. 11.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

previous chapter we discussed vice which has not gone to the length of prostitution under Flexner's definition

Extent in Europe. It is impossible to get figures for the whole of Europe They are available for only certain cities and then are really only estimates. In Europe the police keep a register of the prostitutes who are under their control, but every study shows that there are a great many others who are clandestine and, therefore, are not registered Flexner has studied the situation in a number of the European cities He believes that Turot's estimate of 20,000 prostitutes is conservative for Paris A recent London estimate is 8,000 which Flexner thinks is much too low Berlin, at the time of his study, was supposed to have 20,000 prostitutes, most of whom were clandestine Glasgow was estimated to have 17,000, Vienna 30,000, Cologne 7,000, Munich 8,000, Rome 5,000, Amsterdam 7,000, Rotterdam 1,206. It was estimated in 1913 that the German Empire as a whole had 330,000 [7] As a matter of fact, no one can be certain of the actual number of prostitutes in any one place

In addition to the irregular sexual relationship for pay between the two sexes in every country studied, there is a less widely practiced homosexual prostitution Flexner estimates that there are between one and two thousand male prostitutes in Berlin

Prevalence in America. In America as in Europe, we have no exact statistics upon the problem From 1910 to the outbreak of the European war there was a widespread interest in this matter Numerous vice commissions made their studies and published their reports It is chiefly from such studies in the United States that we get any conception of the size of the problem in this country In 1913, the Bureau of Social Hygiene conducted a study under the direction of Mr Kneeland His estimate was that there were 15,000 professional prostitutes in New York City, not including occasional and clandestine prostitutes [8] The Chicago Vice Commission reports estimated that there were at least 5,000 prostitutes in Chicago in 1911.[9] In Philadelphia, a study by the vice commission of that city reported an estimate of 3,311 in 1913 [10] The reports from Minneapolis, Syracuse, and other such cities gave similar figures. All of these reports speak of the presence of homosexual prostitution and perversion as common in the business

Since prostitution as a commercial proposition requires from fifteen to twenty men for the support of one woman, one can easily picture the number

[7] *Ibid.*, pp 25-28

[8] Kneeland, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City* (New York, 1913), p 101

[9] *Chicago Vice Commission Report* (Chicago, 1911), p 7

[10] *Report of the Vice Commission of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1913), p. 9.

of men involved in such relationships in our large cities. As far as we can judge from reports, prostitution is largely a phenomenon of city life.

THE FINANCIAL COST OF PROSTITUTION

At the time that vice commissions were studying the problem, efforts were made to arrive at the financial cost of this sexual irregularity. Here, as with respect to the number of prostitutes, only estimates are possible. Moreover these estimates are only for cities in which the investigations were made. Flexner thinks that the annual cost of commercialized prostitution in the German Empire, estimated by Loesch at between 75 and 125 millions of dollars, is approximately correct.[11] On the basis of estimated costs in some of our American cities, that figure looks rather conservative.

The Chicago Vice Commission, in 1910, suggested that the total profits from prostitution in that city were in the neighborhood of $15,699,449. If only the receipts of inmates and keepers for their services are counted, leaving out the profits from liquor sold and omitting receipts from all sources in flats, assignation hotels, rooms, and disorderly saloons, the annual cost was $5,400,000.[12]

The Philadelphia Commission, in 1913, estimated that the cost there was $6,250,400, not including the money paid to keepers of hotels and furnished rooms or that expended for liquor.[13]

The study of Syracuse, published in 1913, put the approximate cost there at $750,000.[14]

Kneeland refused to make an estimate of the financial cost in New York City but showed that thirty parlor houses which he studied in that city must have been paid over $2,000,000 for the services of the girls, excluding profits from liquor, tips, etc.[15] None of these estimates take into account the expenses for the treatment of venereal disease, not only for the prostitutes and the men who patronize them, but for innocent people later infected by the men. We have no notion of what may be the enormous bill for the sickness consequent on prostitution, nor of how many days are lost by men who are ill as a result of their irregularities. Some of these things should be included in the so-called financial cost of prostitution.

[11] Flexner, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 and 38.

[12] *The Social Evil in Chicago* (1911), pp. 113, 115.

[13] *The Vice Commission of Philadelphia*, a report on existing conditions with recommendations to the Hon. Rudolph Blankenburg, Mayor of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1913), p. 15.

[14] *The Social Evil in Syracuse* (1913), p. 21.

[15] Kneeland, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

THE FACTORS OF PROSTITUTION

Recall once more our fundamental hypotheses with respect to the explanation of conduct as the result of our inborn propensities, reacting to the circumstances of life. Recall also that the circumstances under which we live form the patterns of conduct for us and determine the directions which our innate propensities take. From this point of view prostitution is as much a social product as is marriage. It is the outgrowth of an attitude. It is the result of lives conditioned by circumstances to the production of so-called immoral relationship. Since only a minority of women prostitute themselves, may it not be that these are peculiar creatures innately, or that they have been surrounded by life conditions different from those who do not? Let us look at the facts with reference to these women so far as they have been revealed by study.

Native and Foreign-Born. In 1910, the native white population of New York City was 57.3 per cent, foreign-born 40.4 per cent. Of 647 Bedford, New York, prostitutes however, the native-born constituted 62.75 per cent while the foreign-born constituted only 24.11 per cent. In this study of New York prostitutes 610 were in institutions. Of these the percentages were respectively 68.5 per cent and 27.2 per cent. Furthermore 1,106 street walkers were studied. Here the percentages were respectively 68.9 per cent native-born, and 31 per cent foreign-born. All of these studies show that the native-born have more than their fair proportion of the prostitutes.[16] These figures with reference to the native-born include only the native-born white. The native-born negroes show an entirely different picture. While the negroes constituted only 1.92 per cent of the total population in 1912 of New York City, negro prostitutes contributed 13.64 per cent of the total number of prostitutes. A similar situation exists with reference to the native white prostitutes of foreign parents. While the native white of foreign parents constituted 38.2 per cent of New York's total population in 1912, the native white of known foreign parentage constituted 50.5 per cent of the prostitutes. In spite, therefore, of the numerous cases of poor, ignorant girls being enticed into a life of prostitution, the study of New York shows that the problem is much more serious with respect to the native-born children of foreign-born parents. Here the parallel to the situation in respect to juvenile delinquency appears. While studies in other cities will show some variations from these percentages they are typical for such studies as have been made in the United States.[17]

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 164 and 165.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

Occupation of Fathers. The occupation of the father serves to throw light upon the kind of home in which the girl was brought up. The fathers of the 647 Bedford cases in 21.3 per cent were unskilled laborers, 18.6 per cent were in mechanical trades, 2.4 per cent in professions.[18] It is apparent, therefore, that the fathers of most these girls were in occupations which did not put them in the higher economic income level.

Working Mothers. Of the Bedford cases 22.4 per cent had mothers who worked outside the home. How significant this is we cannot say until we know whether the percentage of mothers who worked outside the house in New York but whose girls *did not* become prostitutes, was greater or less than it was in the Bedford cases.[19]

Parents Dead. Much more significant is the fact that of the 170 fatherless girls 154 or 90.5 per cent had lost their fathers before they had reached working age. Of 195 motherless girls at Bedford, 115 had lost their mothers when under fourteen years of age. One hundred and two girls whose fathers were living had lost their mothers previous to admission to Bedford. Only 282 or 43.5 per cent of the 647 Bedford cases had both parents living.[20]

Total Home Situations. Miss Davis in her Bedford study endeavored to classify the homes from which her 647 girls came, and to rank them on the basis of certain criteria. She found that one out of five of these girls came from families in which there were conditions not favorable for the social development of good character. Alcoholism was found in thirty-five of the families, criminality in five, epilepsy in seven, feeble-minded parents very marked in two, general ill health of parents in nine, insanity in sixteen, parent sex offenders in twenty-one, syphilitic parents ten, tubercular parents twenty-five, a total of 130 or 20.09 per cent of the entire number. A later study of 101 Bedford inmates showed that 67 were from families which had specific defective strains, while 34 showed no such strain.[21] The later study which was somewhat more carefully done than the earlier one by Miss Davis, but which includes far fewer cases, found that of 92 Bedford cases, 62 per cent were from homes that were very poor or poor, while 38 per cent were from homes which were rated fair, good, and very good.[22] The writers of this study in summarizing their chapter upon the home conditions say, "There stands out most clearly the fact that the large part of the women have come from poor homes, that a large percentage come from families

[18] Kneeland, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 170.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 172.
[21] Fernald, Hayes, and Dawley, *A Study of Women Delinquents in New York State* (New York, 1920), Table 70, p. 241.
[22] *Ibid.*, Table 67, p. 218.

with defective strains. That we might treat the information on all our cases alike, an estimate was made, uniformly for all cases, of the early home conditions and of the factors which we felt were most important in the home, *i.e.*, the economic status, moral standards, and parental supervision. By each of these estimates the majority of the cases fall in the very poor, poor or mediocre classes. In the total estimate of the home conditions during childhood and adolescence, 46.4 per cent of the cases fall in the two poorest groups, 47.1 per cent in the mediocre class, and 6.5 per cent in the class of homes which are good or excellent."[23]

It is clear, therefore, that so far as the home conditions are concerned prostitutes come from homes which are very poor, judged either by economic or by moral standards. How much poorer they are than the homes of girls who do not go into prostitution we have as yet no means of knowing.

Education and Occupation. Miss Davis found that of her girls in Bedford 7.72 per cent could not read or write in any language,[24] 45.3 per cent had not finished primary grades, and 39.72 per cent had not finished grammar grades. In fact only 7.24 per cent had finished grammar grades. Only four of the total number had graduated from high school, three had had one year at normal school, and one out of the 647 had entered college. Of the girls in other institutions, studied by Miss Davis, only 12 per cent had finished grammar grades, while 11.4 per cent of the street prostitutes, studied by her, could not read or write any language, and only 4 per cent had finished grammar grades.[25] Fernald, Hayes, and Dawley found that 4.5 per cent of their prostitutes had never attended school. Only 2 had finished high school. The range was from no schooling to thirteen years.[26]

As to the work records of these girls, Miss Davis in her study found the occupations in order of rank were, factory work, domestic service, and department stores.[27] In the Fernald, Hayes, and Dawley study the order of rank was, domestic service, factory work, and work in stores.[28] Of Miss Davis'

[23] Fernald, Hayes, and Dawley, *op. cit.*, pp. 243 and 244. It must be borne in mind that these remarks pertain not only to the prostitutes but to all the women delinquents which they studied in New York State. Since, however, 66.2 per cent of all the adult women delinquents were prostitutes this conclusion is not exaggerated for the prostitutes. As a matter of fact, a special study of the prostitutes among this group shows that the early home conditions of the prostitutes were poorer than for the total group. The lack of proper parental supervision seemed to be one of the most striking things (*op. cit.*, p. 407).

[24] Kneeland, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 174.

[26] Fernald, Hayes, and Dawley, *op. cit.*, p. 401. The average grade finished was only 4.74 with a standard deviation of 2.44.

[27] Kneeland, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[28] Fernald, Hayes, and Dawley, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

647 girls, 14 per cent had never been employed at the time of entering prostitution. Fernald, Hayes, and Dawley's girls showed 69 per cent at the time of first conviction and 64.1 per cent at the time of present conviction who had never been employed How does that compare with the occupations of gainfully employed women in New York City in 1900? The following table shows the distribution of the occupations in which more than 9,999 were employed.

	Per Cent [40]
Servants and waitresses	28.7
Factory operatives	11.06
Dressmakers	10 04
Saleswomen	6 01
Seamstresses	4 8
Laundresses	4 5

Fernald, Hayes, and Dawley in their studies found that of 335 prostitutes domestic service was the prevailing work for 40.8 per cent, factory for 23 1 per cent, restaurant and hotel work, 6 9 per cent. At the time of their present conviction 64 1 per cent had been idle.[41]

Earnings. Every study of the earnings of girls not in prostitution as compared with those in prostitution shows a striking contrast.[42] In the Bedford cases the average minimum wage before entering prostitution was $4 00 a week, the maximum $8 00 Of the prostitutes studied by Fernald, Hayes, and Dawley 1 per cent in their first job earned not more than $9 00 per week. At the time of present conviction the modal group of 25 per cent were earning not over $6 00 a week. Of the entire group 56 1 per cent were unable to live on their earnings in respectable occupations, because of irregularity, inefficiency, and low wages [43] In connection with the low educational status of these prostitutes it is interesting to notice that in one study 16 6 per cent started to work before they were 14 years of age [44] The earlier age of starting to work, the inadequate education of most of them, and other factors to be discussed later account for the low wage which a large percentage of them receive in the competitive economic life in which they find themselves.

Now contrast with these earnings the findings of some of the vice commissions as to the income of prostitutes The Chicago Vice Commission in 1910 estimated that each girl earned on the average of $50 00 per week.

[40] Kneeland, *op cit*, p 176
[41] Fernald, Hayes, and Dawley, *op cit*, Table 161, p. 402.
[42] *Ibid*, p 405
[43] *Ibid*, pp 404, 406.
[44] *Ibid*, p 401.

It is not to be supposed, however, that she herself gets all this It is the almost universal testimony that she is outrageously overcharged by the madame and grafted upon by every one having anything to do with her. Yet the Commission estimated that as a prostitute a girl in Chicago is worth more than four times as much as she was worth in the industrial world.[34]

Average Age at Entering Prostitution. Fernald, Hayes, and Dawley in their study found that the average age of their prostitutes at entering prostitution was 20 68 years. The average for the first sex offense however, was 18 46 years. "This average age is younger than the average age at entering prostitution, 20 68 years, and might indicate that the first offense is in many ways only casual, but that often it undoubtedly serves to break down the barriers of restraint and to make the more serious offenses come easily later." [35] In short, the women that came under the eye of these students of the matter were on the whole young women, corresponding rather closely in age to the girls about to graduate from American colleges

Sex Education. Fernald and her associates studied carefully the sex instruction of the delinquent women in institutions They found that for all the women delinquents 51 2 per cent at the most liberal estimate had had sex instruction from some source, including mother, father or other relatives, teacher or matron in institutions, physicians or employers Nearly half, therefore, had been given no instruction except from improper sources, or had learned from their own observation The cases studied at Bedford showed the lowest percentage, 45 5 per cent who were given such instruction by members of their family [36] Many cases are available in the literature showing how ignorant many of these girls were when they went out into the world to face its difficulties and temptations.

Excessive Use of Alcohol and Drugs. Unfortunately we have no figures for the general population with which to compare the findings concerning the addiction to alcohol and drugs by these prostitutes Miss Davis in her study at Bedford in 1912 found 17 3 per cent of her 647 girls were excessively addicted to alcohol and drugs [37] Fernald and her associates found 22 1 per cent addicted to alcohol and 22 8 per cent to drugs to an excessive degree.

Mental Level. Miss Davis in her study of 647 Bedford inmates found 29 8 per cent decidedly mentally defective by the Simon-Binet test [38] A later study by Fernald and her associates found the whole delinquent group, of

[34] *The Social Evil in Chicago* (Chicago, 1911), p. 204.
[35] Fernald, Hayes, and Dawley, *op cit.*, p. 400.
[36] *Ibid.*, pp 383-385.
[37] Kneeland, *op cit*, p. 186.
[38] *Ibid*, p 188

whom 66 per cent were sex offenders, 1.6 years younger in mental age than the men in the army mental tests. The Bedford group of this study were 2.2 years younger in mental age.[38] According to the Yerkes-Bridges point scale the Bedford women in the study made by Fernald and her associates, rated 10.3 points lower than the working girls studied by Mrs. Woolley in Cincinnati.[39] The studies of Miss Fernald and her associates showed that the chastity offenders were lower in mental level than the property offenders among adult women delinquents.[41] The less intelligent woman leaves school at an earlier age than the more intelligent and goes into the occupations from which come the higher percentages of the prostitutes.[42] Also the mental level of the prostitute was lower than the non-prostitute sexual offenders in the same study.[43]

Over and over again case studies made by such women as Miss Miner and others show a large number of girls who are mentally deficient. These girls are women in body, but because of their defective intelligence they do not have the foresight to understand the dangers inherent in social situations with men. They possess the impulses of the adult but not the ordinary inhibitions. Consequently they are more likely to fall into prostitution than girls with greater intelligence. Connect this inferior mental capacity with its results in economic inefficiency and you have the combination which forbodes social consequences of evil to the mentally defective girl thrown into the midst of our economic maelstrom.

Reasons Given by the Girls for Entering Prostitution. One need consider only a moment before placing a proper discount upon the statements given by the girls as to why they entered a life of prostitution. The probabilities are that there are reasons imbedded in unconscious impulses which they themselves do not understand. However, it is not without profit to look at some of the reasons given. Kneeland says that roughly speaking there are four kinds of causes mentioned: (1) those connected with family life, some of which have been given statistically in the section previously cited on the condition of the home, (2) those connected with married life, (3) personal reasons, (4) economic reasons.

These girls complain of neglect and abuse by parents, sternness or lack of understanding, and the immorality of different members of the family combined with extreme poverty in the home.

Conditions in married life are offered by some as their reason. Some allege

[38] Fernald, Hayes, and Dawley, op. cit., p. 420, 433.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 431.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 438, 512.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 498–500.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 514.

that the husband, practically a pimp, persuaded the wife to go into the business. Often cruelty or criminality on the husband's part is assigned. Incompatibility between the two, the husband's failure to provide, or his desertion of the wife forcing her to earn her living in some way, are all reasons alleged by the girls.

Of the personal reasons several are usually alleged, no one of which can be considered primary. Sometimes the girl's lover puts her into the life or deserts her after seduction. This leaves her without hope of economic support and with her dreams of conjugal bliss shattered. One girl said, "I was ruined anyway and I did not care what became of me." Another said, "I loved the excitement and a good time, easy money and good clothes." Others remarked, "I was born badly and actually enjoy the life," or "I was tired of drudgery as a servant," and "I'd rather do this than be kicked around like a dog in a kitchen by some woman who calls herself a lady."[44] He says that few girls in his study admit that they were forced into the life as "white slaves." Some were lonely and wanted company; some were demoralized by the environment of the stage, some fell into bad company and did not possess the backbone to resist the enticements. Another one said, "I was glad to get away from drudgery, father drank and I was put out to work too young." Still another, "My folks were poor, father died from drink, mother is a heavy drinker." A saleswoman says, "I had never had anything for myself, father drank heavily." A factory worker replied, "There is more money and pleasure in being a sport." A shop girl, "I wanted nice clothes and a good time." A stenographer said, "I wanted good times, money and clothes." Seduction is alleged as a cause among all classes of prostitutes. The shop girl said, "I was 17 when I went with my sweetheart, I never intended to make it a business, I was in love with the first fellow." Often the employer takes advantage of his employee. In department stores sometimes floor-walkers, salesmen, buyers, managers, foremen and even proprietors seduce the young girls in their employ.[45]

Economic pressure accounts for some of these girls falling into prostitution. Facts already given indicate the enormous disparity between what these girls can earn at honest respectable labor and by prostitution. Of the girls studied by Kneeland, 12 per cent gave economic causes as the reason why they went into the life. Thirty-three said that they could not support themselves, fifty-five declared that they could not support themselves, their babies, and some-

[44] Kneeland, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 104.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 105. See also *The Social Evil in Chicago*, Ch. IV; Jane Addams, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (New York, 1912), Ch. III; Murer, *The Slavery of Prostitution* (New York, 1916), Chs. II and III.

times their parents, forty-five said that they were out of work and could not get honest work, nine were in ill health or had some defect keeping them from a job. Those were out of a total of 139 constituting the 11 per cent referred to. Many of them cited in explanation of their choosing prostitution the deprivations to which they would otherwise have to submit.[46]

The Men Customers. How many and what kind of men make up the army which supports this large number of prostitutes? The Chicago Vice Commission in its study estimated that there were not over one in ten of the Chicago population at that time who were possible patrons. It estimated that there was a total of 15,180 patrons a day. It believed that the Chicago patronage went to the cheaper houses and that the bulk of the support for the more expensive places, as well as the largest proportion of the support of prostitution, came from visitors and transients in the city.[47] Kneeland estimated that the patrons of the prostitutes of New York City numbered at least 150,000 a day.[48]

He found that in New York there were three classes of patrons, based on economic and social status. The patrons of the lowest class of prostitutes were usually longshoremen, truck-drivers, street-cleaners, coal-heavers, soldiers and sailors, recently landed immigrants of low moral standards, and laborers of all kinds. The next higher class were men and boys who earn $10, $20, $25, or more a week. Often they were proprietors of small business enterprises, clerks, bookkeepers, bartenders, and barbers, tailors, waiters, soldiers, sailors, messengers in banks, members of social or political clubs or benefit organizations. In New York, Saturday and Sunday nights were the most popular with this type of men. The highest type were men from more important positions in life. Kneeland cites such patrons as a New York agent for a famous automobile concern, the manager of a company which manufactures a well-known typewriter, a prominent traveling man selling hats, another connected with a celebrated watch company.

The reasons, doubtless, are numerous. Some of them, salesmen, laborers, sailors, are people who, because of economic circumstances, cannot marry and establish homes. Others, perhaps, are men whose normal affections have been thwarted, and who seek a substitution for girls they have cared about. Some no doubt are married men whose lives are not well adjusted. But if a study could be made of the patrons of prostitution, it would probably show the same social conditions in their lives as have had place in the lives of the girls themselves: bad homes, lack of moral standard, and the love of excitement.

[46] Kneeland, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.
[47] *The Social Evil in Chicago*, p. 115.
[48] Kneeland, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

Doubtless as with the girls, a certain proportion of the men are such by reason of constitutional make-up and early social conditioning.

Commercialization of the Business. A very important aspect of prostitution is its commercialization. We have seen its importance from the standpoint of the girl herself, with her limited outlook and lack of foresight. If prostitution to-day were the result only of the disappointment and unsatisfied longings of young men and young women who found it convenient to enter into this relationship for a money consideration, it would be bad enough. It has become, however, a business, with organizations, managers, and a whole promotion system. In its simplest form the business starts with a pimp, a man who exploits a woman for gain and takes her money. Then there is the madame who keeps a house of girls and takes half the earnings for her own profit. Usually she is an ex-prostitute and sometimes still practices. In addition to that, there are groups of men in various cities who, for gain, serve as supply agents for houses in other cities. At the top of it all, a few years ago there was an international organization of men who made a business of procuring young, ignorant, attractive girls and of seducing them into this pernicious activity. The League of Nations has one of its departments devoted to this traffic in women and children. The laws of the United States and of a number of our States have struck directly at the practice. The Federal Mann Act makes it a very serious offense to transport a woman for immoral purposes across State lines. There are treaties and understandings between nations to stop the international traffic. However, in spite of all these efforts, even to-day the problem is not solved.

Although commercial prostitution is losing some of its patrons, and reform measures have not been unavailing, there is a considerable amount of clandestine prostitution. Sex relations between young men and women not for pay, made reasonably secure by widespread knowledge of birth-control methods, is said to be increasing to an extent which may be new in the history of the world.

The commercialization of gratification of lust is the ugliest aspect of prostitution. One could perhaps condone to a degree the conduct of the young man who seeks out the prostitute for any of the reasons which we have given. We cannot but pity the girl who, for whatever reason, has finally drifted into this way of living, and who is at the mercy, not only of every man who solicits her favors, but of her business master who uses her as a source of gain. Those who control her in the business, exploit her in every possible way. They not only take part of her earnings, but they sell her finery and clothes at exorbitant prices, charge her outrageous room rent, and prices for board equal to those of the finest hotels. Often they beat her cruelly, they keep her

in constant fear, they degrade her to the lowest levels of brutality, and at last when she can no longer serve their lust for money they cast her into the street. The poet has exclaimed at "man's inhumanity to man" but what shall we say of man's and woman's inhumanity to woman for the purpose of gain?

THE SOCIAL PATHOLOGY OF PROSTITUTION

What disturbance of the social order does prostitution produce? If that question could not be answered rather definitely, prostitution would not be a subject for social pathology. In the scientific study of social phenomena, we can either disregard the traditional attitude of society toward prostitutes, assuming that the tradition has sprung from ignorance, or we can allow that the attitude is based upon observation and experience. If, for example, the opposition to prostitution is due only to its accidental identification with the religion of peoples other than the Israelites, perhaps continued opposition to it is not justified. We shall have to find other grounds on which to condemn it than the grounds of eighth century B. C. prophets. Are there any evidences in our day that prostitution is socially demoralizing?

Disease. One test of the social pathology of prostitution is its connection with serious disease. Let us look at some of the facts.

Of the 647 prostitutes studied by Miss Davis at Bedford 20.66 per cent had venereal disease.[40] Of 466 more carefully studied by the Complement Fixation test only 10 per cent were free from venereal disease.[41] The studies by Dr. Fernald and her associates found that 42.5 per cent of their cases were syphilitic.[42] The studies made of this matter in other parts of the country indicate a very high percentage of venereal disease among prostitutes.

Even in Europe where medical examination and treatment take place under the so-called *reglementation* practice in the endeavor to keep prostitution under control and to diminish the spread of venereal disease, such infection seems to be as great as it is in this country. At least one authority in Europe says that all prostitutes are diseased. Flexner thinks that the spread of disease through prostitution is a most serious social menace.[43] This is not only true of prostitution in the sense in which Flexner has defined it, but to some extent of irregular sexual intercourse. European experience shows without question that the attempt at regulation only gives a false sense of security which spreads the disease more widely.

The terrific ravages of venereal disease in Europe are pointed out at length

[40] Kneeland, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[42] Fernald, Hayes, and Dawley, *op. cit.*, p. 420.
[43] Flexner, *op. cit.*, Chs. VII and X.

by Flexner He shows that the incidence of venereal infection increases with the size of the city He quotes Blaschko as stating that of the clerks and merchants in Berlin between eighteen and twenty-eight years of age, 45 per cent have had syphilis, every fifth clerk and merchant has had gonorrhea twice, and that in Breslau 77 per cent have had syphilis and 100 per cent have had gonorrhea twice. The same investigator reported that among the students he investigated in some of the university cities of Germany every student was venerally infected at least once Tinkus declares that in Germany one man in every five has had syphilis, and that gonorrhea averages more than one attack per man [51] Prussia in a census in 1900 found that 28 men out of every 10,000 were infected at the time of the census In Berlin the figure was 142 per 10,000.[54]

In the United States, until the figures were available concerning the examination of the drafted men for the World War, very little information was available over a wide area of population. The United States Public Health Service issued a report upon the percentages of venereal diseases among approximately the second million drafted men in the cities This showed a variation from 82 of 1 per cent in Bayonne, New Jersey, to 27 45 per cent in Savannah, Georgia Here, as in Europe, the percentage of infection increased with the size of the city, although that tendency was modified by the fact that in the South the incidence was very much higher than in the North, probably due to the presence of the negro Even among the plantation blacks in the South the syphilitic rate is from 20 to 35 per cent [55] In 1930, the Assistant Surgeon General of the United States, before the National Conference of Social Work, reported the incidence of venereal diseases in the United States This sums up the situation as nearly as we can get at it with our present knowledge. Information was collected from communities with a total population of 17,758,000, including 20,901 physicians, and 940 clinics and other institutions These studies showed a gonorrhea case-rate per thousand of population of 4 88 per cent for males and 1 78 per cent for females For syphilis the rate was 4 77 for males and 3 8 for females. There was a greater prevalence of venereal disease in population having negroes, the rate being 8 per 1,000 for whites and 11 for colored population in the native area in the South. The attack rate of these diseases is estimated from a city of 2,000,000 inhabitants in the United States as 3 46 per thousand for syphilis and 5 71 per thousand for gonorrhea. In this study 31 per cent of those under treat-

[53] *Ibid*, p 367

[54] *Ibid*, pp 367 and 368

[55] Keyes, "Today's Great Problems in Disease Prevention," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, October, 1930, p 491

ment were indigent patients. The age group from twenty to twenty-five represented the peak of the onset both for gonorrhea and syphilis. The non-effective days lost through venereal disease, by men of the age of fifteen to forty-five was 21,000,000 days per annum, or approximately one half day for each male in the United States between those ages. It is estimated that on the basis of these rates, $15,000,000 a year in medical care is expended on ambulatory patients with venereal diseases. No estimate can be made as to the cost of hospitalization. In addition there is an annual cost of $11,270,000 for the institutional care of practically 12,300 persons with general paresis and syphilis of the central nervous system. It is estimated that life is shortened one half due to the syphilitic factor in deaths from heart disease and various other recorded causes of death.[48]

The Committee on the Cost of Medical Care stated in 1929 that surveys of the incidence of venereal disease made by State health officers in various parts of the United States, by the American Social Hygiene Association, and by the United States Public Health Service "reveal an average of nearly one case of venereal disease under medical treatment per 100 people." In ten surveys made in various cities and States, the rates vary from 4.5 per 1,000 population in New York State, exclusive of New York City, to 13.5 in Detroit. If the average rate found by these surveys be applied to the entire United States, there are nearly 1,000,000 cases of these diseases under treatment every day in the year.[49]

Disturbance of Family Relationships. No statistical information is available as to the extent played in domestic disharmony by venereal disease, or even by the marital unfaithfulness due to prostitution. The divorce statistics do not give information concerning the presence of venereal disease in the cases appearing before the courts. However, in court cases, such incidents appear frequently. Mowrer has cited one such case in the diary of Miriam Donoven. She wrote, "Usually I go to him and try to make up, but never again. I am sore and hurt all through. I feel that Alfred is unclean. Oh, if he had only told me about himself before we married. He had all the chance in the world, when I confessed with much trepidation about Alice. He took it all in, but never a word about himself. . . . I wonder do men ever stop to think of the heartaches they cause on account of their sporting before marriage and sometimes after! . . . Oh, God, don't they ever understand and realize that it means as much to women as to men to love what is pure."[50]

[48] Parran and Usilton, "The Extent of the Problem of Gonorrhea and Syphilis in the United States," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, January, 1930, p. 31.

[49] Mills, *The Extent of Illness and the Physical and Mental Defects Prevailing in the United States* (Washington, 1929), p. 27.

[50] Mowrer, *Family Disorganization* (Chicago, 1927), p. 249.

Personal Demoralization. One can only guess from the case records what occurs to the personality of both people involved in an irregular relationship such as prostitution. Practically every study of prostitutes shows a progressive deterioration of ideals. They become hard, incapable of loving any one, suspicious of every one, and finally lose their faith in human kind. But the fact that there is a constant outflow from the ranks of prostitutes and that this is not to be accounted for by early death is now well known. Without question some of them recover status in society, marry, establish a family, and appear to recover personal balance to a fair degree.

Neither can we present the complete picture of what happens to the man. His fate is less well known than is that of the woman. It has been averred that once sexual irregularity becomes a habit, it is harder to break than the habit of drink. A great many men who in their younger days were quite promiscuous seem to recover themselves later, settle down in family life, and become good citizens. Some do not. What effect these earlier experiences have upon the personality of those who do not become thoroughly demoralized, we are unable to say. We shall have to wait for further information. Without question prostitution sometimes demoralizes personality, often brings great disturbance to the family relationship, and spreads disease of tremendous social consequence.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Criticize Lecky's characterization of the function of the prostitute.
2. How did prostitution arise in connection with agricultural magic?
3. Account for the opposition of the prophets of Israel to prostitution.
4. Explain why the early Christians were opposed to prostitution
5. Why did the Christian church have difficulty in enforcing its high standards of chastity?
6. Define prostitution. How does it differ from immorality?
7. Give what you consider the best figure as to the extent of prostitution: (a) in Europe, (b) in America
8. What statement gives a picture of the financial cost of prostitution?
9. Outline the main factors in producing prostitution Evaluate the relative weight of each of these factors
10. Since the earnings of prostitutes are so much greater than the earnings of women in honest occupations, why should we not say that the economic factor is the most important?
11. Has the commercialization of prostitution any influence upon its extent? Why?
12. Outline the chief elements in the social pathology of prostitution
13. On the basis of this study outline a program for the prevention of prostitution.

CHAPTER 19

VAGABONDAGE

Another set of phenomena affecting family relationships but connected with the pathology of economic and cultural relationships is comprised under the head, vagabondage We use this term to describe the state of men and women who have no settled place of abode

HISTORY OF VAGABONDAGE

Vagabondage is not a new phenomenon The homeless man appeared on the scene in earliest historic times Even in tribal society we have the "kin-wrecked" man who had fallen out with his tribal brethren and had escaped their control, or had been expelled from their society Similar characters appear in the early traditions of all people, in the literature of every race Age, sickness, death, cripplement, faults of character, and changing economic, political, and social conditions have torn men loose from their moorings and sent them wandering Ulysses in *The Odyssey* was a type of the military wanderer Homer himself, the blind poet, staging his way from tribe to tribe among the ancient Greeks, typifies the peripatetic blind man of all ages and peoples The wandering minstrels of Medieval Europe testify that some people, at least, of that period, were foot-loose When the universities sprang up students went from university to university, begging their way. Pilgrims to religious shrines appear in all countries and among practically all religions

Modern vagabondage is the result not only of old motivations but also of recent changes in economic and social life The break-up of the feudal system of landholding and cultivation, the great landholders' enclosure of the tenants' land for sheep pastures, the importation of many tons of silver into Europe from the Spanish conquistadors following the discovery of America, the rise of wages following the Black Death in the fifteenth century, and the attraction of workers to manufacturing centers following the Industrial Revolution are a few of the events which set men foot-loose from their ancient ties

Following upon the Industrial Revolution came the industrialization of Western countries which wholly changed not only the economic system but methods of living and the social bonds which bind men into groups. Con-

comitant with industrialization has been the enormous growth of cities, another phenomenon new to the history of the world

As a consequence of these numerous changes the beggar and the tramp have appeared in numbers without parallel. In the United States the last three decades have seen an unprecedented increase in the number of these wanderers and homeless. While he existed before, the name *tramp* did not appear upon the statute books of any State in the Union before the Civil War. Cheap city lodging-houses for these men have risen in conspicuous numbers only since that war.[1]

DEFINITIONS AND TYPES

Our present industrial and social system has produced many different kinds of "homeless" people in every great city. Our interest here is in the unemployed, homeless wanderers who congregate in these cities and float from one community to another. They consist of runaway boys, criminals, deserting husbands, those who for one reason or another do not wish to return to their homes, and unattached single men who are not settled down into the economic and social relationships in which most of our population find themselves They are to be found in cheap lodging-houses, missions, in breadlines, and at soup kitchens in every great city

Among them there is a great diversity of types Let us look at a description of a group of such men found in the New York Municipal Lodging-House A committee which studied these men in 1914 says, "The men we lodge at the Municipal Lodging House are as widely different as the transient guests of any New York City hotel They are as different as the causes which have taken them away from the normal life of society There are old men over seventy, young runaway boys, orphans, and men who should be in the prime of life. There are strong men, crippled men, blind men and diseased men in urgent need of hospital care There are casual laborers who have been idle less than one week, men who have failed in their business or profession; and vagrants who frankly avoid work There are men who have spent their lives in New York City and non-residents and aliens with no legal claim on the city's charity There are temperate men, habitual drug users and inebriates; men who are normally minded and men who are mentally defective. There are professional beggars and men who hold the beggar in contempt. There are white men and colored men; single men, married men in search of work, and family deserters; Catholics, Protestants, and Hebrews There is as wide a divergency among homeless men as there is among the

[1] Solenberger, *One Thousand Homeless Men* (New York, 1914), pp. 1, 2.

race of mankind."[2] The same situation prevailed in England when Charles Booth wrote his *Life and Labor of the People of London*.[3]

In a study made in 1926, of 500 men in the Municipal Lodging-House in Chicago, the following facts were ascertained. Sixty-five per cent of the total had their birthplace in the United States, the remaining 35 per cent were foreign-born. This corresponds closely to the distribution of native and foreign-born in the city's population. Forty-six per cent of these men claimed to have been in Chicago less than a year, 35 per cent over a year, 17 per cent had been in and out of the city for from two to forty years, and 10 per cent gave Chicago as their birthplace.

Ten per cent were sixty-five to seventy-five years of age, 57 per cent under forty-five, and 43 per cent were forty-five or over.

Seventy-six per cent claimed they were single. The majority of the men who apply to a municipal lodging-house, whatever their age, are homeless and unattached.

As to education, 28 per cent had less than a sixth grade education, 52 per cent less than an eighth grade education, and 89 per cent had not finished high school. As a group these men had less schooling than the general public.

The histories of the men included in this study show a checkered industrial career. One third had been employed last in railroad yards or camps, 5 per cent had been working on the lakes or the sea, 13 per cent had been employed as kitchen help in hotels, restaurants, or boarding-camps, 4 per cent had been working on the ice, 2 per cent had been idle since work on farms or in harvest fields ceased, 15 per cent had last been employed in building construction, wrecking, or coal or lumber yards, express or transfer companies, and freight houses. Nine per cent had been factory, foundry, or machine shop employees, while 3 per cent had been peddling merchandise or distributing bills or samples. The homeless man is a seasonal or casual worker.

Somewhat over three quarters of the men had worked five or more months in the year. Twenty-three per cent had worked only one third of the time or less.

The annual cash earnings of 132 of these men whose earnings were learned was very small. Twenty-nine per cent had earned less than $150 in cash, 71 per cent had earned $250 or more. Only 22 per cent had earned $500 or over, and 5 per cent had passed the $1000 mark in cash earnings.

Of that 500 men, 131 were unemployables. Of 2,000 homeless men studied in the Municipal Lodging House of New York City in 1914, 60 per cent

[2] "The Men We Lodge," *American Labor Legislation Review*, Vol. V, No. 3, November, 1915, p. 603.

[3] Booth, *Life and Labor of the People of London* (London, 1892), V, 225-227.

were physically able to do regular hard manual labor, 18 per cent medium hard labor, 9 per cent light work only, and 11 per cent were physically unable to work.[4] Of the 500 studied in Chicago, 44 per cent were considered equal to making their way independently, 56 per cent were handicapped and 70 per cent of the handicapped lodgers under the age of forty-five needed medical aid.

Excessive drinking appears in a large percentage of these homeless men. Among the young men in the Chicago group, one in five were intemperate. Among the older men, one in four. In the 2,000 studied in the Municipal Lodging House in New York City, 44 per cent drank to excess and only 13 per cent claimed total abstinence. On a physician's diagnosis 39 per cent of the New York group were suffering from alcoholism.[5]

Mrs. Solenberger in her study of 1,000 homeless men in Chicago who applied to the Charity Organization classified the applicants as follows: (1) self-supporting, (2) temporarily dependent, (3) chronically dependent, (4) parasitic.

In the first group were men of some trade or occupation who usually support themselves by their own exertions. Some, however, are seasonal workers and other casual laborers.

The temporarily dependent consisted of runaway boys, strangers looking for work, men who had been robbed, victims of accident and illness, convalescents, men displaced by industrial disturbances, and other misfits.

The chronically dependent class has many of the aged, crippled, deformed, blind, deaf, tuberculous, feeble-minded, insane, epileptic, chronically ill, excessive drinkers or dope fiends, and some able-bodied but hopelessly inefficient men.

The parasitic class contains the confirmed tramps, criminals, impostors, begging letter writers, confidence men, chronic beggars, vagrants, and wanderers.[6]

Among these various types there are clearly some unable to make their way independently in the world. Mental defectives, dullards, and psychopaths appear in all of these classes. Of the thousand men studied by Mrs. Solenberger about 10 per cent were found to be mentally unfit for work. Fifty-two of these were insane, 19 feeble-minded, 18 epileptic. The number would have been greatly increased if the borderline cases had been counted.[7]

[4] "The Men We Lodge," *op. cit.*, pp. 606-607.

[5] "Five Hundred Lodgers of the City," *Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare* (Chicago, 1920), pp. 10-38.

[6] Solenberger, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[7] *Ibid.*, Ch. VI. Willard, "Psychopathic Vagrancy," *Welfare Magazine*, Illinois Department of Public Welfare, May, 1928, pp. 571-573.

The vagabond class is characterized by an unusual number of unskilled workers of slight education and of industrial inefficients.

EXTENT OF VAGABONDAGE

We are all aware that the number of wandering unemployed men varies with industrial conditions. However, all the time, everywhere, there is a proportion of the people who are wandering hither and yon ostensibly in search of work, or for purposes which excuse them from work, such as going to religious shrines

In Great Britain, in 1906, it was estimated that the number of persons with no settled home and no visible means of subsistence during times of industrial activity was less than 40,000 In times of industrial depression the number varied from 70,000 to 80,000

The Webbs, in 1929, estimated that those in the casual wards throughout England and Wales constituted from one fourth to one fifth of the whole moving stream of vagrants They estimated that in May, 1927, there were from 50,000 to 60,000 on the road Probably eleven fifteenths of these were tramps [8] In London, the handling of the vagrants has been given greatly increased attention in the last few years, with the result that the numbers have very greatly decreased [9] Since 1911 the casual wards have been transferred to the control of the Metropolitan Asylums Board with the result that very much more careful treatment has been given to the casuals Nevertheless, on the night of February 10, 1928, in London and a few provincial unions, 2,582 casuals were found In London on a night in February, 1910, there had been 2,747 on the streets On a February night in 1930 only 79 homeless persons were found in the streets while there were 1,807 empty beds in common lodging-houses and 98 vacancies in casual wards [10]

In the United States we have only estimates. In 1907, Major Pangborn estimated that there were 430,000 vagrants who infest the railroads of the United States Of these he estimated that 19,000 were killed on the railways every year and 24,000 injured. Before that date Josiah Flint had estimated that the number of tramps in the United States was 180,000 Major Pangborn estimated that the vagrants cost the railways at least $18,500,000 per year.[11]

Mrs Solenberger, in 1914, estimated the number of tramps in Chicago at

[8] Beveridge, *Unemployment* (New York, 1930), p 137, note 3

[9] Compare the numbers from 1871 to 1929 given in Beveridge, *Unemployment* (New York and London, 1930), pp 41 and 43

[10] *The New Survey of London Life and Labor Forty Years of Change* (London, 1930), I, 367, 370

[11] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1907, p 74.

40,000.[15] Anderson estimates that in good times there are 30,000 homeless men and in hard times 75,000 which infest Chicago alone.[16]

There is no point in extending the number of estimates as they are only guesses at the best. The fact remains, however, that there is a vast army of intermittently unemployed or permanently unemployed men in the United States who wander about from one part of the country to the other. They form a socially pathological class who prey upon the country without adequate return, and with disturbance to many economic and social relationships.

ORIGINS OF VAGABONDAGE

Some of the figures which we have given concerning the types of vagabondage suggest some of the explanations which have been offered for this phenomenon. Booth, in his discussion of the matter, said in 1892, "There are in every generation those who, without any other special defect of character, have a roving disposition and a general distaste for a quiet regular life or regular employment, be it plain work or manual labor. Though, at the outset, not necessarily either lazy or at all worthless, such men are apt to drift into idle ways. The good intentions which may cause them to work, even vehemently for a time, will not suffice to maintain that life of steady, unbroken, laborious routine which is demanded of those who would succeed. Failure is dubbed bad luck, habits of idleness follow in natural course, and at last these men become industrially, if not morally, worthless. In every generation, too, we find the race of 'sturdy vagabonds and valiant beggars' ready to beg, borrow, and perhaps steal, rather than to work for their livelihood. These two classes, with the addition of those who from illness, infirmity, age, incompetence, or misfortune, are thrown out of employment, are the sources whence homeless men are drawn."[14] This explanation represents the view of a very careful observer before recent progress had been made in psychology, psychiatry, and biology.

In the early years of this century biologists working upon inheritance unearthed facts bearing upon the transmission of characteristics from one generation to another which seemed to throw great light upon human conduct. The newly founded Carnegie Institute at Washington with its Eugenics Record Office at Cold Spring Harbor accumulated a vast amount of material showing the influence of heredity upon certain pathological types of behavior. Charles B. Davenport, the director of the Department of Experimental Evolution at Cold Spring Harbor, made a study of nomadism with

[15] Solenberger, *op. cit.*, p. 9, note.
[16] Anderson, *The Hobo* (Chicago, 1923), p. 3.
[14] Booth, *op. cit.*, I, 220

special reference to heredity On the basis of a large number of family histories of nomads he set up the hypothesis that nomadic tendency is inherited. It is a sex-linked characteristic, inherited prevailingly by the male sex As such it is usually passed on through the mother from a male ancestor. He points out that the family histories of these nomads frequently show that, in the same family and even in the same individual, there is association of this tendency to wander with various well-known aberrant, nervous, and mental states Among these the most common are periodic psychosis with depression and frequent suicide, fits of temper, periodic headaches, epilepsy, hysterical attacks, and sexual outbreaks or general weakness of sex control. Such states, Davenport thinks, lead to the hypothesis that nomadism belongs especially to families subject to periodic emotional disturbances He is of the opinion, however, that, since many family histories showing epilepsy, hysteria, etc., do not show the nomadic impulse, nomads of all kinds are in a proper sense members of a nomadic race, distinct in itself, because it lacks a germinal determiner which makes for sedentariness, stability, and domesticity. He believes that the feeble-minded and insane wanderers usually lack a normal development of the inhibitory mechanism, and that, therefore, they are less likely to explosive manifestations They constitute the typical "rolling stones," some of the tramps, the gipsies, and other nomadic tribes He thinks that, lacking by inheritance this determiner of stability, these people wander because of a periodic disturbance which renders the inhibitory machinery inoperative Epilepsy, hysteria, drunkenness, erotic outbreaks, and attacks of depression are other symptoms of such disturbance and are frequently the concomitants but not the fundamental cause of the nomadic impulses. They merely permit the nomadic impulses to appear.[14] Clearly this is a theory based upon the doctrine of heredity

This hypothesis is open to some question No one at the present time can absolutely determine its truth or falsity We shall need very many more cases than are provided in this study of 100 family histories before we can determine how much truth it possesses.

Perhaps without denying that heredity plays its part, we can set up a theory comprising other factors which enter into the genesis of the wanderer. The following statement seems to the writer to represent this situation.

Vagrancy and begging seem to result from a combination of economic and social factors and individual characteristics That economic conditions result in these forms of conduct is indicated by the fact that both increase in winter and during industrial depressions. Vagrants and beggars are recruited from

[14] Davenport, *The Feeble-Minded, Nomadism, or the Wandering Impulse, with Special Reference to Heredity* (Washington, 1915), pp 20-26

the unemployed. Unemployment is greatest in winter and during slack times. Bonger inclines to the opinion that economic conditions are the determining factors in the production of vagrants and beggars. However, his own study shows that cooperating with the economic factors are certain social factors. He cites a statement by Bonhoffer that over half (55.4 per cent) of the vagrants and beggars examined by him had either not learned a trade or had learned it inadequately and that the great majority of them are physically inferior, due partly to conditions of living and partly to congenital weakness.[16]

Furthermore, Anderson, who has made a very careful study of the tramp, has shown that there are six causes:[17]

(1) Seasonal work and unemployment
(2) Industrial inadequacy
(3) Defects of personality
(4) Crises in the life of the person
(5) Racial or national discrimination
(6) Wanderlust

As an illustration of the way in which (1) *seasonal work and unemployment* produces vagrancy, the following case cited by Anderson is an example:

"Fifty-eight years old and born in Belgium. He came to this country with his parents in 1882. His family moved to a farm in Northern Wisconsin where they remained several years. The boy worked during his spare time in the woods. His father soon became tired of farming and decided he could do better in the coal camps of southern Illinois, for he had been a miner in Belgium. After the family moved, the boy grew restless in the mining town and decided to return to his old home in Wisconsin where he could get a job in the woods which was more to his liking. For several years he divided his time between the northern woods in winter and the mines at his Illinois home in summer. But he never liked coal mining and later began to go to the harvest fields for his summer employment. Sometimes he worked on railroad construction or at other seasonal work. He has spent several winters in Chicago, and usually (he says) he has been able to pay his way. However, this year, 1921-22, he has been eating some at the missions."[18]

(2) *Industrial inadequacy* may result from physical handicaps, due to accidents, sickness, or occupational diseases, to alcoholism and drug addiction, and to old age. As an illustration of disability which helped to make a tramp, Anderson cites the following case:

"O. O. is fifty-three years old and he has been a migrant for many years. He has been a lumber-jack and a harvest hand. He has tried his hand at

[16] Bonger, *Criminality and Economic Conditions* (Boston, 1916), pp. 553-554.
[17] Anderson, *The Hobo* (Chicago, 1923), p. 61.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

various casual jobs but most of his time has been spent in the mines. He used to work in the most dangerous mines because they generally pay the most money. Three years ago (about 1919) while working in the copper mines in Butte, Montana, he contracted miner's 'con,' which is some sort of lung trouble. He had no place to go, could not hold a job, and has wandered about the country ever since. He has no hope of regaining his health and is too proud to return to his people who live in Ohio." [19]

The following case shows alcohol often produces the tramp:

"E. J. loafs on West Madison Street and South State Street. He drinks and does not care who knows it. He has been a drinking man for years. 'Booze put me on the bum. Now I'm here and I'm too old to be good for anything, so why not keep it up? You're going t' die when your time comes anyway, so why not keep it up?' His philosophy helps him to live and he lives as well as he can by begging a little, working when any jobs come his way. He used to be a carpenter but has lost his efficiency at that trade. He threw up his membership in the union several years ago." [20]

Drug addicts seldom are transients but frequently are found among the hobo workers. Since they require much money for the drug, they tend to become out-and-out criminals rather than migratory workers.

Many old men, who are not able to work and hate the poorhouse, gravitate down to the tramps. They differ from the younger tramps in that they travel only because they must. Anderson cites the following typical case:

"J. is an old man who lives in a cheap hotel on South Desplaines Street, where a few cents a day will house him. He is seventy-two, very bent and gray. Once he was picked up on the street in winter and sent to the hospital where he remained a day or two and was transferred to the poorhouse at Oak Forest. He ran away from the poorhouse two years ago and has managed to live. He seldom gets more than a block or two from his lodging. Even to-day (1923) he may be seen on a cold day shivering without an overcoat on Madison Street. He is a good beggar and manages to get from fifty cents to a dollar a day from the 'boys' on the 'stem.' Sometimes during warm weather he makes excursions of three to five blocks away on begging tours. He is exceedingly feeble and walking that distance is hard work for him. Work is out of the question. There are very few jobs that he could manage." [21]

Many studies in Europe show that among vagrants the (3) *psychopathic type of personality* is abundant. The figures cited by Bonger from Bonhoffer indicate that the majority of the tramps he studied were mentally abnormal. In addition to the findings in Europe, studies in the United States indicate

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

that a large proportion of the vagabonds are mentally defective Knollin found one fifth of 150 hoboes he tested feeble-minded, Pintner and Toops, who examined two groups of applicants at Ohio Free Employment Agencies, by standardized mental tests, found that of 94 men examined at Columbus, over one fourth (28.7 per cent) were feeble-minded, while of 40 unemployed men examined at Dayton 7 5 per cent were feeble-minded Johnson examined 107 men out of work in Portland and found 18 per cent feeble-minded The defects in personality usually found in the cases of homeless men studied in Chicago are those which have been noted by students of vagabondage and unemployment These defects are feeble-mindedness, constitutional inferiority, emotional instability, and egocentricity.[32]

The following cases given by Anderson illustrate these defects of personality:

"W E was born in a little village in Kentucky. His first job away from home was on the section. When he learned that it was the meanest job on the railroad, he decided to change He worked in several towns during the summer Later he got a steady job on a farm but he soon tired of 'eating at the same table day after day' and went to Kansas City where he worked in a box factory He became expert at it but soon tired of using the same tools, and working as fast as possible day after day, and he changed He worked in several factories making boxes but there was no difference Then with his meager experience with tools he got in the maintenance of way work of a railroad. Here he had some variety and remained a year Decided he wanted to work in the mines and he got a job timbering Later he tried his hand at millwright work but he soon quit that and went back to the bridge gang. He still goes to town every month or two to spend his money and each time he goes out to some different job." [33]

"L. was the 'simple Simon' in his home town During the war he was rejected for military service so he decided to go to the city to work Here he earned fair money, more than at home The people at home used to tease him but at first he got by fairly well in Minneapolis Later he went to Detroit because the fellows where he worked in Minneapolis used 'to run him' They used to tease him in Detroit and he left two jobs there on that account. He is the type of person that invites teasing He puts himself in the way of it but resents it if it reaches a certain extent With the slack season in industry in 1921-22 he had a hard time to get along but he would not return home." [34]

(4) *Crises in the life of the person* such as family conflict, the feeling of failure, disgrace or embarrassment, and the fear of punishment for an act also enter into the production of vagrants The following cases from Anderson illustrate this factor in the making of the tramp;

[32] Anderson, *op cit*, pp 70-74
[33] *Ibid*, pp 74-75
[34] *Ibid*, p 76

"H. claims that he was married and that he held a job as traveling salesman He maintained an apartment on the South Side where he left his wife while he was away on trips through the Southwest His story is that his wife was untrue to him and he divorced her. This experience 'broke him up' so that he quit his job and went west where he remained a year To-day he loafs on West Madison Street and blames his wife for his failure in life The divorced wife's story learned from other sources lays considerable of the responsibility at his feet This much of his story is true he was not in the tramp class before he married The circumstances surrounding his home trouble were unfortunate and were partly due to the shortcomings of both "[18]

"F is another case of injured pride For some boyish prank he had been sent to the reformatory for three years Upon his release he was given transportation home and started in high glee His people met him at the station and took him home Although he was treated well he felt uncomfortable 'They treated me good because I happened to be a part of the family I felt like I didn't belong there, so as soon as it got dark I skinned out They write to me to come back and maybe I will after a while' He is an average man of the migratory worker type He comes to Chicago when he has money and when he is 'broke' he goes out on some job and is not seen for two or three months or until he has another stake He gets arrested now and then but only on petty offenses that he commits while drunk "[19]

The following case shows that *a sense of failure and fear of ridicule* may force a boy to leave his home community

"This lad was working in a grocery store at the age of twelve He became dissatisfied with the job and asked for a raise which was denied He was somewhat embarrassed at being set back and lest he be laughed at for staying on after making a demand, he quit Some one asked him what he would do since there was no other job to be had. This was really another challenge and he met it with the reply that Podunk was not the only place to work He left home to make his bluff good

"He met with many reverses He was small and no one wanted to hire him So he begged and he 'managed' Sometimes he did odd jobs, but he didn't go home Other people had left home and come back beaten and had to take the 'horse laugh' and he did not admire any of them He couldn't think of going back unless he had more money than when he left and better clothes, so he went on He learned to like the road and he traveled over the country for about two years before he went back When he did return he was in a position to talk He had some money to spend, he had seen the country He had been East and West, and he had been to sea He had something to talk about But he only remained in his home town long enough to stir up admiration and envy and he was off again. He is still under twenty-one and is still traveling in response to the same urge."[20]

[18] *Ibid*, p 78
[19] *Ibid*, p 79
[20] *Ibid*, p 80

(5) *Racial and national discrimination* account for some vagrants and beggars. Negroes, because of the prejudice against them, recruit the ranks of the hoboes. During the World War, when there was much prejudice against Germans, it was noticed in Chicago there was a larger number of German tramps found there than previously. In 1922, after Bolshevism had been established in Russia, interviews by Anderson with some of the tramps in Chicago showed that the Russians were suffering in employment due to disapproval of Bolshevism.[14]

(6) *Wanderlust* helps to make some hoboes. Some people seem to be born with a desire to travel. Most of us have this desire for new experiences to some degree. When the opportunity is presented to give expression to this desire to see the world and escape the responsibility of an ordered life, the person with a decided tendency to wander is likely to start on his travels, unless countervailing circumstances lead to the repression of his desires. The following case cited by Anderson makes clear how the wanderlust operates in producing the tramp:

"W. left home when he was sixteen. He was the oldest of a family of five boys and three girls. His father owned a farm in Michigan and was usually hard pressed for means. He needed help at home and so W. was kept out of school a great deal. When he did go to school it was hard for him to learn. When the father saw that the younger boys were passing W. in school he decided that it was time wasted to send W. to school. W. was big for his age and the father imposed more work on him than on the other boys who were smaller. W. felt that he was not getting a square deal so he ran away.

"He remained away a year before he dared to write. One reason he did not write sooner was because he was not earning much money, and the other reason was that he feared his father would hunt him down and force him to return. When he felt secure he wrote more frequently and most of his letters were boastful. He told of prospering and he moved from place to place often to show the other children at home that he could go and come as he pleased. He traveled in different parts of the country and from each part he would write painting his experiences in a rosy hue.

"He succeeded in stirring up unrest in the hearts of the other boys who left home one by one. In about two years N. followed W. L. soon began to feel that he too could make 'his way' so he left. All five of the boys left home before they were sixteen. Each felt that he was wasting his time about home while the other boys were seeing the country and making good money. Only one of the five boys returned home. The others roamed the country following migratory work. One married but only lived with his wife a year and then deserted her.

"The father always blamed W. for leading the boys away. W. used to send presents to the other members of the family. He used to send the mother

[14] Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

money now and then He was the idol of the rest of the children and they left home to follow in his footsteps." [28]

It is clear that vagrancy and begging are not the result of any one set of factors While we may class vagrancy and begging as economic results, we cannot explain them solely on the basis of economic conditions, as we have seen all the factors that affect one's conduct enter in to produce this particular type of conduct. As Anderson well observes:

"No single cause can be found to explain how a man may be reduced to the status of a homeless, migratory, and casual laborer In any given case all of the factors analyzed above may have entered into the process of economic and social degradation Indeed, the conjunction of several of these causes is necessary to explain the extent and the nature of the casualization and mobility of labor in this country Unemployment and seasonal work disorganize the routine of life of the individual worker and destroy regular habits of work, but at the same time thousands of boys and men moved by wanderlust are eager to escape the monotony of stable and settled existence No matter how perfect a social and economic order may yet be devised there will always remain certain 'misfits,' the industrially inadequate, the unstable and egocentric, who will ever tend to conflict with constituted authority in industry, society, and government" [29]

It is clear then that the factors producing vagabondage are a complex, the relative importance of whose separate parts we are unable to weigh Without question important factors in the complex are (1) the economic conditions such as lack of work, low wages, long hours of the worker, (2) social conditions such as the absence of proper means for the care of the sick, the weak, the aged, the crippled, the lack of proper home conditions in the upbringing of children, the lack of facilities to satisfy constructively the fundamental desires of childhood and youth; (3) the physical and mental weakness or warp which find in the uncontrolled life of the tramp the excitement, absence of restraint, and self-centered concentration which the weak crave, and (4) probably the inheritance of certain tendencies and of the lack of certain determiners which help to constitute an organic basis upon which the circumstances of life play with fateful results

THE SOCIAL PATHOLOGY OF VAGABONDAGE

The typical vagabond lives by casual labor, by begging, by faking, and by almost every other means except sticking to a job While this is not a true description of all tramps or casual laborers, it is one which fits the end toward which they are headed.

[28] *Ibid*, pp 83 and 84.
[29] *Ibid*, p 85.

(1) **Demoralization of the Personality.** The first important consequence is the demoralization of the personality. No matter what was the occasion of his beginning to wander, in every case the vagabond is fleeing from one social situation and seeking another of greater promise. The social ties which bind men into the configuration of conduct approved by the group are loosened for the tramp by the very fact of his moving. Instead of facing the hard realities of life he attempts to escape them, sometimes honestly intending at some future and more propitious time to renew his family connection. Every study of unemployment has shown the deteriorating results on character of the uncertainty of a job or of the inability to secure one. Vagrancy develops discouragement, the conviction that it is better to "beat" one's way than to work, and encourages reliance upon the charity of others which is eventually looked on as a right. Material factors add to the vagrant's demoralization; he succumbs to drink or drugs, he loses a leg or an eye and uses his disablement as an asset, he falls a prey to exposure and irregular living—finally he is too old to work, even if any desire to do so remains. He has deteriorated. His personality is demoralized. Since personality stands at the very center of conduct, a pathological condition in social relationships inevitably ensues.[41]

(2) **Economic Waste.** Consider also the economic waste involved in vagabondage. Earlier in the chapter, for instance, we have referred to the large numbers of vagrants who travel along the railroads,[42] costing them thousands of dollars in damages every year.

The waste of unemployed labor which the tramp typifies cannot be estimated. In this respect he resembles a large number of men who are wasting their labor power simply because they cannot get a job. If, as the result of industrial conditions and of the experiences through which such a man has passed he comes to the point where he does not wish to labor for a living, it is not altogether his fault. Nevertheless the waste is still there.

(3) **Social Demoralization.** The hobo and the tramp under some circumstances appeal to boys and young men. The example of their success in getting by without labor and their care-free, adventurous career probably have some effect upon other individuals. Of more importance, perhaps, is the effect of successful street begging upon two groups of persons who are not mendicants. One of these groups consists of crippled or physically handicapped persons who ultimately become discouraged in their efforts to make

[41] Morris, "Some Social and Mental Aspects of Mendicancy," *Social Forces*, June, 1927, p. 607; Nimkoff, "Personality Problems of Beggars," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. XII, No. 5, pp. 435, 447.

[42] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1907, p. 74.

a living. Few of them are acquainted with the possibilities of vocational guidance and training. As an escape from their situation they may appeal to charity; they may commit crimes, or they may, like the street tramp, beg. The other group is made up of physically handicapped persons who have not become discouraged, but who have persistently set out to overcome their disability and support themselves. They feel outraged that persons similarly handicapped should be willing to beg upon the sidewalks, and they resent the patronizing sympathy of the public.[28]

Furthermore, the attitude of the public which makes vagrancy possible and even, in a negative way, sanctions it, prevents vagrants from making constructive efforts to deal with their own difficulties. The proper coordination of the social machinery is prevented. Human relationships suffer in consequence, burdens which they should not have to bear are placed upon honest, respectable people.

Vagrancy is symptomatic of lack of social adjustment between individuals and their environment. It indicates society's lack of control over the production and distribution of wealth, and a similar lack of control over certain elements in the population and the influences which play upon their personalities. This eventually contributes to the disruption of normal social relationships.

METHODS OF HANDLING VAGABONDAGE

For hundreds of years society has been trying to solve the problem of the wanderer and the wastrel. From about the days of the Black Death until the present, repressive measures have been invoked. On the whole we have to admit that past methods have been a failure. The severe repressive measures of the Henrys and of Elizabeth in England, the poor laws of that country and of other nations on the Continent of Europe have only brutalized the vagrants and the populace without solving the problem. Public whippings, the stocks, the pillory, and maiming the person, as well as throwing them into jails on a diet of bread and water have been found useless. The modern vagrancy laws in most of our countries are a farce. They are not only inhumane, they outrage the sentiments of kind people, but do not stop the practice of begging and wandering. There are some earnest workers among wanderers. How many and who they are, our past methods of dealing with vagrants have not been able to determine.

The casual wards of the British workhouses have been found inadequate. True, they provide stopping places for the honest workman, traveling in search of a job. However, because so many wanderers are believed to be

[28] Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 612.

nothing but tramps, public sentiment has not permitted adequate care for the honest transient, nor has it been sufficiently harsh to prevent the bum and loafer from finding work-house conditions tolerable. These institutions demoralize the honest seeker for work and do nothing constructive for the vagabond.

Some of our larger cities in this country have established *municipal lodging houses* to which any man may go and get food and shelter. They have, however, been so often tied up with city politics that, except for short periods, they have not been able to do constructive work. In every time of industrial depression breadlines are formed in the cities, soup kitchens are set up, missions and similar organizations open their doors, and the bum and loafer for the time being find a paradise.

In our modern great cities private individuals have found it profitable to set up *cheap lodging-houses or flop houses*, as they are called, to care for homeless men. These, however, have been so carelessly run, so unsanitary, and so open to abuse of all kinds that they have not met with the approval of serious students of the problem. London has attempted to regulate such lodging-houses and in some respects improvements have been made. The best of them provide temporary care, which cannot be criticized. They do not, however, handle the job as thoroughly as the situation requires.[84] One of the grave difficulties with these past efforts is the failure to coordinate the various agencies dealing with the homeless and vagrant man.

In recent years there have been a number of *attempts to solve more constructively the problem of the vagrant*. As long ago as the beginning of this century the Salvation Army in England, under the guidance of General William Booth, purposed to establish institutions in the cities and colonies in the country or overseas to care for the most hopeful among the homeless men. General Booth outlined a scheme of providing work as well as shelter and food for the homeless man of London through a system of colonies which he thought would do much toward their reconstruction. He proposed a city colony in London and every other great city which would be a harbor of refuge for all who "have been ship-wrecked in life, character or circumstances." From these institutions a certain percentage of the men would be transferred to permanent employment. After they had been reformed they would be sent back to their homes or to friends. Those who were not thus handled General Booth intended to send outside the city to a farm colony where they would be self-supporting. From this colony, after trial and

[84] *The New Survey of London Life and Labor, Forty Years of Change* (London, 1930), I, 267-270. Compare the statement in Charles Booth's *Life and Labor of the People of London* (London, 1891), I, 232-234.

proper training, a certain percentage of the men would be sent to an overseas colony in one of the British dominions. He believed that these people could be re-trained to useful, industrial careers; that under the influence of helpful and wise officers of the Army many individuals would be imbued with a new desire for independence and self-support, and that on the whole these institutions would pay their way."[36]

The Army actually undertook to carry out this scheme. Colonies were established outside of London, in a number of the dominions of the British Empire, and also the United States. At the instance of the Secretary of State for the Colonies of the British Empire, H. Rider Haggard was sent to the United States to inspect the Salvation Army colonies established here. It was hoped that if they were found successful, some analogous system might be used in handling such people in different parts of Britain. Mr. Haggard also studied the colony outside London. His reports showed that the colonies were very much more expensive than the Salvation Army had anticipated, and that many of the hoped for results had not been realized.[38] In India I visited a number of the Salvation Army industrial institutions where homeless people are given employment.

Out of these experiments grew the efforts of the Salvation Army in India to handle the "criminal tribe wanderers." In British India a scheme was developed for the colonization of these tribes which are peculiar to a civilization characterized socially by a caste system.[37]

The German Empire before the War, struggling with this problem, adapted the experiments of Holland and Belgium in a system of *labor colonies*. In 1906 there were, in Germany, thirty-four labor colonies accommodating nearly four thousand persons under the management of a Charitable Association called the Labor Colony Central Board. These were for voluntary commitment. The effort was made to have the men stay for at least two months. Nearly all of these colonies were agricultural, and great difficulty was experienced in finding other suitable occupations. While the colonies helped some men to get back to employment, it was found in the winters that they filled up, and in summer there was a general exodus. They were practically useless for dealing with the tramp class. In addition Germany provided twenty-four workhouses for habitual vagrants, with accommodations for 14,836 persons. The work provided was chiefly industrial. The

[36] Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (London, 1890), Pt. II, Chs. I-IV. See also Booth, *The Vagrant and the "Unemployable"* (London, 1904).

[38] Any one who is interested in this experiment should read Haggard, *The Poor and the Land* (London, 1905).

[37] Gillin, *Taming the Criminal* (New York, 1931), Chs. IV and V.

average length of sentence was one year. These institutions were of some value but were not as successful as anticipated.

Switzerland and Belgium also provided voluntary and compulsory colonies. Space does not permit the detailed discussion of the working of these colonies It is sufficient to observe that they have gone through many changes. When Mr. Lewis and his committee studied them in 1906 they did not find much evidence of their reformatory effect. They did find that the people they interviewed were strongly in favor of having habitual vagrants sent to compulsory labor colonies where they are made to work.[38]

When I studied these colonies in Belgium and Switzerland in 1928 I was impressed with the fact that they keep the habitual vagrant and beggar off the streets, although they may not in many cases succeed in training him for honest and steady employment.[39]

OUTLINE OF A PROGRAM

No one single attack upon the problem of vagabondage gives much promise of success Since the phenomenon arises from so many different factors, any program must attempt to meet various causes

Public Employment Offices. Anything which will help the man who has lost his job quickly to secure another offers promise of preventing the development of vagrancy. Without question in England the development of labor exchanges scattered throughout the Kingdom has done much to reduce the aimless moving about of men seeking work and is one factor contributing to the decrease of vagrants in that country.[40]

In this country only a few States have public employment offices, and they have not yet developed the proficiency found in Britain. Too often they are not adequately manned and frequently the various offices are not carefully enough coordinated with each other and with the various business firms in the State. Unfortunately the experimental federal system of unemployment agencies was scrapped after the World War to the disgust of those who were hoping that the federal offices might solve the difficulties of exchange of workers across State lines.[41]

Municipal Lodging-Houses. As an element in the program of handling homeless men every city of considerable size should provide some decent refuge for the wanderer unable to pay for his own care. A number of the

[38] Lewis, *Vagrancy in the United States* (New York, 1907), pp 60-63

[39] Gillin, *Taming the Criminal*, Chs VI and VII See also Gillin, "Vagrancy and Begging," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1929

[40] Beveridge, *Unemployment* (London, 1930), pp 42, 43 and 433

[41] Harrison and associates, *Public Employment Offices* (New York, 1924), Chs V, XIV.

cities in the United States have established such institutions. Those of New York and Chicago may serve as a type of the best. In them any man who has no place to stay may find a meal and a bed, together with a bath and clean clothes. Unfortunately, however, in these two largest cities of our country the municipal lodging-houses suffer from vicissitudes of politics. They are either considered too expensive or meet with some other objection on the part of those in power. They have spurts of efficiency with good men at their head and then they degenerate into common flop houses.

They have, nevertheless, possibilities of playing a real part in the program of handling the homeless man. They offer him decent care for a few nights, and, if he desires to preserve his self-respect, a chance to do so by working for his keep. In such an institution, properly organized, much good can be done by selecting the promising from the unpromising individuals, and finding work for those who desire it. Young boys may be sent back to their homes after proper arrangements are made and the "bums" can be sent to a farm colony or other place of forcible detention. Many who are sick can be put in touch with agencies which will treat them. The insane and other abnormal individuals can be sifted out and properly cared for. Advice and counsel can be given to those who would benefit by it, and constructive efforts can be applied to the individuals of promise.

Every careful experiment in this country has shown that if constructive work is to be done with vagrants, whether in the charity organization which undertakes to care for them, in the municipal lodging-house, a Y. M. C. A. or other institution, individual case work must be done. That is to say, each individual must be carefully studied so that the worker will know how he should be handled. Mrs. Solenberger's study of one thousand homeless men in Chicago showed the efficacy of that careful method.[43] Furthermore, the institution must keep close connection with unemployment offices for the sake of those really desiring employment, and must have a close understanding with other agencies engaged in the same task so as to prevent overlapping and working at cross purposes.

WORKHOUSES, GOOD-WILL INDUSTRIES AND WORKSHOPS

The attempts of the Salvation Army, the English Workhouses, and the labor colonies of the Continent have been discussed. In the United States the Methodist Church has established what it calls good-will industries in a number of cities, which provide work whereby men willing to do it can live

[43] Solenberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 and 15, also Chs. II, IX, X, XII and XIII. See also Millard, "The Panhandler Passes," *The Survey*, January 13, 1918. Gilmore, "The Social Control of Begging," *The Family*, pp. 179 ff.

until they find regular jobs. They often provide work for cripples and disabled people also.[43] These agencies have proved to be of value for a type of homeless man who is too handicapped to secure regular employment. Of course they do not attempt to handle the bobo and the bum.

REHABILITATION AGENCIES FOR BLIND, CRIPPLED, ETC.

Since a great number of homeless men are seriously handicapped by blindness, cripplement, disease, etc., it is necessary that rehabilitation work be undertaken for those who give promise of successful results. A number of our States now provide industrial training for the blind in their homes, workshops for the blind, and agencies to sell their products. Some states also provide for the industrial rehabilitation of the crippled.[44]

Pensions and Hospitals. Since a certain proportion of homeless men are aged and sick, it is important that provision be made for their proper care. Some of them can be cared for in almshouses if their place of settlement can be discovered. The Webbs have shown that even with all of the social insurance schemes of England, such as unemployment insurance, sickness, and old-age pensions, there is a residuum which cannot thus be cared for. Consequently, other provisions must be made for them.[45]

Colony for Forcible Detention. In addition to all these methods there are a certain number of bobos and tramps who have become so demoralized that if society is to be protected from their parasitism they must be committed to colonies where the "won't-works" are forced to work. We have illustrations of successful efforts in that direction in the Belgian institution at Merxplas and in the Witzwil institution, Canton of Berne, Switzerland. In the United States the most successful experiments in this direction are the State farms of Massachusetts and Indiana. To these farms vagrants can be sent on commitment by the court for a certain length of time and there under forcible detention they can be made to work and society can be protected against them. As a result of these two State institutions the "won't-works" fight shy of Indiana and Massachusetts. Every State of the Union ought to have such a colony to which such individuals would be committed on indefinite sentence. Such a system is vastly better than throwing the vagrant into jail where he is supported at county expense without any return and with almost certain further demoralization. Mr. Starte has recommended a similar system for the Bombay Presidency in India.[46]

[43] *Report of O. H. B. Starte, Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer, Bombay Presidency*, No. C-8618, *of 1915*, p. 37.

[44] See previous chapters for detailed discussion of these classes.

[45] The Webbs, *English Local Government*, Pt. II, Vol. 2, pp. 949, 966.

[46] Starte, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 26, 32, 38.

State Control. So far as the United States is concerned each State must assume control of the vagrant in order to provide effective treatment. Only the State can integrate the State employment offices, the various hospitals for the insane, and institutions for the feeble-minded, and bring together the opportunities provided by the State rehabilitation service, and the vocational education board, in a united program to reconstruct those who have started on the downward path to confirmed and habitual vagrancy. That is why the State farms of Massachusetts and Indiana are so much superior to the county jails into which the habitual vagrant is thrown in other States. It is believed in England that the nation as a whole must control the wageless vagrant if he is to be handled effectively.[47]

Is it not apparent, then, that more carefully considered measures and greater coordination of all the agencies now existing, are necessary if vagabondage is to be handled in any hopeful way? The various private agencies must be coordinated with the public ones, the State itself must take hold of the problem of the habitual vagrant, and every preventive agency at the control of the State must be organized to head off those who from any reason whatever start down the sharp incline toward habitual vagabondage.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What conditions in the modern world make for vagabondage?
2. What are the chief distinguishing characteristics of the homeless vagabonds found in our large cities?
3. Give what you consider the best estimates of the number of vagabonds at any time (a) in England, (b) in the United States.
4. Outline the chief factors in the genesis of vagabondage.
5. Outline the chief pathological results of vagabondage
6. What methods have been used in the past in handling the vagabond? Evaluate these methods
7. Outline a program for the handling of vagrants and for the prevention of vagabondage?

CHAPTER 20

OLD AGE

Two classes of the population out of tune with the social organization of their time have excited the pity of mankind in all ages—helpless children, and the aged without a comfortable place in which to live out their declining days. What can be sadder than the picture of King Lear in his old age, turned out in the storm by the daughters to whom he had given his divided kingdom? As the storm beats upon him he cries,

> "I tax not you, you elements, with unkindness;
> I never gave you kingdom, call'd you children,
> You owe me no subscription: then let fall
> Your horrible pleasure. here I stand, your slave,
> A poor, infirm, weak, and despis'd old man —
> But yet I call you servile ministers,
> That will with two pernicious daughters join
> Your high-engender'd battles 'gainst a head
> So old and white as this. O! O! 'tis foul!"[1]

To-day it is not the kingly victim of filial ingratitude portrayed by the prince of English dramatists who should stir our sympathies, but the countless thousands of old people of every land who find themselves face to face with the thoughtlessness of the society which they have served through the days of their strength. They may not be, like Lear, the victims of ungrateful children. In many cases they have no children, or, their children may be as helpless as themselves, the cast-off, worn-out products of the machine age. Well might we, made aware of their plight through the facts available by social research, cry out with Lear at the sight of their misery:

> "Poor naked wretches, wheresoe'er you are
> That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,
> How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides
> Your looped and windowed raggedness, defend you
> From seasons such as these? O, I have ta'en
> Too little care of this! Take physic, pomp,
> Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,
> That thou mayst shake the superflux to them,
> And show the heavens more just."[2]

[1] Shakespeare, *King Lear*, Act III, Scene II.
[2] *Ibid.*, Act III, Scene III.

One would suppose that the aged might be able to contribute something to social life. Age is supposed to produce wisdom. Long experience of life teaches lessons which any society needs. "Young men for battle, old men for counsel" is a saying which sums up the part which age may play in the whole complex of social life. Literature pictures the useful functions which the old may perform in the household, the community, and the State. Yet, with the changes that have come about in the social relationships of modern society, there is a questioning of the former attitude. While tradition still inspires reverence for the aged, the actual conditions of modern industrial society debase rather than honor them. Certainly in some occupations and professions the old man occupies a very low and sad status. The old woman does not serve the useful function in the family she once did. Both have fallen from their former high estate. Let us look at some of the social dislocations in the relationships of the aged, which result in socially pathological conditions.

Dependency of the Aged. In a patriarchal society on the pastoral, agricultural, or domestic scale, the old fitted into the picture almost perfectly. They were able to perform services which were very much desired. In the caring for flocks and herds the old man was a decided asset. In the rather primitive agriculture where hand labor rather than machine labor was dominant the aged men and women could play very useful parts. Even under the domestic system of manufacture the old woman retained her skill at the spinning wheel and the loom, at sewing, at dyeing and similar tasks until late in life. The old man was not scrapped at middle life. His hand retained its cunning almost to the end. His skill and counsel were sought because they aided in the struggle of the family and the community for the good things of life. At the last he might become dependent, but that condition was cared for in the bosom of a family closely connected with him socially and economically. But consider the changes in such family connections incident to machine manufacture and large commercial organizations.

That old age at present contributes greatly to pauperism is indicated statistically by figures from England and Wales. There a relatively larger proportion of the population were paupers above sixty years of age than below that age.[4] It has been estimated that in Great Britain, out of 1,000 men living at the age of twenty, 500 will be living at the age of sixty-five, and two fifths of them will become paupers. Eight ninths of the pauperism be-

[4] While only 2.31 per cent of the total population and but 2.12 per cent of the population below sixteen years of age, and only 1.05 per cent of the population between sixteen and sixty years of age were paupers, nearly one sixth of those sixty years of age and over were public dependents. *Public Health and Social Conditions* (London, 1909), p. 36.

yond sixty-five years in England is due to old age.[4] One fifth of those seventy years of age and above who die in London die in a workhouse, hospital, or other public institution. In Dublin less than one half die in their own homes.[5]

The conservatism of these estimates is confirmed by what has happened since the passage of the Old-Age Pension Act in England. Only those persons can qualify for any pension under this Act who have less than 31 pounds 10 shillings income per year. Those who have 21 pounds or less income receive the maximum. Yet, in 1911, 90 per cent of the million old-age pensioners in the United Kingdom received the full pension of 5 shillings.[6]

Thus, in January, 1913, of the total number of persons in England and Wales over seventy years of age, exactly 60 per cent were old-age pensioners. In 1923, old-age pensions were paid to 889,000 persons in England and Wales at a cost of £19,868,603,[7] and 23.3 per cent of the unemployed in Great Britain were such by reason of old age.[8]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to give statistics of such definiteness for the United States. So far as the situation can be made out, the facts are these:

In 1930, there were 6,633,805, or 5.04 per cent of the population of the United States above sixty-four years of age, and 12.2 per cent of the total population were above fifty-five years of age.[9] The economic condition of these old people is suggested by the findings of two studies in this country. In 1925, the Massachusetts Commission on Pensions studied 17,420 persons sixty-five years of age and over, not in receipt of public pensions of $360 a year or over and not in receipt of organized charity. The aged persons lived in ten cities and twenty-three towns of that State, so located as to be representative of the entire population of the State. In 1926-1927 the Industrial Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation studied 13,785 of the same age groups in eleven cities of New York, New Jersey, Pennsyl-

[4] A wage census cited by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the debate on the Old-Age Pension Law adopted in England in 1908 showed that 57 per cent of the wage-earners of the United Kingdom earn less than 25 shillings per week. Lewis, *State Insurance* (Boston, 1909), p. 163.

[5] Fosa and West, *The Social Worker and Modern Charity* (London, 1914), p. 85.

[6] The proportion of the population over sixty years of age receiving old-age pensions varied from 26.7 per cent in Bournemouth to 77.8 per cent in Bermondsey, both urban areas, and from 44.8 per cent in Surrey, to 80.1 per cent in Northamptonshire, both outside the metropolitan urban area. Fosa and West, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 89. It must be remembered that these figures do not represent all of the aged dependents, since not all dependents can qualify under the Old-Age Pension Act.

[7] *Public Social Services*, Return to House of Commons, No. 12 (1925), p. 5.

[8] Epstein, *Facing Old Age* (New York, 1922), p. 3.

[9] *Release of Bureau of the Census*, September 11, 1931.

vania, and Connecticut, not including Civil War veterans, their wives or widows, or others receiving military pensions In both studies 16 8 per cent had neither property nor income In both, between 55 and 57 per cent had, either singly or with their spouses, annual incomes of at least $1000 or property to the value of $5000. The Massachusetts study showed about one third of the total group had neither property worth $5000 nor incomes of $300 or over.[10] If we assume that the Massachusetts study is more representative of the country at large, since it included rural townships as well as urban communities, we can say that a third of those over sixty-five years of age will become dependent.

If that ratio holds throughout the country there would be a maximum of 1,618,096 people in the United States sixty-five years of age or older who are either dependent or on the verge of dependency. This is probably a conservative picture of the situation

Consider the situation of the aged person in different occupations In 1920 in the United States the aged seemed to be holding their places in agriculture, in the professions, in small businesses, and in public service, but they were losing out in the major industrial occupations About twice the normal ratio of the aged were still gainfully employed in agriculture, more than twice the normal ratio, among lawyers, judges, and justices Among retail dealers, made up generally of small, independent business men, old men were above the average. So also with aged persons among brokers, bankers, and money lenders. Look, however, at the situation among the industrial and transportation workers In these occupations the aged had a ratio of from one fourth to one fifth of the general average. Less than 2 per cent of the miners, clerks, mechanics, molders, printers, plumbers, etc, were over sixty-five years of age[11] Yet, during one generation the number in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits increased 125 per cent[12] In 1920 there were almost 13,000,000 people engaged in these occupations

Moreover, every study of income levels in this country shows that there are large numbers of the population who are unable on their incomes to provide adequate security against old age. The National Bureau of Economic Research a few years ago showed that 98 per cent of the population of the United States receive incomes of less than $5,000 a year. Of this large group the great majority have incomes of less than $2,000 From 1917 to 1926 the National Bureau of Economic Research found that 99 per cent of the

[10] "Care of the Aged," *Monthly Labor Review*, U S Bureau of Labor Statistics, Vol 30, No 4, April, 1930, pp 12, 13

[11] Epstein, "The Older Workers," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1931, p 28

[12] Epstein, *The Challenge of the Aged* (New York, 1928), p 3

population had an average income of $1,400 a year In the face of such facts does old age present an alluring prospect?

Causes of Dependency of the Aged. The two studies on the aged just cited, together with another made in Pennsylvania, shows that old age itself with its various infirmities and handicaps accounts for from one fourth to something over one third of the cases of dependency studied In the Pennsylvania investigation 31 5 per cent of the applicants, in the Massachusetts investigation 26 5 per cent of the men and 36 7 per cent of the women, and in the study made by the National Civic Federation 28 1 per cent of the men and 25 1 per cent of the women had had their earning power reduced or destroyed by old age alone

In the majority of the groups studied ill health appears a more potent cause than old age in bringing about impaired earning power and dependency Even in the Pennsylvania study, which dealt only with those seventy years of age or over who had declared their dependent condition by making application for a public pension, nearly one fourth (24 6 per cent) ascribed their dependency to some definite form of illness, such as rheumatism, asthma, rupture, or paralysis

These studies suggest that with greater attention to public health, the dependency of the aged might be reduced [13] The causes back of the number of dependents in the almshouses, of course, present a somewhat different picture, a greater proportion of their dependency being due to mental defect [14]

Increasing Proportion of Aged in the Population. The proportion of the total population in this country who are sixty-five years of age or over has been rapidly increasing In 1890, the aged constituted only 3 9 per cent. In 1900, the proportion was 4 1, in 1910, 4 3; in 1920, 4 7, and in 1930, 5 4. While the total population between 1900 and 1920 increased 39 per cent, the number of aged persons increased 60 per cent [15]

Two explanations for the increasing proportions of the aged may be offered. One is the striking diminution of mortality in the younger age-groups The other is the large number of adult immigrants who, having come to this country during the last forty years, are now among the aged In 1920, 27 per cent of the aged were foreign-born, while among the native-born of native parents only 4 7 per cent were among the aged

If among the workers in mechanical and industrial pursuits the age be-

[13] "Care of the Aged," *Monthly Labor Review*, U S Bureau of Labor Statistics, Vol. 30, No 4, April, 1930, pp 13-16

[14] Bardwell, *The Adventure of Old Age* (Boston, 1926), p 26.

[15] Dublin, *Health and Wealth* (New York, 1928), pp 151-152.

yond which the worker cannot hold a job may be reached before sixty-five, one realizes that, to all intents and purposes, the number of old-age dependents below the normal old-age line is thereby increased. The only bright spot in the situation from the standpoint of the burden of old-age dependents, cynical as it may sound, is that the length of life in the later age groups has not been increased. In other words while we have increased the length of life in the early age periods, i.e., from twenty-five years to over fifty, in the last four hundred years more than 100 per cent, we have not been able to increase the length of life in the higher age groups.[16]

The Emotional Maladjustments of the Aged. Long ago Ward pointed out that the driving motivations of human conduct are the desires. Small summarized the theory of the driving forces of human society in his famous "theory of the interests." Thomas has classified all these motivating impulses to human action under four headings which he calls "the wishes."[17] These four wishes according to Thomas are: (1) the desire for new experience, (2) the desire for security, (3) the desire for response, and (4) the desire for recognition. While any attempt to reduce the motivating impulses of human beings to any simple classification has its difficulties, the interests of Small and the wishes or desires of Thomas are useful to the sociologist in his endeavor to bring under rather simple and fundamental categories the multitudinous human drives which explain human behavior.

While Thomas has attempted to apply the frustration of these desires to the explanation of the social maladjustment of the adolescent girl, to the Polish peasant immigrating to America, to the hobo, and to other classes of maladjusted individuals, no one has attempted to interpret the maladjustments of old age as due to the lack of fulfilment of some of these fundamental yearnings. Are they appropriate to the interpretation of the maladjustment of the aged?

Perhaps there can be no question that the aged have as intense a desire for security as the young or middle aged. Perhaps the young are even more reckless concerning security than the old. They can begin again. They can try a new way, if they fail in earlier efforts at security. On the other hand the aged know from their observation that earning power decreases with age. In the young a superabounding vitality can with courage brave "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" with hope of success. The old know that their powers are waning, that they cannot compete successfully with others, and that they have less time in which to repair ruined fortunes. Without doubt the psychological effect of this knowledge is to dull somewhat the

[16] Dublin, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-162.
[17] Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl* (Boston, 1923), Ch. I.

fighting edge of life. It is possible, therefore, that desire for security increases with the consciousness of the disabilities under which old people labor.

What are the effects upon their adjustment to the circumstances of life, as they see their desire for security frustrated? Are they not likely to suffer severe emotional disturbance at the prospect of an insecure old age? They find themselves without savings, their physical and mental powers are lessening, they may have no living children or if they have those children may have burdens of their own, which make it impossible for them to care for parents Many of their friends have passed away. They find themselves isolated in life. They are losing status As we have already seen status gives personality. Because of the lack of economic security, the status of the aged is destroyed. Because they do not have the ties which bind them into a secure place in the social organism, their status is also reduced from that point of view. The social scheme of things is disintegrating beneath their feet Without question the emotional torment which they undergo by reason of this insecurity is beyond imagining by any one who has not closely studied old people or who has not had the experience himself [18]

Another of the driving forces of human life is what Thomas has called the desire for response. Some of the disturbances of adolescence which we discussed above grow out of the inability of the young person to evoke responses of affection and esteem from others As one grows older, the craving for response formerly satisfied in friendship between those of the same sex, and love between the sexes, changes to a desire for gratitude and love from one's children or from those who owe something to one's efforts How many are the tragedies of the old which grow out of the failure to secure such a response! Their desire for affection and for gratitude is starved. They are beyond the period when affection can be evoked as it can between young people on the sexual level, consequently the range of response is much more limited. Furthermore, consider that often their life companions have passed away or that they have remained unmarried, or that they have become divorced How lonely they can be only living examples can show Now it is an old mother who once had the affection and respect of husband and children. The husband has died, the children have grown up, each having his own family. Gradually such old women have been separated from their children Frequently the children are so engrossed with their own affairs that they forget the love and gratitude so much needed by one whose youth has passed away and who has fewer and fewer upon whom to depend for affection. The old man is even a sadder case. Again a divorced old man or woman

[18] For one illustration of the situation just described, see Bardwell, *The Adventure of Old Age* (Boston, 1916), Ch VI

may have their situations made even worse by the animosity generated by the divorce. Is it any wonder, therefore, that suicide rates high in the causes of death for old people, as compared with its rate in any other age-group? That high rate is a significant testimony to the terrific devastations which have taken place in the emotional nature of these abandoned old people.

In Western civilization where the culture pattern from age to age changes rapidly, the situation is even more terrible in its tragic results. Go to any almshouse or home for the aged, get the stories of some of these old people who have been placed there by their children, or by officials because there was no one to take care of them. Plumb the depth of their feelings, if they will permit you to do so, and see there the unsatisfied yearnings for affections and for gratitude. You will not have great difficulty in understanding why it is that so many old people wish to die. As they so often express it, they have lost their usefulness in the world and there is no more reason why they should live. They are in the world but not of it. Their ideas, their patterns of conduct belong to an age which has vanished. They find themselves at variance with the accepted behavior of the younger generation. They are strangers to the ideas which have developed since they were young. They live in the past, isolated in the midst of a social world of which they are not a part, cut off from the social ties which made life worth while in their earlier years. The means of old-age security are gone. The recognition by others of whatever fine qualities they may have had which in earlier times brought them perhaps some meed of respect and esteem has perished with those who knew of their achievements and recognized them. No wonder these old people give up and pass gently down toward the shades of death without hope.

Many of these lost satisfactions of life society cannot restore. Let it do its very best by old people, yet society cannot return lost friends, grown-up or estranged children, lost vitality, or the hope of achievement. All it can do is to be kind to the aged and give them security and some of the little decencies and comforts of life which every old person craves and to which he has an inalienable right.

In the endeavor to care for old couples who have become unable to care for themselves in their own home the almshouse of Cleveland, Ohio, has built a separate cottage which accommodates seventeen old couples, thus permitting them to spend their last years together. In the common room there is a great fireplace. Carved in the mantel above it is this significant statement, "It is better to lose money than to lose love." Cleveland has endeavored to supply as best it can some of those fundamental things which old

people crave Thus the city testifies to its humanity and its understanding of some of the problems of the aged.

HOW WE CARE FOR THE AGED

Among many savages the aged are looked upon as such a serious burden to the community that they either are put out of the way or commit suicide However, sympathy for the helpless develops with the increasing economic resources of social groups and the aged are cared for in one way or another. Among the various methods that have been developed in Western Civilization are the following.

Care by Children. In practically all civilized societies and in some savage societies the old are cared for by the children. In China and in India and some other countries, the joint family household provides very adequately for the care of the elders As the children grow up and marry they take up their residence in the household of the parents Then as the parents become older, they are provided for by the younger members of the family. So important was the care of the aged considered in a number of these Oriental civilizations that the duty of caring for parents was part of their religion. Confucius, the Chinese sage, emphasized this duty in a way which has struck every one who is acquainted with his teachings Even the daughter-in-law was required to be respectful and to care for the mother of her husband with the greatest diligence and attention So long as this system of family life continued the care of the aged was not a great problem With the break-up of the joint family household, the care of the aged became of pressing importance and other ways had to be devised, but even to-day in the Orient and in some countries of Europe this method of caring for old people still remains and works fairly well Even those who have no children are usually cared for by some other member of the kindred in his family household

Savings for Old Age. Even where the joint family household has broken up many of the aged can care for themselves until near the end if they have provided in advance the means of sustenance. If they have saved a competence for old age and if they are in fairly good health, the problem scarcely exists.

In addition to ordinary savings there has been developed in our Western civilization various other forms of old-age security, such as life insurance, annuities, and similar arrangements which provide for the economic necessities during the declining years All such measures are, of course, to be encouraged. However, from the facts already given it is apparent that there are large numbers, especially among the working people who cannot by any

of these means save adequately enough to provide for their care after their earning capacity has ceased. Moreover, even if one has the means of sustaining himself, if he is sick, or crippled, or otherwise unable to care for himself, he will often need the attention of other people

Homes for the Aged. Quite early in the development of Christianity the Church began to take thought for the care of those people who were unable to care for themselves in old age. Monasteries and nunneries offered refuge; the guilds of the later middle ages provided almshouses for their aged members, and special institutions were established by the philanthropy of the members of the Church for some of their older members This form of caring for the aged remains to the present day and is one of the most beneficial of private philanthropies While some institutions have come to be looked down upon as poor means of taking care of dependent classes of people, homes for the aged still retain their place in the scheme of scientific charity Not only do churches provide these places of refuge, but lodges, labor unions, and private, individual benefactions construct such buildings and provide endowments for their upkeep While not all of them maintain themselves on standards which can be approved, on the whole they are very useful institutions

Almshouses. Out of these homes for the aged, set up by church, guild, and private benefaction, arose the almshouse where the public took over the care of the poor from private organizations In its origin the almshouse was intended to be a real benefaction, but because of the way in which it has been mismanaged for nearly four centuries, it has fallen into disrepute To-day it is the refuge of the most hopeless class of our aged poor. Within the confines of the almshouse are gathered the derelicts of human society and some few respectable people whose existence there is a living crucifixion. While some effort has been made recently to improve the almshouses they remain on the whole places detested by all self-respecting people

Industrial Pensions. With the development of machine industry and the large-scale organization of modern business, with the speeding up processes which make the old man a clog to production, far-sighted business managers of industrial organizations have recognized the importance of retiring upon a pension the old man who has given a great many years of his life to the concern Consequently at the present time there are about four hundred large corporations which have a retiring pension for their old employees Somewhere in the neighborhood of 4,000,000 men are employed by industrial organizations having such plans. However, that is not as good a system as it appears, because a man must have been in the employ of the industry for a certain number of years before he is eligible, and in the shifting of men

from one organization to another for whatever reason, he may lose his retirement rights and be deprived of the possibility of a pension. This scheme is good as far as it goes, but it does not meet the needs of all the old industrial workers.

Military and Naval Pensions. Within the last two hundred years, there has developed in the Western world a system of pensions to provide for the care of old soldiers and sailors during their later years The United States stands out as the nation which has made the most generous provision for its Army and Navy veterans. At the present time this country is spending enormous sums of money upon their care As the system has been administered, however, it has been subject to some abuse and without question is a very expensive method of caring for the aged. Without that system, however, private or public charity would have had to carry a much greater burden for the dependent aged. If these pensions were based upon need in old age rather than upon political expediency they could be defended as the result of sound social policy Such, however, has not always been the case.

Civil Service Pensions. Recently in a number of countries the pensioning of civil service employees has been developed England, Germany, and France for a great many years have had such pensions which applied to a certain portion of their civil service employees They did not develop in the federal service of the United States until 1920. Earlier than that, however, laws were passed in some of our States providing for the pensioning of firemen, policemen, and school-teachers. At the present time a number of our States have developed such systems of care for State civil service employees. Such policies are soundly conceived and serve as a barrier against the economic evils of old-age insecurity. In most States these civil service pensions are contributory in nature in that the employee contributes a part of his wages for a number of years to the fund out of which his pension is ultimately paid The government also contributes a part and provisions are made for payment to the individual of whatever accumulations have accrued if he is compelled or desires to leave the service Thus an increasing number of people are provided for against old age

Old-Age Pensions. Germany in the eighties initiated a plan for old-age pensions chiefly for workers in industry These pensions are usually limited to those who have received incomes below a certain figure and are payable after they have reached a certain age, provided that the individuals concerned have lived a fairly respectable life Certain other European nations and a number of the States in this country have provided for old-age pensions, usually on the non-contributory basis. However, at the present time

we can say that in this country they are on an experimental basis and as yet do not offer any great security for the aged workers.[19]

Homes for the Aged in the United States. Whether we have pensions for the aged or not, institutions in which care may be had are always in demand for certain classes. The aged without family connections, the bedridden, those mentally weak, no matter what their income, cannot live by themselves. Consequently there is a place in our social organization for such institutions.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor in 1929 published a bulletin which gives us the most up-to-date information on this matter in this country. While the study is not absolutely complete because certain of the institutions did not report, it gives us the nearest approximation possible to the truth of the present situation. It must be kept in mind that the proportion of homes reported on by each of these agencies was not the same, and, therefore, the figures as between the different agencies are not equal approximations to the total number.[20]

This table shows a comparison between the total number of institutions, the total number provided for, and the cost of the federal government, State government, and private organizations on the one hand, and the provisions made by the almshouses on the other. It is apparent that the soldiers' and sailors' homes of the Federal government, the State soldiers' homes and others, and the various homes for the aged provided by private organizations have in residence a smaller number than the 2,183 almshouses from which reports were received. It is also apparent that the cost of maintaining the almshouses is a little more than the cost of all of these other institutions. Attention should also be called to the fact that while apparently the capacity of the homes is very much greater than the average number in residence, that paradox does not present an accurate picture. The report states that in many cases the given capacity is based upon new additions and new buildings in process of construction at the time the report was made and that in many places the institutions are very much overcrowded. However, there is provision now in the United States for about 155,000 aged people. No one knows certainly whether that is adequate or not. It is believed, however, from observations that have been made that if the conditions of entrance to the private institutions were easier and the stigma upon the almshouse less, many more aged people would be found in them. It is apparent that

[19] For a further discussion of these various types of provision against the insecurity of old age, see Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency* (New York, 1926), Ch. XVIII.

[20] *The Care of Aged Persons in the United States*, Bulletin from the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics No. 480 (Washington, 1929), p. 15.

NUMBER OF AGED IN, AND ANNUAL COST OF OPERATION OF, HOMES OF VARIOUS TYPES

Sponsoring Organization	Total number of homes	Number of homes reporting	Inmates		Annual cost of operation
			Capacity of homes	Average number in residence	
Federal government (soldiers' and sailors' homes)	13	9	17,402	8,155 [b]	$ 4,602,599 [a]
State governments					
Soldiers' homes	48	44	16,662 [a]	8,419 [b]	4,225,858 [a]
Other homes	2	2	218	173	79,160
Labor organizations	5	5	990	254 [d]	418,736 [e]
Religious denominations	467	395	28,093 [f]	24,765 [g]	6,453,179 [h]
Religious philanthropic organizations	58	48	4,256	3,706	1,688,811 [i]
Religious fraternal organizations	1	1	125	1	1
Fraternal organizations	112	102	10,895 [k]	7,678 [l]	3,160,908 [m]
Nationality groups	37	32 [n]	1,750	1,601	528,177 [o]
Various organizations	39	38	1,845	1,462	554,240 [p]
Private groups	489	360	13,466	12,448 [q]	4,595,800 [r]
Total	1,268	1,036 [s]	95,702 [t]	68,661 [u]	$26,407,477 [v]
Almshouses	2,348 [w]	2,183	[x]	85,889	28,740,535

[a] All ages
[b] Aged only
[c] 38 homes
[d] 3 homes, 2 homes not yet occupied
[e] 2 homes
[f] 391 homes
[g] 387 homes
[h] 293 homes
[i] 40 homes
[j] No data
[k] 99 homes, data include children also in 4 cases
[l] 100 homes, aged only
[m] 86 homes, data include children also in 4 cases
[n] Not including 2 which did not report on these points
[o] 19 homes
[p] 32 homes
[q] 358 homes
[r] 267 homes
[s] 1,010 homes
[t] 1,022 homes
[u] 822 homes
[v] Estimated
[w] 6 homes

the cost of maintenance of these old people in such institutions is over $55,000,000 a year.

Retirement Systems in the United States. We have already noticed that the Federal government has a system of retirement for its aged civil service employees. In 1927 and 1928 there were 15,383 who were paid $10,990,454.10. Five States also have retirement systems for which the Bureau of Labor Statistics obtained figures.[21] These showed 31,572 persons covered by the retirement system with 1,458 pensioners on the roll and a disbursement in pensions of $986,984, or an average of $550 per person.[22]

Certain municipalities also have systems of retirement for their civil service employees, and reports from nine of them were recorded by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. A total of 93,374 employees were covered in these nine cities, and 4,619 were on the pension roll at an annual cost of $3,373,644. The average pension was $730. In addition a number of cities have retirement systems for police and firemen. In 1926 the Bureau received reports from most of our large cities. Firemen and policemen to the number of 67,765 were covered in these cities. Pensions were paid to 20,327, at an annual cost of $14,768,605. The average annual pension was $726.

In addition eighteen States have State retirement systems for teachers. Eight large cities in addition have their own systems of old-age pensions for teachers. Reports were obtained by the Bureau from sixteen of the States and seven of the cities. Teachers to the number of 426,611 were covered, 17,043 were on the pension roll at a total disbursement, in 1926, of $9,807,664, or an average of $575 annual pension per person.[23]

This brief review of the various systems, the extent to which they cover the people of this country, and the cost of their operation show that a beginning has been made in the attempt to provide security for old age by various devices and thus prevent the calamity of dependency often inevitable in the later years of life. On the other hand what figures we have would indicate that enormous numbers of people in the lower income classes in this country are not protected by the present system. Whether we shall come in our various States to a universal old-age pension for those who have no means or very little, depends upon whether we can very much longer remain conscious of the tragedy involved in these millions of people's lives without providing for their care in a better way. At the present time the movement for old-age pensions is growing. It is being opposed by certain

[21] Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York.
[22] *The Care of Aged Persons in the United States*, p. 233.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

people, some of whom conscientiously believe that there are evils involved in the old-age pension system. Some are opposing it because of their fear that the cost will be greater than they are willing to bear. Careful students will give little attention to the old contention that any one can provide for old age if he is not negligent Millions of people of the greatest industry, who possess thrift habits which will stand comparison with the best, find themselves with their savings swept away by reason of changes in the economic situation, ill health, death, or expensive care for members of the family They come down to old age without any economic security and their children are often unable to carry the responsibilities of their own families and at the same time provide for old parents

Every period of economic depression emphasizes the necessity of providing better security for old age At such times many who had carefully planned to have plenty for their declining years find themselves penniless A bank has failed The bonds and stocks in which their savings were invested have shriveled to a fraction of their former value or became altogether worthless. So their saving has been fruitless.

Certainly the humanitarian feelings of the people of this country will not permit them to stand still in the face of that situation and do nothing. It must be old-age pensions or some better plan.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What changes have brought about a change in the status of the aged?
2. Give figures which indicate the proportion of aged in the population of (a) England and Wales, (b) the United States.
3. What is the condition of these aged people with respect to economic and social independence?
4. How does the proportion of aged vary with different occupations?
5. What are the chief causes of the dependency of the aged?
6. What is the significance of the increasing proportion of the aged in the total population?
7. Of what diseases do old people die?
8. What emotional maladjustments occur in connection with age?
9. Name and evaluate the different methods of caring for the aged
10. Suggest a program for the prevention of social pathology due to old age.

CHAPTER 21

THE UNMARRIED

The literature of every people reflects the consensus of opinion that the unmarried state is abnormal. The Hebrew author of the book of *Genesis* represents God as telling Adam that it was not good for him to be alone and that He, therefore, had created Eve as a helpmate for him. The Hebrew psalmist declares that "God sets the solitary in families." The spinster and the bachelor from time immemorial have been looked down upon or commiserated. Only in modern times with the changed economic and social position of women, has the attitude somewhat changed.

THE UNMARRIED IN THE GENERAL POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

The reports of the Census Bureau as to the marital status of our population show that in 1920 the percentage of single individuals in every age-group was greater than that of the divorced. For men it was also greater than was the percentage of the widowed in all age-groups except those above fifty-four. For women the percentage of single was greater in all age-groups except those of forty-five and above. Furthermore, the unmarried proportion of the population, both males and females, fifteen years of age and over has been decreasing at each successive census since 1890, when the first census of marital status was taken. In 1930, for both males and females the proportion was smaller than it had ever been before. At the last census only 26.4 per cent of the females and 34.1 per cent of the males fifteen years of age and older were single.[1]

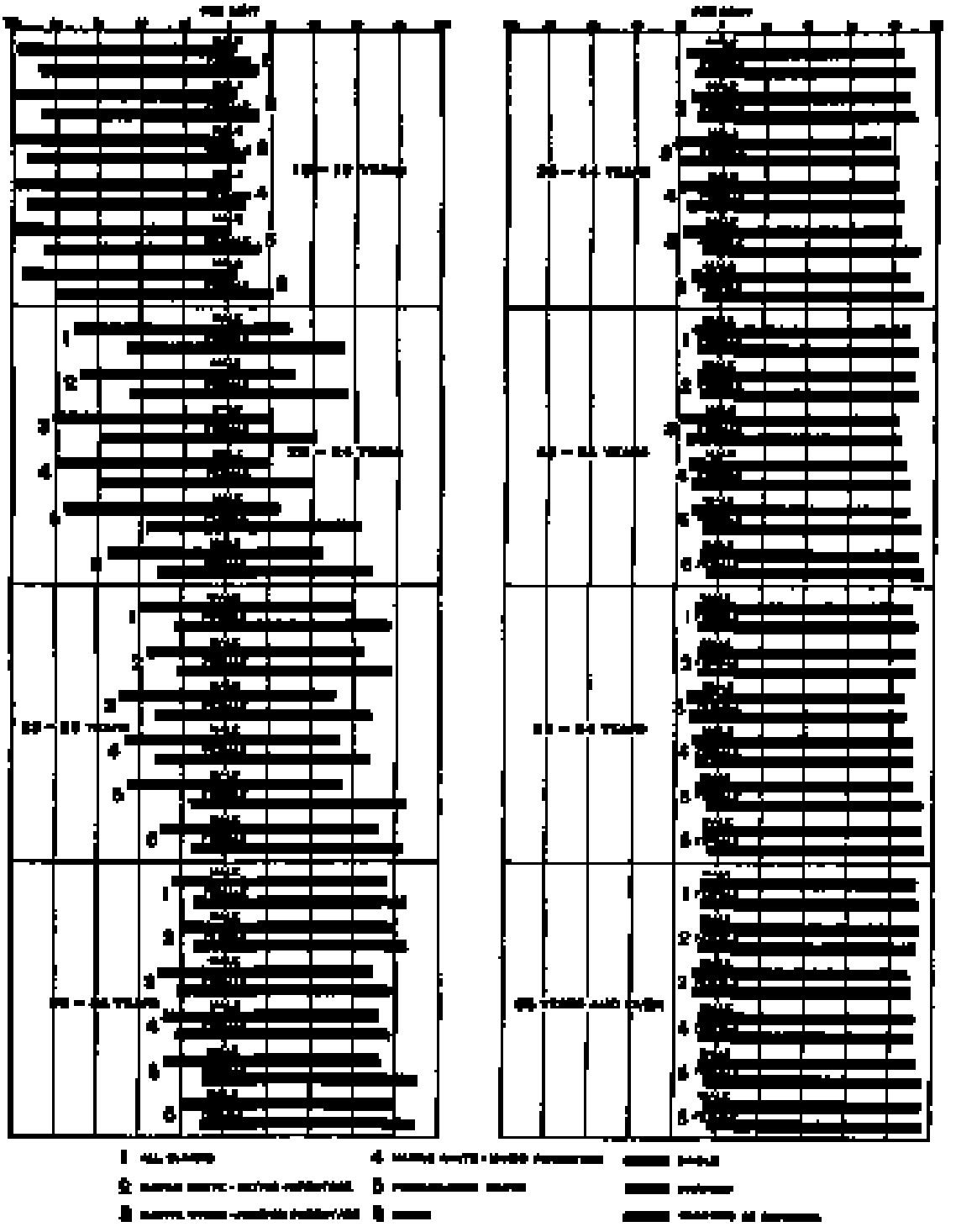
Let us, however, consider those above the age of twenty-five years. In spite of the fact that the marriage-rate in the United States has been increasing and that each census shows a greater proportion of the population above fifteen years of age to be married, among those above twenty-five years of age there remained unmarried two out of five of the males, and a little more than one out of every three females.

As time goes on an increasing number of these will be married. This is

[1] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920 (Washington, 1922), II, 390. *Bureau of Census Release*, August 31, 1931, on the marital condition of the people of the United States.

FIG 8

POPULATION



Marital condition of the population 15 years of age and over, by sex and age periods, for principal population classes 1930

clearly shown in the accompanying graph taken from the reports of the Fourteenth Census.[3]

What such a situation means to eight or nine millions of our people we do not know. Why they remain unmarried the statistics do not reveal. That in many cases the results are socially pathological goes without question. Let us look at some of these consequences of the unmarried state.

THE SOCIAL PATHOLOGY OF THE UNMARRIED

The Unmarried and Love's "Irradiations." The perpetuation of the species depends upon the development of sexual passion between the sexes. Had that passion not been strong, the human race would have died out long ago. In savagery, barbarism, and in early civilization the birth-rate needed to be far greater than at the present time in order to maintain population. It was under primitive conditions of severe living that the strength of this passion was established. Ross has calculated that in most advanced stages of civilization the specific fecundity of man is about four times what he needs to maintain his numbers and three times that which will cause the population to grow about as fast as the food supply can be augmented.[4] Civilization has modified the original biological rôle of self-perpetuation so that now sexual passion plays a part in life in many other ways. Out of the fundamental function of sex develop many features of our culture. So bound up is sex with social patterns of conduct established by human experience in the past and handed down by tradition and custom that its outgrowths are often what Forel calls "constellations of factors" in human conduct. By *constellations of factors* is meant the various urges which give rise to conduct. These urges are the result not only of love but of love modified by desires for prestige, for domination, for social approval, etc., which are generated in us by the opinions, beliefs, and attitudes of other members of our society. In this wide sense of the term *love* is a fundamental part of these constellations of motives of human conduct.

Forel has described under the general term of *irradiations* various psychic ramifications and patterns of conduct which come out of the fundamental sex urge. One of these, manifesting itself in man as audacious aggressiveness, has come to be valued by females as a general and not a specific virtue. Other such masculine characteristics as desire for children, jealousy, sexual braggartism, the pornographic spirit, sexual hypocrisy, egoistic love, prudery, modesty, intellectual quickening, and paternal love may be defined as irradia-

[3] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, II, 386.

[4] Ross, *Principles of Sociology* (New York, 1920), p. 32.

tions They are tied together in their functioning and together produce a type of behavior which characterizes the male sex.

In women, likewise, out of love in its primary sense, grow coyness, shyness or passiveness, idealism, maternal love, perseverance, an emphasis upon sentiment, jealousy, pornographic spirit, and modesty They are by-products of that primary urge and form the distinctive characteristics of the female sex, thinks Forel. They perform their part in making woman attractive to man and some of them are socially desirable in other connections

In the case of both men and women some of these irradiations are stamped with social approval, while others are disapproved That is shown by the fact that in our civilization we look upon jealousy, sexual braggartism, the pornographic spirit, sexual hypocrisies and egoistic love with some suspicion. Likewise, we regard woman's passiveness, idealism, maternal love, perseverance, and modesty as highly desirable, while frowning upon or looking with amused tolerance at other of her characteristics

The unmarried state in certain individuals seems to exaggerate some irradiations and to suppress others. Moreover, some are considered socially desirable or at least tolerable in youth, but are supposed to be outgrown in maturity Imitated in youth from patterns of conduct set by older and married people, when they are carried over they come to be despised or reprobated Such undesirable traits are not always limited to bachelors and spinsters Who has not seen the married woman retaining the flirtations, the jealousies, and the patterns of conduct which usually characterize maidens of more tender age, and who has not seen the married fop likewise persist in the characteristics which society endured in him as an unmarried man? Nevertheless these unpleasant characteristics seem to be developed by bachelorhood and spinsterhood in an unusual number of cases Often something seems to be lacking in the personality While the bachelor is freer than the spinster in the conduct of his life, and while he is able to lead a more active existence in business or in the intellectual sphere and thus secure some compensation for the lack of a normal family life, the frequency with which he is pessimistic and morose, with which he becomes a slave of his fads and hobbies and develops peculiarities of behavior is too well known to need more than mention The old celibate often becomes shy, affected, misanthropic, and sometimes a hater of women At other times he develops an exaggerated attitude of admiration for women, and betrays that admiration in a pompous or an infantile manner.

In other cases the bachelor finds activities into which his energies may be directed, thus sublimating the love impulses in thoroughly social ways In spite of this possibility the average bachelor as he grows older shows char-

acteristics which vary somewhat from those approved by society. He gradually tends toward pessimism and often toward egotism He has not complete status On the other hand, a bachelor who is unchaste is likely to undergo a deterioration of character of rather serious sort. He is likely to come to look upon all women in a monotonous and unpleasant way. He lacks the normal development of his irradiations into the socially more desirable pattern possible within marriage

Social development in the case of spinsters seems incomplete Sometimes it happens that the single woman of mature years becomes self-centered, narrow in outlook, without the fine idealisms and hopes of the matron. She tends to lack certain higher qualities which we associate with the older woman. Her dog, her cat, or her canary are likely to serve as a center of her affection and absorb her attention

Of course a great many unmarried women develop interests outside themselves which in part take the place of a mate and children. Some of them bring up a relative's child. Others take a particular interest in some social cause, sublimate their love-life by devotion to a great ideal, cultivate art, literature, or social activities of self-sacrificing character which become the partial equivalent of maternal self-sacrifice Nursing or social work in many cases seems to take the place, in part, of unfulfilled love

On the other hand there is a type of woman who has been disappointed in love and who "compensates" not by socially desirable activities which provide a substitute for the satisfactions of fireside and family, but by what Forel calls "pornographic" interests. In other words she finds satisfaction for the sexual urge entirely upon the sexual level, and fails to develop those irradiations of the love impulse which at best form in the married that all-round character which excites the admiration of both young and old These are pitiable cases indeed Love as we know it in civilized society is not to be satisfied merely on the sexual level

Therefore, unless the unmarried of older years do not carefully see to it that they have objectives for their interest and affection which simulate to a degree the love objects possible in family life, they develop characteristics which make them the object of censure, derision, or reprobation, and cause them to suffer from loss of status.[4]

The Unmarried and Dependency. Then there is the greater likelihood of dependency among the unmarried than among the married Unfortunately we have no exact statistics on dependency and marital status except from the almshouses of the country In 1923, 53.7 per cent of the males enumer-

[4] For a somewhat different discussion of this whole section see Forel, *The Sexual Question*, tr Marshall (New York, 1924), pp 117-130

ated in such institutions in the United States and 42.1 per cent of the females were single In 1910, 50.5 per cent of the population of the United States was above twenty-five years of age. On January 1, 1923, however, 92 4 per cent of the almshouse inmates were over twenty-five years and 87 3 per cent were over thirty-five years of age It appears, therefore, that the unmarried account for an unusually large proportion of the almshouse inmates in the United States. The Census report comments on this as follows "The high proportion of paupers among the single and among the widowed and the low proportion among the married indicates that in some measure at least, pauperism is associated with the lack of normal family life"[5] Some unmarried men and women would probably have landed in the poorhouse even had they married The large number of mentally incompetent men and women in the almshouses points in that direction Others of good intelligence doubtless were victims of changes in the economic order and had no relatives who would care for them in their older days Still others landed there because of personal peculiarities or socially undesirable habits objectionable to their relatives Sometimes there are among the dependents those who have spent their earlier years caring for young children or for old parents until they have become too old to marry The very children they have reared are often ungrateful and will not care for them Sad as are the tragedies of old people in general, sadder are those of unmarried dependents Whatever their reason for not marrying, they are peculiarly handicapped in many cases from the fact that there are no relatives to succor them when they are no longer able to support themselves.

The Unmarried and the Insane. Are the unmarried less stable in their emotional nature than the married? In 1923 the ratio of the insane per hundred thousand of the general population of the same marital condition was, single 244 4, married 212 9, widowed 424 6, divorced 1116 7 In other words, insanity was lowest among the married, next highest among the single, next among the widowed, and highest among the divorced, taking into consideration the whole number of single, married, widowed, and divorced in the total population[6]

The whole picture presented by the Census indicates that those above twenty-five years of age who are not living in normal marital relationships have a higher incidence of insanity than the married[7] Over 85 per cent of the single insane males were below fifty years of age, while only 80 per cent of the single females were below that age Not quite 45 per cent of the single

[5] *Paupers in Almshouses 1923* (Washington, 1925), pp 6, 17
[6] *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease, 1923* (Washington, 1926), p 34
[7] *Ibid*, p 145

females and slightly more than 45 per cent of the single males were below thirty years of age.[8]

From previous studies of the mentally diseased it is rather clear that the high incidence of insanity among the single males and among the married females is due to the different kinds of mental diseases which afflict these two classes It is also true, as I have shown in another connection,[9] that the difference of insanity-rate between the sexes is due in part to alcoholic psychoses and to general paresis caused by syphilis

The Census report remarking upon the variation of the unmarried cases in the different types of mental disease says: "In the so-called constitutional groups of psychoses the proportion of single cases is very much higher than in the so-called organic groups. For example, in the general paralysis group 24 per cent of the males and 11 2 per cent of the females were single, in the alcoholic groups the percentages were respectively 35 1 per cent and 10 9 per cent, while in the dementia praecox group 71 2 per cent of the males and 42.2 per cent of the females were single."

Naturally in connection with this matter the question arises as to whether these unmarried people are insane because they were single or were single because they had a tendency towards insanity That is a question which cannot be answered at the present state of our knowledge, although arguments can be made for both points of view Very large percentages of single patients are also found in the "psychoneuroses" and "neuroses" groups and in the group "psychoses with psychopathic personality" It is possible that in these latter groups the abnormal constitutional make-up of many patients prevents them from becoming married[10]

In any case whether the unmarried state produces maladjustment, or whether constitutional weakness, disease, and life experience produce the mental unbalance, pathological relations arise in an aggravated way when these two sets of factors come together The insane as we found in a previous chapter present serious problems in social adjustment In this chapter we have seen that the unmarried state provides higher probability of social maladjustment When the single are also mentally unbalanced, social adjustment is yet more difficult.

The Unmarried and Crime. Are the unmarried, for any reason whatever, more inclined to crime than the married? Before we can answer this question, we shall have to keep in mind that age seems to play some part in the crime-rate Measured by commitment to penal and correctional insti-

[8] *Ibid*, p 145

[9] Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency* (New York, 1920), p 317.

[10] *Ibid*, p 60

tutions the high point in the crime curve occurs in the age-group from twenty-one to twenty-four, although it is nearly as high from twenty-one to forty-four. Keeping this fact in mind, but without attempting at the present time to explain it, let us see what the statistics give us concerning the crime-rate of the married and the unmarried. In 1923, 53.9 per cent of the male offenders committed to prisons, reformatories, and State farms were single, and 33.5 per cent of the females were single.[11] Or to put the ratios in a different way, the unmarried committed to prisons and reformatories constituted 72 per 100,000 of the population fifteen years of age and over among the males, while among the females the unmarried constituted only 4 per 100,000 of the population over that age. For both males and females the number committed per 100,000 of the population above fifteen years of age was greater among the single that it was among the married or the widowed.

In 1910, single males fifteen years of age and over constituted only 35.2 per cent of the population in that age-group and the single females only 27.4 per cent. It is apparent, therefore, that among prisoners the unmarried had a higher ratio to the prison population fifteen years of age or over than they had to the general population above that age. It is also apparent that their ratio among the prisoners was higher than the married or the widowed but less than the divorced in proportion to the numbers of these various classes of marital status in the population.[12]

It is well known that the female prisoners are committed largely for crimes connected with their sex. However, the males, according to marital status, differ as to the kinds of crime for which they are committed. Single males, according to the census report of 1923, differed in crime-type from other marital classes. For single males the leading offenses were, in the order of their importance, burglary, larceny, and robbery. Over one half of the total commitments were for these three offenses. For the married the rank in order of importance was larceny, violation of liquor laws, and homicide. These three crimes together with burglary constituted nearly one half of the offenses of the married.[13]

What is the explanation of this strange phenomenon? Is it related to the fact that young people have a higher incidence of criminality than older ones? If one considers the kinds of crime which unmarried people commit, both men and women, it is reasonable to suppose that the main factors which account for high crime-rates among young people also account for the high

[11] *Prisoners, 1923*, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1926), p. 82.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 85 and 86.

crime-rate among the unmarried. By reason of the fact that they are in the adolescent or early post-adolescent period, they have not yet developed those delicate ties in life which provide us with the stays of socially approved conduct. If they are unmarried, part of the reason may be that they have not yet become established in economic pursuits, or that they have some peculiarity of personality, that they are inefficient in the industrial world. Or there may be other reasons for the frustration of their desires and ambitions. It must be remembered that adolescents are going through a period of adjustment to life conditions. A part, therefore, of the high incidence of criminality of the unmarried may be accounted for by the fact that large numbers of them have not settled down to established relationships The married man has given society hostages in his obligations to wife and children which lessen the chances of his participation in certain types of crimes He is more likely to be well behaved and not find himself in trouble with the law. It is possible, also, that he is of a sufficiently stable emotional nature to find employment and a fair degree of satisfaction of his desires in occupation and in family life

At the present moment these hypotheses cannot be proved They are suggested only as possible explanations The fact stands out, however, whatever the reason, that young unmarried people are less likely to behave themselves and to keep out of jail than married people

The Unmarried and the Homeless Man. It may seem almost redundant to raise the question as to what relationship the unmarried status has to the homeless man The very fact that he is homeless would indicate that there is a high degree of probability that he is unmarried. Yet the interesting fact is that of the homeless men interviewed in various cities of the country there is always a certain percentage of them who have been married or have been divorced Mrs Solenberger found in her study of 1,000 homeless men in Chicago in 1912 and 1913 that 74 per cent of them stated that they were unmarried [14] Anderson studied 400 hobos in Chicago in 1921-1922. He found that 86 per cent of them claimed to be unmarried It must be remembered that these hobos were not quite in the same class as Mrs Solenberger's 1,000 men who sought refuge in the municipal lodging-houses [15] A later study made by Miss Elizabeth A. Hughes of 500 lodgers in a municipal lodging-house in Chicago, showed that 76 per cent were single [16] Other studies giving somewhat similar results could be cited from various part of the country. I have given these three from the city of Chicago because they seem to be

[14] Solenberger, *One Thousand Homeless Men*, p 19

[15] Anderson, *The Hobo* (Chicago, 1923), p 137

[16] *Annual Reports of the Department of Public Welfare of Chicago, 1926*, p. 16.

fairly representative and because they cover a long period of time. Two of the studies were of inmates of a municipal lodging-house and one was concerned with the hobos on West Madison street.

In short, it appears that a large percentage of these wanderers are unmarried men. Perhaps the material in the chapter on vagabondage will suggest certain explanations as to why so large a proportion of them are unmarried In ordinary times they represent the most inefficient and the most socially unsettled elements of the population Furthermore, many of them are in that early manhood stage when they have not yet settled down to economic and family life Like the young criminals, although in a somewhat different way, they are busy exploring the world Doubtless some of them in the course of time will marry, settle down, and become stable citizens. Others of them because of their constitutional make-up, and because of the experiences through which they have gone in childhood and youth, are unfitted for the requirements of a steady job or the burdens of family life The unattached life gives them freedom, absolves them from responsibilities. They are unmarried because by nature and training they desire to do other things and they are wanderers in part because they are not tied down by the bonds of a family

The Unmarried and Vice. We have in a previous chapter seen how the expression of the sexual impulse outside of matrimony leads to the disturbance of social relationships and sets up pathological conditions in society. Here let us look at the relationship between the unmarried and those who indulge in irregular sexual practice As in the case of crime we should expect loose sexual morality to play a larger part in the lives of the single than in the lives of the married Take first the prostitute. Out of 147 prostitutes in Philadelphia in 1912, 106 were single [17] Of 6,000 women delinquents around the camps of the United States Army during the war, 55 1 per cent were unmarried [18] At Bedford Reformatory, New York, Dr Davis studied 647 girls most of whom were committed for sexual delinquencies He found that 70 per cent were unmarried.[19] Of these 647 the average age at entering Bedford was twenty-one years The average age at entering prostitution was eighteen and three-fourths years.[20] Kammerer found that only 17 per cent of his 500 mothers of illegitimate children had been married German experience

[17] *The Vice Commission of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1913), p 102

[18] *Manual for the Various Agents of the U S Inter-departmental Social Hygiene Board* (Washington, 1920), pp 78-83

[19] Kneeland, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City* (New York, 1913), p 214

[20] *Ibid*, p. 216.

shows that 30 per cent of the unmarried mothers of that country married before their child was three years old.[21]

Here again you have a class of cases, mostly in the younger age-groups, in which the normal desires of individual victims are frustrated by the circumstances of life. As we have already seen in the chapter on vice, a high percentage of those who are in commercialized prostitution belong to a lower intellectual level than the average, have a high degree of emotional instability, and are members of the low wage classes. Unmarried because of their personality or their circumstances they find themselves unable to fulfill the demands of their personality in the socially approved manner through matrimony. They consequently proceed to fulfill them in disapproved ways, thus becoming the source of problems of the utmost gravity. They contract venereal disease, they fail to find the higher satisfactions which grow out of normal family relationships, and they end with bringing about further demoralization to themselves and those with whom they come in contact.

WHY THE UNMARRIED?

The next question to arise is: Why do some people not marry? Have they remained single because of something in their constitutional make-up or in their early life experiences, or has it been because of some circumstances in their later lives?

The Care of Dependents. We have no statistical information that would give us a comprehensive view of the causes which keep people single. All we can do is to rely upon general observation and upon cases which have come to the attention of those who have dealt with single people who are maladjusted in their social relationships. How frequently have we seen cases where men and women have remained single because, fathers or mothers, younger brothers and sisters, or other near relatives have been dependent upon them for support. Under the burden of caring for these dependents they have passed through the years when they were most likely to marry until in middle life or later they have found themselves ineligible in the marriage market. Or perhaps they have decided that they do not wish to get married. Let us take some cases to illustrate this point.

Statistics do not tell us why single people are more prone to become dependent than married ones and no separate instance can give the wide variety of reasons which account for dependency among the unmarried. However, consider the case of Miss Charity, cited by the inspector of almshouses in Massachusetts. She was a woman ninety-three years of age, living back among the hills on what had once been a fine farm. Since the wilderness

[21] Kammerer, *The Unmarried Mother* (Boston, 1918), p. 302.

was slowly conquering it, she lived in a house that was hardly habitable. So broken down was it that only one ell was fit for her to live in at all. The rooftree was sagging, bricks were out of the top of the chimney, windows were shuttered here and there and the house had not seen paint for many many years. This was her account of what had happened. "My people came here from Eastward in 1765—my father and grandfather and his young wife. He bought the forest, he cleared the land, he built a log house. His son cleared more land, built the main house. My father held it. My brothers went to war and never came back. This town sent more men to war than all of its present population. I taught school and then cared for my father and mother. I have lived here alone for nearly twenty years. I'll see it through."[21a]

However, the care of dependents is not limited to parents. Dr. Lucille Eaves of Boston has made a study of aged women teachers. Concerning a number of these she says: "Many of their lives have been one continual self-sacrifice to those who have been dependent upon them. The wonder is that they did 'carry on' instead of giving up or growing bitter under their load. It has been the lot of the teacher to educate brothers and sisters only to see them marry and go off happy with their own families while she, the oldest sister, was left to continue the home with the mother and father and to keep it open for the widowed sisters, orphan nieces and nephews, sick brothers, uncles, and aunts. Here is hardly a problem of mere self-support."[21b] In a study of 115 of these aged women school-teachers she found that twenty were caring for dependents when they were visited, forty-three had been helping relatives since they had retired but previous to the visit, and fifty had carried heavy family responsibilities while they were teaching.

Father Fixation and Mother Fixation. The Freudian school of psychology has pointed out how in our present culture it often happens that the boy in the family has his affection so fixed upon his mother during his early years that he is unable later to transfer his affection to another woman. Freud calls it the "Oedipus complex." He also pointed out that the girl in the family oftentimes becomes attached to her father and is likewise unable to transfer her affection to any other man. This Freud calls the "Electra complex." We have enough cases of unusual devotion on the part of men to their mothers and of women to their fathers to make it seem probable that in some cases this explanation is correct.

By way of illustration, Mr. Bardwell tells the story of Sarah Taylor who had a good-for-nothing father but a capable, efficient mother. Because of his

[21a] Bardwell, *The Adventure of Old Age* (Boston, 1926), p. 51.

[21b] *Old-Age Support of Women Teachers*, Women's Educational and Industrial Union (Boston, 1921), pp. 69-70.

inefficiency the father was considerably hen-pecked by the mother who felt that he was not doing his share in the support of the family. In addition to that he frequently spent money in the purchase of foolish things at auction sales. Once he brought home a book on etiquette and when taken to task by his wife, he said he had bought it so their daughter would know how to get along in polite society. On another occasion he brought home a silver plate from the top of a coffin on which appeared the word "Stephen," the name of the deceased. When upbraided by his wife for the foolish expenditure he said that he had bought it because he thought that Sarah might sometime marry a man by the name of Stephen. Sarah, in telling the story to Mr. Bardwell, said she never knew but one man by the name of Stephen, and he was a man with a wife and children. In spite of the suffering of Sarah in this needy household, and in spite of the economic inefficiency of her father, Sarah always felt that he was the ideal man. She never could find the man who came up to him in her estimation. She never married and died in an almshouse in Massachusetts.[33]

Homosexuality and the Unmarried. A curious aberration of the sexual impulse is that which inclines the individual to love one of the same sex rather than of the opposite sex. This aberration is looked upon with great horror by most people and is condemned by law. Hirshfeld is of the opinion that about 2 per cent of the population are characterized by this perverted love-attitude.[34] It is held by Bleuler, Brill, Hirshfeld, and others that this trait, when it is not merely the outgrowth of people of the same sex being confined in camps or prisons, but manifests itself in free society, is the result of some congenital malformation in the constitution of the individual.

It is clear that where this tendency exists in an individual he will not be inclined to enter into normal marital relationships. Doubtless, therefore, a certain percentage of the unmarried at the present time are such because members of the opposite sex do not appeal to them.

Queerness. There are a certain number in every population who are not well adapted to the social circumstances in which they live. Whatever be the reason they are looked upon as somewhat queer and, therefore, do not make a strong appeal to the opposite sex. The queerness of many of the unmarried has often been remarked. We cannot be certain, however, without further study of the matter whether that queerness developed as the result of remaining single so long or whether it was the cause of the single life. It is probably true, however, that certain individuals (both male and female) fail to marry because of queer characteristics.

[33] Bardwell, Ch. XVI. See also Ch. XVIII for another case.

[34] Bleuler, *Text Book of Psychiatry*, tr. Brill (New York, 1924), p. 570.

Disappointment in Love. Common sense observation can cite case after case of people who remained single because they had one intense love-experience, were disappointed, and felt that they could never love another. We have no means of knowing how many of the single are such by reason of disappointment. Moreover, case studies in the matter are very few because people do not like to tell of so intimate a matter.

THE MODERN TREND AS TO MARRIAGE

Contrary to general opinion in some quarters, the marriage-rate is not falling in this country. Apparently we are marrying in greater numbers, and a smaller proportion of the population is single. The following table indicates the situation as to the relative proportions married by decades from 1890 to 1930.[25]

	%
1890	55.3
1900	55.7
1910	57.3
1920	59.9
1930	60.5

Since these percentages are based on the total population, and since the birth-rate has decreased, there is a possible error here as to the absolute gain in the marriage-rate. However, from the above figures it appears that a decreasing proportion of our total population is single.

Moreover, so far as we can glean from the census figures our people are marrying younger. This again is contrary to popular opinion in many quarters. The proportion of youth married between the ages fifteen to nineteen and also twenty to twenty-four shows an increase from 1890 to 1920.[26] The census figures for 1930 on this matter have not yet appeared. Unless the trend from 1890 to 1920 should be reversed we can say that our people are not only marrying in larger numbers than at any period since the census of marriage was first taken in this country, but that they are marrying at an earlier age.

It seems probable, therefore, that some of the former inhibitions to marriage are disappearing, or else the motives for marriage are becoming stronger. Some of the economic inhibitions may be diminishing in their force due to the employment of women and the high wage level. During the period from 1890 to 1930, there was an increase of general prosperity. Wages, with exceptions now and then, increased during that period. Then, with the

[25] Ross, *Civic Sociology*, rev. (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York, 1931), p. 8.

[26] *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, 1920 (Washington, 1922), II, 394-395. Gillin and Blackmar, *Outlines of Sociology* (New York, 1930), p. 180.

spreading knowledge of birth control, the fear of having a large family which is supposed to have led some people to defer marriage no longer holds.

Furthermore, in the United States for the last forty years there has been an increasing freedom of divorce in most of our States The knowledge that if marriage did not prove satisfactory people could have it dissolved may have removed other inhibitions to marriage

The greater freedom of women which in the last half century has characterized Western civilization especially, may also have contributed to the increase of marriage, and the early date at which it is contracted. On the other hand, one might suppose that the entrance of women into paid employment and the consequent lessened necessity of their marrying for a livelihood would postpone or decrease marriage If so that tendency has been counterbalanced by others

The changes taking place in our now highly dynamic society may remove some of the ancient impediments to marriage and thus, to some extent, modify the problem of the unmarried

These explanations are for the most part hypothetical and cannot be proved statistically Whether they are true or not, the fact remains that in the last fifty years the number of single in our population has been decreasing gradually and that the age of marriage has been lowered.

Again it is probable that many changes with reference to the freedom of women, and changes in public attitude towards the unmarried have rendered the single state less cruel for both men and women by making it appear less undesirable Hence, while the proportionate number of unmarried in our population has been slowly but steadily decreasing, some aspects of public opinion have been so modified that the unmarried are not looked down upon as they once were. Without question this has lessened some of the tension formerly existing in the emotional nature of the unmarried and has made their lot more comfortable

It seems probable that socially pathological conditions are not as generally produced to-day by failure to marry as they were in former periods. Nevertheless the satisfactions of marriage cannot be obtained in the single state by any devices yet known, and they are to a great extent untouched by the changes which have just been discussed The unmarried mature person is, from the biological point of view, an incomplete individual From the emotional point of view it is difficult, by any sublimation of desire, to obtain the satisfactions and the developments of personality possible in the married state The unmarried person always runs the risk of developing undesirable social qualities which mark him out from his fellows.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What has been the tendency of the changing proportion of the unmarried in the population since 1890?
2. What proportion of the unmarried above fifteen years of age were above twenty-five years of age, (a) of the males, (b) of the females?
3. What are some of the most important psychic irradiations of love?
4. What does the unmarried state do to some of these psychic irradiations?
5. Why do we often think that old bachelors and old maids are queer?
6. What, if any, correlation exists between the single state and dependency? Why?
7. How do the married and the unmarried compare in insanity rates? Why?
8. Why are unmarried represented in undue proportion among law-breakers?
9. Explain why such large proportions of homeless men are unmarried
10. Discuss the probable cause of the close relationship between the unmarried and vice.
11. Name and discuss the various reasons for the fact that some people do not marry
12. Is it likely that the unmarried state produces as much emotional maladjustment to-day as formerly? Why?

PART III

THE PATHOLOGY OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

FOREWORD TO PART III

THE PATHOLOGY OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Ways of behaving in the presence of other human beings are called "social organization," "social structure," or "social institutions." While certain sociologists have differentiated between these terms, there is no clearly defined variation of meanings. Social relationships have been organized time out of mind. Sometimes they are the outgrowth of custom over long periods of time. Having become fixed they are enforced almost automatically by public approval or disapproval, or by fear of occult or supernatural powers. For example, Margaret Mead in her book, *Growing Up in New Guinea*, tells us that the New Guinea husband must avoid all show of affection for his wife. That is an approved way of behaving which is enforced not by law but by immemorial custom. Sometimes social relationships are laws formally set up with agencies devised to see that those who violate them are punished with legally prescribed sanctions. That is the situation in most modern nations with respect to certain relationships. Often old customary regulations are later recognized by the law. For example, the customary family relationships characteristic of tribal Germanic life as described by Tacitus, were taken over and given religious sanctions when the Christian church converted the tribes. Then when the state grew up on the ruins of feudalism, it legalized already religiously approved family relationships. However, legal regulation usually comes in when the mores do not suffice to secure obedience, or when rapid changes in population, or in some phase of life, such as economic stability, are breaking down the effectiveness of the old methods of control. We to-day have no laws governing how one should eat his food. Nevertheless in polite society there is an unwritten code which so controls each of us that we do not convey food to our mouths with a knife. This code is not enforced by prescribed punishments, but it is effective just the same, and it illustrates how informal control operates in most social relationships.

In our Western civilization changes which have a bearing upon the organization of our social intercourse are constantly occurring. For example, consider how the introduction of the factory system has affected our family organization. How strikingly have our morals changed under the influence of the automobile! What opportunities have been given to innovations in

the code of business ethics by the new methods of conducting business! Under a social organization in which every one was considered a brother by blood interest-taking was looked upon as a sin To-day when world commerce has displaced neighborhood commerce, when the old blood-bond has given way to a more or less nebulous political tie, and when individualism has grown up in place of strong group feeling, interest-taking lies at the very root of economic progress

Such changes dislocate personal and social behavior and structure A new social organization results which mystifies and discomfits people habituated to the old. Some of them never adjust themselves, and, since their old patterns of conduct will not fit the new situations, pathological conditions arise. We generalize those conditions and call them the pathology of social organization.

CHAPTER 22

URBAN DISORGANIZATION

Perhaps no single change in changing America has excited more comment by students of society than the hectic growth of our cities. So striking a phenomenon has it become that we have coined a word to describe it—*urbanization*. It is not a process characteristic of American life only. Historical students remark that urbanization was a feature of Rome and that the first newly organized nations of the Renaissance period were the city-states of Venice, Florence, Genoa, etc. It is new to this country in the sense that it has appeared only since the free land of the country has disappeared.

Growth of Cities. In 1930 the urban population, i. e., that population living in centers of 2,500 or more, constituted 56.2 per cent of the entire population. In 1920, for the first time in the history of the United States more than half of the people lived in urban centers as defined by the census. More striking, however, is the proportion of the population which lives in *large* cities. In 1930 more than one third (34.9 per cent) lived in cities of over 50,000, while almost three tenths (29.6 per cent) of the entire population dwelt in cities of more than 100,000.

The situation in the United States is in striking contrast to the situation in Europe. It is all the more striking when one remembers that in Germany, Belgium, Holland, and England industrialization has been very highly developed. In Europe, exclusive of Russia, there are 291 cities with a population of 50,000 or more. However, these cities include only 20 per cent of the total population, while in this country, as we have seen, 34.9 per cent of the population live in such cities. Furthermore, in spite of the industrialization of Northwestern Europe, the balance between rural and urban population has not been seriously changed, while in the United States the preponderance of balance in the last third of a century has swung from the rural to the city population.

Or compare the United States with the Orient. Think of the 400,000,000 of Chinese, of whom by far the vast majority live in rural communities. Consider the 330,000,000 of Indians. What impresses the traveler in India is the fewness of large cities, and the populousness of the 700,000 rural villages. Also in Japan, where only 14 per cent of the land is arable, the major

part of the population is rural Japan's capital and largest city has only 3,000,000 of its 70,000,000 people.

Swiftness of Urbanization in the United States. No such rapid urbanization has occurred in the course of history as has taken place recently in the United States In 1790 there were in this country only six cities of 8,000 or more inhabitants. In 1930, there were 982 with over 10,000 As recently as 1880 only 28 6 per cent of the population lived in centers of 2,500 or more In 1910 the fifty cities which had a population of more than 100,000 increased during the decade 35.1 per cent. Judging from all the evidence at hand, in the two decades since that time the process has gone on at an accelerated rate.

Whence have the cities gained this enormous increase? The census statistics show that while in each decade the country has gained slowly in total population, it has been at a decreasing rate It is clear, therefore, that a large part of the gain of the city over the country has been at the expense of the rural communities That deduction is confirmed by a study of the counties which have decreased in population In 1860 there were 136 counties in the United States which lost population These counties, however, were in the eastern part of the country and the great westward movement was filling up the new country, at the expense of the older communities. Their loss was not, then, the result of a cityward movement This process went on decade by decade until about 1880 when it showed signs of diminution In that year there were only 82 counties which had lost in population. However, in the Census of 1900, it appeared that 368 counties had lost in numbers Here for the first time the cityward movement became apparent. The Census of 1920 revealed that 1,086 counties in our agricultural States had lost population in the previous decade. They represented an area which held 17 5 per cent of the population of the United States The figures for 1930 are not yet available We shall watch with interest to ascertain whether the movement has reached its apex or whether it is continuing to mount.

The greatest single factor is the disappearance of free land. The vanishing of the frontier, whose influence on American life Professor Turner pointed out years ago, had as its result urbanization During the settlement of the West when any one could secure land at very low cost per acre, when the fertile plains of the Mississippi seemed inexhaustible, America was the country of opportunity to the European farmer. And before any one had realized it, the land, good and not so desirable, was all staked

Step by step with the disappearance of free land went the development of capitalistic industry. Alexander Hamilton had urged a program for the development of American industries in order that the United States might be

economically independent of Europe. By the time of Henry Clay the situation had somewhat changed. Clay's argument for a protective tariff was different from Hamilton's. Industry had developed to such an extent that Clay argued a protective tariff was necessary in order to make this country entirely self-sufficient. The industrial cities would provide products needed by the workers and the farmers, while the farmers would furnish the food and raw materials needed by the manufacturers. Since that date new inventions, the amassing of large amounts of capital, the development of the factory system, have produced in this country a capitalistic society. The organization of larger and larger companies for the control of certain lines of industry has partly eliminated the destructive competitive process, enabled the producers to pay high wages, and make large profits. The demand for laborers increased by leaps and bounds. The workingman had an opportunity never before offered. Hence enormous numbers both from abroad and from the rural sections of this country were drawn irresistibly to the cities where the factories were located.

Coincident with the two previous factors was the development of capitalistic agriculture. Consider that in the recollection of some of us grain was still harvested with the cradle and the self-rake. It was threshed by a primitive sort of hand machine known as a flail, or by an only less primitive contrivance known as a "chaff-piler." Later came the threshing machine, performing all of the operations which through centuries had required handwork by large numbers of men and women. In 1834, Cyrus McCormick patented the first reaping machine. Now on the large farms the combine cuts a sixteen-foot swath through the ripened grain, threshes and deposits it in a wagon which follows alongside. Five men, by means of this machine and a tractor, can do the work which perhaps 100 men did in 1830. Think also of the development of machines for the cultivation of the ground. In India I saw the agricultural peasant painfully and slowly breaking up the soil four or five inches deep with a hoe or mattock. Watch the enormous tractor pulling a battery of gang plows through a field, turning over more ground than 10,000 Indian peasants can cultivate in the same length of time. Watch one man on the seat of a corn cultivator, drawn either by a tractor or by three horses, cultivating two rows of corn at a time. In your grandfather's day every hill of corn had to be planted with a hoe in the hands of a man, one hill at a time. It had to be cultivated with a hoe or by a plow attached to one horse which cultivated half a row at a time. Consider the changes which have come in the handling of a corn crop after it is ripe. In former days the winter forage for the cattle was hay, mowed with a scythe, carefully cocked up by human hands, loaded onto wagons, and deposited in

a haymow by hand. Now a corn reaper drawn by horses or a tractor cuts the corn when not too ripe and binds it into bundles ready to take to the silage-cutter. There it is chopped up and deposited in a silo, and after due fermentation it is ready to be fed to the cattle

These few illustrations show why less people are required on the farm at the present time than ever in the history of agriculture Why should men stay on the farms when there is no need of them? Capitalistic agriculture has laid off great numbers of farm laborers Moreover, to-day a large proportion of the things consumed by the farm and once made on it are made in the factories Little, even of the food, is prepared as it once was on the farm. As a consequence no more than one third of our population now actually live on farms, while two thirds must make their livings in the city.

Immigration is another cause of the growth of cities in the United States. The last decade of the nineteenth century saw the immigrating peasants pressing towards the American country districts But even before the World War, opportunities for making a living on farms had diminished Consequently, since the early years of this century, immigration from abroad has poured into the cities, where foreign colonies, already established, attracted the new-coming hordes The consequence was that in the recent growth of the cities the number of foreign immigrants played a part The high birth-rate among immigrants also contributed to the growth of cities

The superior educational advantages furnished by the cities was without doubt a lodestar drawing country people Better material facilities, better teachers, and the opportunity for higher education furnished strong appeals.

Again, as cities developed, attractive phases of organized social life played their part Here were centered the life and gaiety, the commercialized amusements attractive to the young people Furthermore, the organized work-life of the cities, with the limited number of hours, no chores to attend to after the day's work in the field, the larger amount of leisure at the end of the day, provided an opportunity to enjoy the social life The possibility of improved housing for many of the people, the modern conveniences like electricity, gas, sewers, city water, paved streets, and all of the recent improvements that make city life agreeable attracted their share of rural population.

Finally, the comparatively excessive birth-rate in the country, correlated with a lessening demand for rural labor, naturally produced a flow of population to the urban communities.

DISORGANIZATION OF LIFE IN CITIES

As a result of this urbanization a number of disturbances have occurred in social institutions and in the organization of individual lives These may be called "social costs of urbanization"

Disorganization of the Home. The home and family life, developing as a rural institution, was geared to the simpler situations of early human society Historically it was not only the social but the economic center and unit of life Time has changed its function. No longer an economically self-sufficient organization in which children and parents are all contributing members, no longer bound together with the intimate parent-children ties, no longer providing for its own religious, recreational and educational needs, the home has become decentralized Large aggregations of people in cities cannot preserve the ancient, pastoral, home structure The children are absent for a good share of each day, receiving their education When they play, they must play either in public playgrounds or on the streets. There is no part of the economic production in which they can aid until they go to take a job for themselves The occupations which once engaged the energies of the females in the family are gone Hence country life to-day is much more favorable to home life in spite of the automobile and the radio

Furthermore, the modern city home destroys the unity of family interests The commercialized recreations, the enormous diversity of interests between age and youth, the innumerable choices of action and preference create bewildering differences in even a small family-group

Country life emphasizes the influence of parents, city life, the influence of the playground, the gang, and other factors outside the home. The marvel is that the home has withstood so sturdily the assaults of city life.

The City and Home Ownership. Our modern populations have come out of a culture in which ownership of the home was one of the great objectives of life Much of our folk-lore and some of our songs and proverbs reflect this aim "Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home" City life has wrought irreparable damage to that hope In 1920, 54 4 per cent of the 24,351,676 homes in the United States were rented. Home ownership, therefore, is attained by less than half the families As urbanization has increased, the number of rented homes has also increased

Furthermore, the old ideal of an individual home for each family has been disappearing. In 1920 there was an excess of 3,318,407 families over the number of dwellings More than 3,000,000 of this excess were urban families. The excess of families above dwellings increases with the size of the cities.

In 1920, 25.9 per cent of the city dwellers occupied a dwelling with other families

Whether such changes have been good or ill from the social point of view is a scientifically undetermined matter. Without question, however, differences in the environmental conditions under which the family lives have worked changes in the patterns of conduct within the family What has been the result, for example, of the lack of home ownership upon the stability of family life? What effect has frequent change of residence had upon those subtle emotional qualities which enter into what we call home, as well as upon consequent adjustments which growing children have to make? If personality is a series of established and habitual relationships, what has been done to personality by these changes? These are some of the questions which we may be able to answer more exactly in the future. Does home ownership and the consequent remaining in one place make for stability of character and for social adjustment? If so, the changes which have come about in the last thirty years have doubtless destroyed something precious.

The City and the Spirit of Individual Independence. Country life with its emphasis upon the individual home and family fosters the spirit of independence and self-reliance It develops a managerial psychology. Each family is an independent economic and social unit. Each member of the family, as soon as he is old enough, has some share in the management of the unit. On the other hand, city life for the bulk of the population, with the regimentation of the workers in factories and under direction, submerges individual independence Each one is a part of a great social machine, dominated both by the physical machines in the factory and the organization of economic and social life Those individuals who cannot accommodate themselves to the rigorous systematization find themselves in an intolerable situation, lose their jobs, and are unhappy Others tend to adapt themselves to a life of rigorous and ordered control imposed from above Hence managerial psychology is supplanted by order-taking psychology. Class consciousness is substituted for individual independence The farmer, conscious that he lives by his own thinking and his own efforts in cooperation with nature, responds to his environment with a feeling of independence—a normal response The city worker has no keen perception of his dependence upon nature His dependence is upon his employer and it is only the rebel, unable to adjust himself to machine and organization, who retains personal independence.

The City and Personal Relationships. Likewise in the city the pattern of personal relationships changes. As Anderson and Lindeman have pointed

out,[1] relationships in the city are either upon a horizontal or upon a vertical plane. Country life makes for close relationships on the horizontal plane—relatives and neighbors Vertical relationships, i e, those of status, exist only in embryo To be sure, there are some rich farmers and some poor tenants. There are owners and hired men. There are leaders and followers Nevertheless, the connection is largely qualified by personal acquaintance and neighborly contact. On the other hand, in the city, relationships are increasingly impersonal The levels of status, both economic and social, are multiplied because of the varieties of economic and social classes Neighborliness is comparatively slight. Our friends are our business or professional associates, members of the same clubs, the same church, or the same labor union But here, the horizontal relationship is comparatively small considering the whole of an individual's social life If he is in a big concern, for instance, he does not know any of the higher officials

Recreation in the country is largely home-made and a matter of mutual participation In the city it is professional and made for the market The patterns of behavior, age-old, are here again disorganized and new patterns have to be found

The City and Standards of Conduct. Under the conditions of city life congestion and overcrowding are common When people are jammed together in large groups, several things happen Community sanctions and prohibitions lose their significance, customs applicable to everybody in small localities seem to apply either to a few or to nobody, differences of nationality, faith, and economic status breed internal conflicts and disrupt the cultural habits of smaller groups, and the lack of privacy destroys the privilege and relaxation of home Out of these conditions grow an increasingly loose family relationship, a breaking down of the restraints, standards, and ideals of sex conduct, and the disintegration of that bundle of emotional outgrowths which underpins sound family life and the orderly relationships with neighbors. Still more important, crime increases, especially in the younger elements of the population subjected to such divergent and confusing culture patterns Bewildered by its complexity, experiencing the unique loneliness of the city, the young person comes to feel that since he is not personally known he is not subject to the ordinary pressure of social control Incidentally out of these conditions also grows an increased menace to health, physical as well as moral Thus urbanization means the disintegration of the personal relationships envisaged in the patterns of behavior developed over long periods of subjection to an entirely different environment.

[1] Anderson and Lindeman, *Urban Sociology* (New York, 1928).

THE CITY AND DEPENDENT INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES

In the simple and well-organized ties of country life—the pattern to which mankind has been habituated over centuries—a sick family head may be largely supported through the combined efforts of his family If he has boys they will run the farm. If the wife becomes ill, the girls in the family take over her duties, and the household goes on very much as usual Neighborly help also may serve to bridge the difficulty. That is why, in the early days of any country, no elaborate machinery for public relief of dependents is necessary It is believed that any one willing to work for a living can make a living, and the incapable members of the community are cared for in the family or by neighbors and friends It is in the large cities where all these old relationships are disorganized that we see the growth of public and private charity

In the city, neighborly charity is scarcer while the elements which create dependency abound more. Unemployment, sickness, injury, incapacity, overcrowding and its bad results wrench the individual and his family out of a social structure adapted to rural needs Competition, specialization of labor, and the increased expense of educating children as well as their removal from the class of contributors to the family budget all increase the need for relief while they diminish the possibility of receiving it from friends or neighbors. The result is that as cities grow in size there is an increasing demand for both public and private organizations with adequate funds to care for dependents The increase of such agencies is a good index of the degree of disorganization wrought in the accustomed pattern of life by urbanization. It also indicates how frantically the people in our large urban centers are struggling to provide new sorts of organization to meet the old needs presenting themselves in new forms.

Furthermore, the city acts as a selective agency for various types of individuals, which complicates the social relationships within its population. While on certain types of persons in country, or village, the city acts as a lure, not all individuals in the regions from which the migrant citizens come are attracted to the cities. Certain individuals leave, others remain Some individuals have failed, or have been cut adrift through the break-up of families, or through being outcasts. Thus the city attracts two widely divergent classes—the young and capable, with ambition to improve their opportunities, and the incapables and failures

But the migrant's problem is not over, once he has reached the city He must supplant his ways with its ways The capable and ambitious rise in social status, the inept gravitate to their proper level. Individuals, able to

survive in the simpler environment of the country, may be unable to make the urban adjustment. As a result they become personally disorganized. Hence the increase in the number of the dependents in the city and in the number of feeble-minded and insane.

The dependents become such partly by reason of their incapacity to adjust, and partly by reason of the failure of the city to organize economic and social relationships so that incapacity, sickness, accident, or unemployment does not leave the individual or family to struggle for itself.

Probably there are no more incapables in the city than in the country, but incapacity becomes more apparent in an urban than in a rural society. The much more complex nature of city life, the absence of family and neighborly help to the incapable brings to attention the inability of the mental and physical weakling to meet the demands of city life. The census figures on first admissions to institutions for the feeble-minded, the insane, the epileptics, and delinquents suggest such an hypothesis. To assume that there are a greater proportion of such incapables in the city than in the country is a mistake in the light of two facts: (1) that the city populations have grown by accretions from the rural districts, and, perhaps more important, (2) States which have abundant provisions for the institutional care of insane, feeble-minded and epileptics receive a larger ratio per 100,000 of population from the country than from the city.[2]

The same situation is revealed from the census report with respect to commitment to institutions for offenders. Much more law-breaking occurs under urban conditions than in rural surroundings. Temptations or opportunities to commit offenses are numerous in the city. In addition, many acts harmless in the country are prohibited in the city.[3]

Until we can get further information, the hypothesis is tenable that the urban environment, by demanding greater adjustment on the part of the human personality, more readily reveals the person incapable of making such adjustment. If this hypothesis should be proved it would explain why, in the city, we have a greater degree of disorganization in the sense in which we use that term. The demands upon the individual are greater, hence the capable individual is at an advantage. Until the city adjusts its arrangements so that the less capable individuals shall be protected and aided in their endeavors to adjust themselves to circumstances, we shall have there the greater degree of social maladjustment. On the other hand, since the growth of cities is a

[2] *Feeble-minded and Epileptics in Institutions: 1923*, Bureau of the Census, 1926, pp. 57-80; *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Diseases: 1923*, Bureau of the Census, 1926, p. 39.

[3] *Prisoners: 1923*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1926, p. 58.

new phenomenon and the conditions of living together in great aggregations require new arrangements quite diverse from the pattern of adjustment that has been worked out in the history of the human race, social disorganization, using that term to include economic, political, and the more specific social relationships, is inevitable.

Modern society is in flux Age-old arrangements, developed in response to given conditions, are breaking down before new conditions which they never faced before. There is a break with traditions and patterns of conduct developed and approved by the group in response to conditions of life now obsolescent. Hence comes a challenge to those interested in social welfare to develop methods of living together in great aggregations and to fit new mores to the new circumstances These changes are coming Some of them are accomplished We have developed sanitation with sewage systems, methods of insuring a pure water and milk supply, regulation of markets, pure food laws, quarantine regulations, etc. We have built up great educational systems to supply that which the family once supplied and to adapt our training program to modern needs. In other matters our inventive genius has not been equal to the new conditions. In city politics we have not yet contrived arrangements by which we shall be governed by the best rather than by the worst. We have not yet established, although we are in the process of doing so, new moral standards fitted to our condition While family life has been greatly disorganized by the new conditions, we have not yet adjusted the forms of the family to meet them New forms of social pressure, designed to aid social control, lag behind the demands of the situation. We have improved our police system, but the less formal methods of control have not yet had time to grow up and adapt themselves to our traditions so as to provide the effective checks evident in a simpler state of society. The present maladjustments are challenges to aid the slow process of social change by temporary devices which will bridge the gap between earlier forms of adjustment and those which will effectively resolve the present confusion.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is meant by the pathology of social organization as distinguished from the pathology of personality?
2. Compare the degree of urbanization in the United States with that in any other country. Explain.
3. Account for the rapidity with which the United States has been urbanized.
4. What are the chief causes of urbanization in the United States?
5. Name the chief relationships of human life which have been subject to disorganization by the rapid urbanization of the United States.
6. Explain why urbanization has disrupted the usual relationships in these various phases of human life.
7. Explain the greater incidence of dependency and insanity in the cities than in the country.
8. What effect has the city on personalities of low capacity of adjustment to new conditions?
9. Are the maladjustments in cities due to the fact that most people in the world have been subjected for long periods to rural life and, therefore, find it difficult to adjust quickly to new conditions?
10. Are the present maladjustments transitory results which are likely to disappear as people learn better how to live under urban conditions?

CHAPTER 23

RURAL DISORGANIZATION

The many changes referred to in the previous chapters have also had their effect upon rural life. We can cast our eyes back over several thousand years of history and note in almost every civilization the disorganization of rural life. We know what happened to the rural economy of the Roman State as a result of the great changes which came about after the second Punic war. With the growth of large cities, with the increase of wealth in the hands of a comparatively few families, with the exaction of tribute from the conquered provinces, the whole pattern of both urban and rural life in the Roman Empire changed. Rome drew to herself the outstanding leaders of Italy. Other great cities of the empire swept from the country its manhood and its wealth. The farmers of Italy found themselves overwhelmed in competition with the produce of Egypt and Sicily. With the destruction of the stability of the Italian farmer the small farms were absorbed by the rich landowners, slaves took the place of free men in their cultivation, social institutions in the country decayed, and Rome, from the standpoint of greatness and wealth, overshadowed the remainder of Italy. Coming down more than a thousand years in history we can see the disorganization of rural life in England following the discovery of America. With the growth of commerce, a more extensive use of money, and the development of the woolen trade, the tendency was to enclose large areas of the peasants' land for sheep runs. That meant the dispossession of the peasant cultivator, the depopulation of the countryside, and its abandonment by great numbers for London and other centers of population. Again, following the Industrial Revolution, consider the changes that came about in the rural districts and rural villages, scattered far and wide throughout the realm. People in the villages and in the rural districts had supplemented their income from the land by spinning and weaving cloth. The other articles which entered into England's foreign trade and into her domestic commerce were likewise produced largely under the system of household manufactory. With the Industrial Revolution the tendency was to concentrate the manufacture of articles in large factories where power machinery was able to turn out great quantities of materials at very much less cost and thus supply both domestic and foreign demand for

these articles at a price far below that which had been customary under a household economy The individual spinner and weaver either entered into the factory or slowly starved Great manufacturing centers absorbed a part of the population of every neighboring village and countryside Disorganization of social life again occurred, enormous suffering resulted, countless individuals perished, family life was injured, the whole pattern of the people's methods of living had to be altered in the face of the new circumstances

Social pathology is a function of rapidly changing conditions in the people's lives The ramifications of these changes may be enormous, one thing is certain, that, in the end, the people have changed not only their ways of getting a living but their social institutions and the whole pattern of group reaction to life conditions Rural organization at the present time is undergoing rapid change, more rapid, of course, in some countries than in others However, with the development of means of communication, with the establishment of a world-market, and with the growing intercourse between nations and peoples, a radical change in one country is found to have its repercussion in other countries To the superficial observer rural life in China, India, or Japan may seem established forever Careful students of conditions in those countries, however, inform us that great changes are imminent In our own country we can see changes going on in rural life over a very few years

Consider this picture of Indian agricultural life given by a recent writer and sense what will happen to the social life of these Indian communities should rapid changes such as have appeared in this country appear there

"But two features are characteristic of the country from an agricultural point of view, almost from one end to the other The first of these is the fact that all over (with the single exception of the planting industries of tea, coffee, rubber, etc) agriculture is a peasant industry, conducted independently by small holders with their own hands, and to the extent which their own labour, or little more, supplies for the exploitation of the land In this it is, of course, similar to most of the agriculture of Eastern Europe and of China, but the predominance of such peasant holdings marks Indian rural life off from that of modern England or the United States of America, and gives it characteristics which must always be remembered in trying to picture India as an agricultural country

"The typical unit of cultivation in India is, therefore, small Though 1 25,000,000 of the population in British India live (to use the terminology of the Census of 1921) on 'the exploitation of animals and vegetation,' or, in other words, on agriculture, and though these form 73 per cent of the total population, yet they only actually crop 226 million acres (1924-25) or only 1 8 acres per head, or say seven acres per rural family This at once marks out the character of the simplest implements, with a minimum of machinery,

capital, or hired labour. The results are those which are found everywhere under similar conditions, unless modified by the development of cooperation, that is to say, a self-reliant, self-contained rural population, intensely devoted to the land and unwilling to change it for industrial labour if this can possibly be avoided, but generally living near the limit of subsistence.

"There are exceptions to these general statements. The great planting industries of tea, coffee, rubber and the like are the outstanding examples of the extension of large scale cultivation in India These occupy nearly a million acres under these crops in British India alone These industries, which have been developed most largely in regions previously uncultivated, by foreign agency, are not purely agricultural in character Each of them is associated with a somewhat complicated manufacturing procedure (more marked in the case of tea and rubber than in the case of coffee), and each means, in addition, waiting several years for a return on capital Each has, moreover, a market which it is difficult for the small producer to exploit. Apart from these planting industries, localised as they are almost entirely in the northeast and extreme south of the country, agriculture on an estate scale conducted with hired labour, has never developed in any part of British India, in spite of many efforts and the expenditure of much capital

"The other feature which is characteristic of rural life and of agriculture in India is the tenure of the land and the collection of the people in self-contained and largely self-governing villages Hardly any of the land in the country is, in the full sense of the term, privately owned The assumption, on the part of all governing authorities, at any rate, is that the land belongs to the State, but is placed in the hands of subsidiary owners who, though they have in most cases power to sell it, yet they or any buyers hold it subject to the payment of a fixed assessment to the Government In some cases, as in most parts of Bengal, this assessment is fixed for ever, in most of the other parts of India, it may be varied by the State at definite intervals, of twenty, thirty or forty years, according to considerations which are now standardised in each of the provinces of India.

"While this alienable tenure of land, under the final ownership of the State, and subject to the payment of a fixed annual assessment, is practically universal in British India, yet the form it takes varies widely, but resolves itself into two essentially different types In North India generally, including almost the whole of the great alluvial areas in the valleys of Brahmaputra, Ganges, and Indus, the land is held by landlords (termed *zemindars*) who then let it to the actual peasant cultivators In the remainder of the country, embracing the Central Indian and Deccan plateaux, Burma, and South India generally, the ultimate owner of the land (that is to say, the Government) deals with the peasant cultivator himself (*ryot*) who is responsible for the assessment, and, in the ideal, cultivates the land himself In any case, the result as regards the agriculture is similar Small holdings are the basis of cultivation, and are necessarily grouped into villages with a very strong bond of union between the people of the same village, either because the land belongs to the same *zemindar* or because such small holders have to provide for common services (carpenter, blacksmith, ropemaker, etc.). Thus there is much community in supplying the needs of the people, but each *ryot*

cultivates, in absolute or almost absolute independence, the small amount of land which he holds, either as the tenant of a *senhor*, or as a direct holder from the State. This *independence in cultivation* of each of the holders of land, however small the holding may be, is very deep rooted in the people, and though farming in cooperation *does* occur, it is relatively rare, and the pooling of holdings to make a decent-sized farm is equally little known.

"We have, therefore, almost everywhere, a system of peasant agriculture, with all its disadvantages intensified by the smallness of the holdings, and by the fact that (even when the cultivators are tenants of one *senhor*) they cultivate independently. This results in perennial shortness and extreme expensiveness of working capital, and of inability to use the capital so as to get the best result in production from the land. These disadvantages are least seen where the soil and climate, or irrigation arrangements, permit intensive cultivation, and the use of a large amount of hand labour, which, in certain agricultural conditions, obtains yields and results that no large scale cultivation has yet obtained. The disadvantages are most in evidence in those dry and precarious regions where intense hand work yields no adequate return."[1]

Turn now to a picture of rural life in New England a hundred and thirty odd years ago:

"In the old days, when methods of work about the house and farm were prized for their hoary antiquity rather than, as now, for their novelty, and all farmers did as their ancestors had done, there was hardly a man in the New England towns who was not engaged in the pleasant occupation of farming. The storekeeper and the miller plowed, harrowed, and cultivated in the intervals of their other work, and the minister himself hung up his gown after the last service on Sunday, and, like the rest of the community, worked his land on Monday morning. A century ago each town owned a farm, the use of which was allowed the minister, rent free, as a part of his salary.

"The struggle in modern times is for the money to buy the necessities of life, then there was less to buy, and each man was dependent on his own exertions to get the necessities themselves from the soil or from the stock which he could afford to keep.

"In those days, aside from the work which the miller or the itinerant cobbler performed, each farm was a nearly self-supporting entity, both for food and clothing. In modern times the great English artist, printer, and socialist, William Morris, founded a settlement which tried to be independent of the outside world, growing and making all its own necessities and luxuries. The experiment was no more of a success than Mr. Alcott's similar scheme at Fruitlands, in the town of Harvard. In our greatgrandfathers' time, however, this was no experiment, curious and interesting, but a fact to be reckoned with from day to day throughout their lives.

"The village store sold the few luxuries of life—white and brown sugar, salt, West Indian goods, such as molasses and spices, and, most of all, New England rum.

[1] *Inglis, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Philadelphia, 1919), Part II, CXLV, 72-74.

"Nearly every town boasted a foundry, where articles were made by hand, which would be far beyond the ability of our modern blacksmith. Here were made the plows and scythes, if the foundry was equipped with a trip hammer, shovels and hoes for outside work, nails for the carpenter, from the great iron spike to the shingle nail. The tools the carpenter used also came from the hands of the local blacksmith. In many country towns, old garrets will yield great chisels, primitive axes, and wrought iron bit-stocks, all made by hand and testifying to the excellence of workmanship by their age and condition. The household utensils, too, were his work, the fire dogs, toasting racks, hobs, iron kettles, skillets, and an endless array of less common things, and all this in addition to the shoeing of horses and oxen. . . .

"A little later, after frost had set in, more animals were killed—cattle, sheep, and pigs—and frozen. The creatures were hung whole in the attic or in some convenient shed, and represented the winter's supply. Apples were dried or turned into cider, for few were kept in barrels for the winter's use, as we now keep them.

"Most towns had cider mills in which the neighbors had rights. The mills were usually stone-walled and sometimes were cut into a hillside, like a cellar open in front. Inside was the great press, which was worked by a horse going round and round, harnessed to a great bar overhead. The size of the press is evidence of the universal use of cider . . .

"When haying time came, it was not each man for himself, but all the men of a small neighborhood worked together, and harvested the hay from each farm until it was all well housed. Even then the harvest was slow in comparison with what our modern machinery will accomplish. If any were in trouble, help was immediate and practical. If a man were sick and the burden fell on the woman alone, the cattle were tended and the work done by the neighbors . . .

"There was one great industry which brought much money to New England towns for many years, that was hop growing. Disease and competition from more Western States finally put an end to one of the great money-making employments of the New England farm of those days. In the middle of one Massachusetts town there can still be seen a field plowed and hilled for the hops that were never planted. Why they were not, no one can tell now, but there the furrows are, in the midst of a great wood, with sixty-year-old pine trees reaching far over your heads, growing in that forsaken field. On many of the farms one can see the old hop kilns in a more or less advanced state of ruin adding their picturesque touch to the landscape.

"A hundred years ago the vocation of a husbandman or farmer was as truly a trade to be learned as that of cobbler, miller, blacksmith, or the rest. So young boys were apprenticed to this trade, as to the others. This custom, also, in large measure, solved the problem of help for the farmers of that day. The low wages paid these apprentices for their services gives some explanation of the reasons for the acquisition of a comfortable living by many farmers . . .

"While the men worked in the fields and tended the cattle, the women had their many duties, too. Their energies were demanded for so many things that a housekeeper in those days need be an expert along many lines. Men in those

days are simple things, and simple cooking, like very simple clothes, must be so much the better intrinsically. The food that is simple must be well seasoned or well cooked to tempt, while a complicated dish disguises its poor cooking by its high seasoning, as a badly cut dress may be made to look well by its many furbelows. Baking in a brick oven was an art The oven was filled with wood, lighted and burned out, making the bricks of the right degree of heat. Then the oven must be cleaned. At the farthest end were put the beans, followed by the brown bread, Indian pudding, white bread, pies, and cake They were allowed to stay, and were taken out in the reverse order from that in which I have named them All other cooking must be done over the coals of a great wood fire, or in a tin kitchen placed on the hearth We may imagine that the table service in a country farmhouse was not complicated It was etiquette to eat with the knife, as forks had not come into use Pewter and old blue iron ware abounded, copper, also, was much used, and must have added color to the kitchen After the inner man was satisfied, the wife must clothe her husband, herself, and the children Cloth could, of course, be bought, but as a rule was far too expensive for anything but a farmer's very best Homespun was the general wear, and to make homespun the wool had to be taken from their own sheep oftentimes to make their clothes, and all the process after the shearing and washing fell to the woman's share I believe that there were itinerant tailoresses later on, but of course only the well-to-do could afford such luxuries The flax, too, had to be spun and woven. Many houses throughout the country still show the old loom room, where the loom stood for generations Many parts of old looms can still be found, reeds, shuttles, needles, and heddles

"Stockings had to be knit and many endless tasks performed to keep the family warm and dry. Often the man of the family did part of the cobbling of his children's shoes and his own.

"Candles must be made for light, and candle dipping was a hard and dirty task It took skill to make them round and even Later molds came in fashion and made the task easier and less dirty Soap had to be made for the family use These were tasks in addition to the ordinary sweeping, cooking, and housework which every house demands Floors were scrubbed with soap and sand until they were white, and they were kept so by the thrifty housekeeper.

"Nearly every town had a man whose occupation must have been picturesque—the hatter—who made those enormous beaver hats that looked almost like fur, that men wore years ago. It took him a long time to make a hat, and when it was done the owner wore it proportionately long

"We New Englanders are all familiar with the costumes of a hundred years ago The Shakers still wear them when they dress in their uniform When Mother Ann Lee founded the order, about 1793, the clothes as you see them now were the ordinary clothes in vogue then They have never changed the style, unless of late years some of them have grown more worldly and have adopted modern dress And now, after a hundred years of disuse, the stylish cloak of a former century is again in demand

"And when all the work was done, they gathered around the great fireplace, in the candle-light. The light, even until kerosene came to be used, was very poor, and in those days one read with the paper or book in one hand and

the candle in the other, so that it might be moved back and forth before the print. The picture that one has is the coziest in the world, but contemporaries tell us that the reality was often far from the ideal. The great chimneys, with their huge fires, created a draught which brought the outer cold into the room, and fires really warmed but a small area. Yet here, around this kitchen fire, centered all the life of the home, all its comfort and its homeliness.

"Life was not all a grind to these good people, for they had their social gatherings, and varied ones, too. First and foremost stood the church with its services, the social center of the town. But when we remember that country towns were nearly isolated from the outer world, that the only travel was by the slow method of stage-coach or private carriage, and was seldom indulged in; it seems natural that the people should have turned to the church, where all were welcome—in fact, where all must go, or be labored with by the minister and deacons. So it came to pass that this was the one thing in which all were interested, in which all had a share. When we remember, too, how large a part religion played in the minds and hearts of our ancestors, it is inevitable that the church should stand as the most important and the unifying factor of their lives.

"On Sundays nearly every one went to meeting and stayed all day. No one cooked on Sunday, and all the food for that day was cold. The women were expected to go to church all day, as well as the men, so that the Saturday baking, which tradition still holds many a modern household to regard, was then a matter of urgent need as well as a matter of conscience. The man who had relatives living near the church, or who lived near by, was indeed lucky, because a warm fire at noon might then be his. Otherwise the dinner was carried and eaten in the church in winter, or outside in summer. How many of us would submit to the discomfort of sitting all day in an unheated building, regaling ourselves at noon with cold food, with the thermometer many times in the neighborhood of zero? Yet duty led them and personal comfort did not enter into their consideration. We may hope that the desh of gossip, taken with their dinner, compensated for much which might otherwise have been unbearable. Perhaps this human companionship softened the denunciations and threats of the two sermons. The church, aside from its spiritual teachings, furnished a place in which all the town met once a week. It was more or less political in a broader sense, for there matters of national politics, state politics, and even those of local importance were discussed by the minister. As he was the best educated man, his opinion and its expression very often formed that of the majority of those of the other men in town.

"In the church, also, were held the town meetings, with their serious and sometimes humorous debates, which furnished a means of growth and expression to others. It was this training which enabled the colonies to withstand the mother country. Men had learned to think in a logical way, and to express their thoughts. They were keen to find the weak places in an argument and to search out sophistries. When England attempted to cheat their sense of justice, she found a community made up of citizens, not of peasants.

"The town was divided into districts, the center of each was the school. Each district met and decided its own educational problems as best suited it; each engaged its own teachers, and disbursed its own share of the school

appropriations. Bitter and often sanguinary were the fights over this important question, many and hard were the debates as to whether it should be a 'writing school' or a 'reading school,' and how they could make their share of the funds hold out.

"These districts also took care of their own roads, and most men, rather than pay their taxes in cash, "worked out" their taxes on the roads. So far as one can gather from the records the roads were treated a good deal like a plowed field, and must have been exceedingly poor They were plowed every spring and heaped up into the middle, with the intention of making a watershed.

"The roads were a constant annoyance at all seasons—mud spring and fall, dust in the summer, and drifting snow in winter Complaint was made in a nearby town that a certain man named Hildreth had put his stone wall so far into the road that the drifting snow made it impassable The road commissioner warned Hildreth to remove the wall, which he refused to do. So the wall was moved back by those working on the road. Hildreth tore it down in the night and rebuilt it on the former site The wall was torn down again by the road commissioner and replaced where it belonged It was then guarded by men until the town met and voted that Hildreth leave his wall where it should be, and write a letter of apology to the commissioner All this Hildreth did with a bad grace

"A domestic amusement was a house or barn raising To this about every one in the town went, the men to do the actual raising, the women and girls to prepare and serve the feast which followed Their hospitality was generally lavish To one who has never partaken of the delights which can be baked in a brick oven, the tales of those so blessed seem more or less like those of the "Arabian Nights" A halo, formed of the reminiscences of gay good times and the appetite of youth, is put around these pleasures of a bygone day, making them shine with a preternatural light And at these raisings, besides the baking and the roast meats, was there not cider and Medford rum to make glad the heart of man?

"Funerals and weddings were also legitimate social times, the former to afford the luxury of woe, the latter of unalloyed joy Then there were the kitchen dances in the winter, and each man took his turn at entertaining, and showed with pride the good things that his wife could make. The good times, as we look back upon them, seem so simple and wholesome, they were entered into with such a spirit of enthusiasm and expectancy, that it makes one wish that one could now have so whole-hearted a good time from so little It seems almost as if the hard work and drudgery of daily life gave a fine zest to their amusements

"Later on the Lyceum came to try the sinews of men in debate, came to prove the literary ability of their wives and daughters They debated on everything under the sun—huge philosophical subjects jostled trivialities, questions of morals, religion, and politics followed discussions of farming and cattle raising The records of such a Lyceum lie before me The members began their work by this debate, 'Resolved, that a scolding wife is a greater evil than a smoking house' They decided in the affirmative, and then passed to this, 'Resolved, that the old man in the story in Webster's

spelling book was justified in throwing stones at the boy.' They next discussed the morality of giving prizes in the schools. Excitement often waxed high, and personalities were dealt in, but the end of the evening brought calm. It was devoted to the literary efforts of the women of the Lyceum. These consisted of recitations, readings, and original essays.

"So our fathers on the farm varied their hard work with fun in much smaller quantities than we enjoy to-day. But in those days the actual struggle was less, a man toiled for his daily bread itself with no competitors but the soil, the weather, and his own temperament. Now a man works at his specialty to outdo his competitors, to get his goods to the market quicker and in better condition, to sell that he may buy, not to grow and tend that he may eat and be warm."[1]

Consider what must have happened in a little more than a century when the following sums up the situation in a New England community:

"To sum up, the facts to be faced in these towns are as follows: (1) A constantly decreasing population, the remnant being made up of the aged and the weak, for the most part without joy in living; (2) the beginnings of a movement back to the country, (3) large regions unsuited to productive farming or at an embarrassing distance from the markets, (4) poor schools with neither the money nor the social life to attract good teachers, (5) weak churches without the money to procure good ministers or a realization of the need of spiritual leadership, (6) a great dearth of recreation, (7) a large proportion of men, women and children isolated from normal social relationships, (8) a people without leaders."[2]

With these pictures of rural life contrast the situation to-day. How much is changed. Instead of most of the articles which are used on the farm being produced there, they are now produced in the cities and bought in the market. Farming has been largely mechanized. Contrast the situation even fifty years ago with that of to-day. Then the self-binder was just coming into use. Most of the grain was still harvested with the dropper or the self-rake. Now the wheat is no longer ground into flour at the neighboring mill but is shipped to the wheat markets and milled in great milling centers. The flour for the family use is bought in the market-town store. It has been estimated that in many lines of agriculture one man to-day can do as much as from six to twelve could before agriculture had become mechanized. As the result of these great changes radical rearrangements of the population had been made necessary. Says a former president of the American Sociological Society.

[1] Bolton, "Country Life in New England," Phelan, *Readings in Rural Sociology* (New York, 1920), Ch. I.

[2] *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1911, p. 420.

"This vast movement of population from farms has had two results: first, it has lowered the rate of increase of farm populations and finally caused a sheer decrease of that population. Decade by decade down to 1920, the increase of rural population steadily declined until it was only 5.4 per cent between 1910 and 1920, while for the same decade the rate of national increase was about 15 per cent and that of urban districts was nearly 26 per cent. We did not know much about the statistics of our agricultural population prior to the census of 1920, when the first census of the strictly farm population was taken and tabulated. Estimates based on the census of 1910 and 1920, reckoned a farm population increase of only 1.9 per cent during that decade. The later studies of the federal government indicate that there was an actual decline of farm population between 1920 and 1925 of 1.5 per cent and that this same per cent of decline obtained for the next year.

This great migration to cities and villages is a source of increase of urban population of first importance. According to my estimate, rural migration accounted for 31 per cent of the increase of urban population between 1900 and 1910. Immigration then accounted for a larger portion of that increase, 41 per cent. During the decade 1910-20, 45 per cent of the urban gain must be ascribed to the rural source. Immigration, at the same time, had a force of only 23 per cent. Probably today a third or more of the growth of urban population is to be assigned to the movement of dirt farmers from farms."*

Urbanization of Rural Life. Not only has farming been mechanized in the rural communities, but social life has been affected by mechanical inventions. The telephone has displaced older methods of communication, trucks and automobiles have superseded oxcart, lumber wagon, and surrey; electric lamps have taken the place of kerosene lamps which had in their turn crowded out candles, the washing machine has relieved women's backs and arms of the painful labor of the washboard, radios have displaced even the comparative modernity of the victrola—and all have brought radical changes to the country. All of these are city devices, there invented and there first used. From the cities they have spread to the country districts. Thus the urbanization of rural life has gone on. City style homes, city fashions, vogues, education modified on the basis of city models—even religion influenced by the currents of city life have invaded the country. Perhaps never in the history of the world has the city influenced the surrounding rural area so much. The inventions mentioned above and many others, among them the newspaper, and the establishment of good rural mails have had a very important part to play in this crescent influence of the modern city.

Furthermore, since the introduction of the motor car and its wide use in

* *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXIII, 7.

rural districts, the city exerts a considerable influence upon the country people through its theaters, churches, and various amusement places. In other words the culture of the city is flowing out to the rural neighborhoods in streams unprecedented in history. The cities as the chief creators and the main depositories of the cultural surplus have now become the purveyors of this surplus in ever-widening circles. The rural population as never before is being "citified" not only in their economic commodities but also in their ideas, their patterns of action, methods of social intercourse, their styles of clothing, modes of dress, and ways of wearing the hair.

On the other hand, as Sorokin and Zimmerman have pointed out,[8] because of the higher rural birth-rates and the higher rural vitality, the country supplies the city with people who have the rural biological and cultural background. Constantly there flows into the city a stream of rural people, reared in a rural culture which lags somewhat behind the culture of the city. They contribute their rugged strength and high vitality to the city life. They also carry with them the rural cultural pattern which again tends to level up the differences between the culture of the city and that of the country. This makes easier the dissemination of urban culture in the country districts.

DISORGANIZATION INCIDENT TO THESE CHANGES

In spite of the levelling influence of the migration of rural biological stock and rural culture to the cities, the country always lags behind the urban communities culturally. Changes are constantly going on in both places, yet they are going on more rapidly in the centers of their origin and dissemination. It is the lag between cultural change in the city and in the country which produces some types of disorganization in the rural districts.

On the Character of the Population. The higher birth-rate and the higher vital index of the country, together with the absorption by the city of increasing numbers of people, has very definite results in the character of the rural population. For example, the age-distribution of the population in the city is somewhat different from that of the country. Dividing the age-groups into three classes—those under fifteen, those between fifteen and forty-four, and those forty-five and over—the urban districts have only 27 per cent of their populations under fifteen, while the rural districts have 36 per cent under that age. Of the population of the cities 53.3 per cent are between the ages of fifteen and forty-four, while only 44.9 per cent of the rural areas are in that age-group.

[8] Sorokin and Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York, 1929), Ch. IV.

These divergencies result partly from the higher birth-rate and vitality index of the rural districts and partly from the movement to the city of country people who have reached the active period of life between fifteen and forty-four.

This constant flow of the young and vigorous from the country to the city has given rise to a great deal of speculation. Some have felt that that migration accounts for the cultural backwardness of the rural areas. It is a question, however, whether this is anything more than speculation. Probably this difference in age-groupings in the two areas may provide some of the elements of strain in the social organization which results in rural disorganization. Without question it gives a relative preponderance of the children and of the aged to the country as compared with the city. It probably results in slowing up the urbanizing process in the rural districts.

The difference in marriedness between country and city is of some significance. According to the Census of 1910 a larger proportion of the rural population has been married than of the city population, and a greater per cent of rural females than males. According to Ogburn, 11½ per cent more of the people were married in the country than in the city. That means that in the cities there is a larger proportion of single persons, a smaller proportion of married, and a larger proportion of widowed females than in the country. Sorokin and Zimmerman, who studied the situation in other countries, have shown that throughout the world, so far as information is available, "urbanism is nearly always associated with a decrease in the proportion of married females but not always with a decrease in the proportion of married males."

Rural Economic Disorganization. Disorganization of rural life inevitably follows the early stages of capitalistic agriculture. The use of machinery in farm production and production for a world market require managerial ability on the farm of a higher order than ever before. This situation represents a decided break with the traditional methods characteristic of the self-sufficing farm of pioneer days. Further, while the mechanization of industry in the cities results in the regimentation of the industrial population, and gives leadership into the hands of a few, the mechanization of agriculture and production for a world market leaves each farmer, as before, his own manager. Such a situation requires a higher grade of managerial ability in ordinary farmers than in ordinary industrial workers. Organized industry in the city can absorb a much greater number of workers without capacity to produce for a world market than is possible in present-day agriculture. This situation has been clearly seen by agricultural leaders and colleges of agriculture. They have tried to meet the problems

by farmers' institutes, courses on farm management in the colleges of agriculture, farm journals, agricultural experiment station bulletins, and publications by the national department of agriculture. The problem of marketing has also been faced by the various cooperative associations and marketing pools. These provide a kind of leadership, approximating to some degree the organization of capitalistic business. That these methods are not as effective in the farming business as in industrial enterprises is shown by the failure of such measures to limit production and frequently to command needed capital. Nothing analogous to the large-scale organization of industrial enterprises has been done to control conditions within a field, or to control production through holding corporations. Moreover, the unified management characteristic of productive processes in industry has scarcely been attempted. With such a difference between the economic organization of farming and other industries disorganization in the economic aspects of rural life is inevitable. The attempt of Soviet Russia to collectivize and mechanize agriculture shows the disorganization incident to such a radical change

Rural Social Disorganization. Accompanying these economic changes are striking social changes in rural communities. Consider the social significance of the following facts:

(1) Of the estimated 1,700,000,000 human beings on this planet from 1,000,000,000 to 1,100,000,000 get their living by agriculture* If such is the situation to-day, with the Western world becoming urbanized, one can imagine the situation before urbanization developed to its modern dimensions

(2) In Western civilization urbanization has gone on at a very rapid pace in the past fifty years Consider what social changes were conditioned by the decrease of rural population as follows:

United States	from	71 4%	in	1880	to	48 6 %	in	1910 (Rural, less than 2,500)
Eng and Wales	"	49 8%	"	1851	"	20 6 %	"	1910 (Rural, less than 5,000)
Belgium	"	67 4%	"	1846	"	42 5 %	"	1920 (Rural, less than 5,000)
France	"	78 0%	"	1800	"	53 7 %	"	1921 (Rural, less than 2,000)
Germany	"	61 0%	"	1875	"	35 65%	"	1926 (Rural, less than 2,000)
Australia	"	76 7%	"	1840	"	56 99%	"	1921
Canada	"	68 2%	"	1891	"	50.48%	"	1921
New Zealand	"	60 0%	"	1881	"	43 8 %	"	1921 (Rural, less than 1,000)
South Africa	"	76 8%	"	1804	"	74.9 %	"	1921 (Both European and native population)
Japan	"	84.4%	"	1894	"	67 8 %	"	1920 (Rural, less than 1,000)
India	"	90 5%	"	1891	"	88.8 %	"	1921 (Rural, less than 2,000)

* Sombart, *Das Wirtschaftsleben im Zeitalter der Hochkapitalismus*, cited by Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op cit*, pp. 426 and 427

If one takes the per cent of the total occupational population of different countries engaged in agriculture, one finds that the proportion in agriculture has decreased as follows.

United States	from	44.1	% in	1880	to	32.5	% in	1910,	and 26.3 in 1920
Belgium	"	44.0	% "	1846	"	16.01	% "	1910	
England and Wales	"	12.0	% "	1881	"	6.5	% "	1921	
Germany	"	42.5	% "	1882	"	28.6	% "	1907	
Sweden	"	51.6	% "	1870	"	38.4	% "	1910	
Switzerland	"	31.2	% "	1900	"	25.5	% "	1920	
Finland	"	74.8	% "	1880	"	65.1	% "	1920	
Canada	"	34.28	% "	1911	"	32.82	% "	1921	
Australia	"	44.0	% "	1871	"	25.8	% "	1921	
New Zealand	"	29.0	% "	1881	"	24.5	% "	1911	
Austria	"	62.6	% "	1870	"	59.1	% "	1900	
Hungary	"	70.5	% "	1890	"	69.1	% "	1900	
Denmark	"	46.2	% "	1901	"	40.3	% "	1911	
Scotland	"	16.2	% "	1871	"	10.3	% "	1901[7]	

Not only is urbanization well-nigh world-wide but everywhere it has meant change in many relationships of life. As Sorokin and Zimmerman have shown, it has meant,

(1) The drawing from the countryside of its adults in the vigorous years of life and of the females in disproportionate numbers.

(2) Populations in ever-increasing proportions have been brought under urban influences both directly and indirectly. Large proportions of the total population have been subjected directly by living and working in cities to city conditions. Indirectly the urban influences have extended to the remaining rural population by means of city made inventions. Hence, interaction and contact between rural and urban populations have rapidly increased. Urban machine-culture has spread rapidly to country people and with mechanized agriculture has lessened the differences between rural and urban civilizations. These differences have also been decreased by the leaven of culture carried by increasing numbers of people who are born and raised in the country but migrate to the city.

Consequent upon this process of what Galpin called "rurbanization" changes have come in the vital, psychological, social and moral characteristics of the country populations. Their institutions, economy, and culture have suffered a strain. Changed methods have come about in every phase of rural life. Individuals adjusted to one set of relationships and to one culture pattern often experience disorganization in the process. Old rela-

[7] Adapted from Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 612 and 613.

tionships break down. Until new ones take their place and persons become habituated to new ways, disorganization of personality and relationship occur.

(3) The country birth-rate has declined

(4) Suicides in the rural districts, while less than in the cities, have increased.

(5) The old stability of the rural family has been weakened. Fewer of its members are needed on the farm; hence, they go to the city. Recreation is becoming citified More and more the services once performed in the family for the children are being taken over by school, nurse, clinic, and playground director.

(6) Country religion is modified by urban influences Criminality has increased Modernism in dress, arts, religion, patriotism, and internationalism appears in the country to an increasing degree The old country dances give way to city dances Old folk-songs are supplanted by city jazz.

(7) The homogeneity of rural culture is invaded and modified by city culture Fixed and traditional neighborhood ties tend to give way to urban individualism Instead of the old neighborly, spontaneous gatherings, we see the development of clubs for both men and women* In short in every phase of country life the city behavior patterns and attitudes are supplanting the country ways of former ages

If these changes go on rapidly, so rapidly that new adjustments cannot quickly be made, disorganization of personalities and of institutions occurs, and pathological social conditions are thus produced

Let us turn to a few items for more careful study

Disorganization of the Rural Family. We have already seen the influence of urbanization in division of labor between city and country, and how the farm-family, producing for a market, become less self-sufficient. We have noticed some of the details, material and ideal, of urbanization Let us now look at the modifications made in the traditional age-old pattern of rural family life. The family as an institution has come down to us molded by a rural environment It has all the earmarks of "made in the country." It was adapted over centuries of experiment to the economy and sociomony of pastoral and agricultural people It was an economic and social unit. Interdependence of its members and strongly knit cohesion were its outstanding characteristics All the conditions of rural existence fixed these characteristics into its very texture Then cities developed. In modern times these cities have grown up around the factory with its satellite organizations for the distribution of factory-made articles Division of labor is a marked characteristic of modern industry That feature tended to break the soli-

* Kolb and Wileden, *Special Interest Groups in Rural Society* (Madison, Wis, 1927).

darity of family life in the city. So far as that industrial and commercial revolution has affected the division of labor between the country and the city, it has modified the economic functions of the rural family. So far as urbanization has reached out into the country by means of better roads, newspapers, radios, victrolas, farm machinery, fashions of dress, birth-control, and patterns of conduct, it has modified the solidarity of the rural family. Rural divorce, while still much lower than city divorce, grows higher with the increase of urban influence. The number of children in the rural families, while still much above the number in city families, also declines. With the migration of the young and vigorous adults among country people to the city, the solidarity of the rural family has been shaken. Without question this disturbance of the age-classes has some significant results on the rural family.

In short, the changing rural family is undergoing stresses and strains and, during the period of readjustment, experiences some disorganization. Something better adapted to the new conditions may result, but it takes a long time to establish new modes of family behavior, and to rebuild institutions along new lines.

Once the rural orphan was taken into a relative's or neighbor's home. More and more he now has to be cared for by children's agencies. Illegitimates were formerly taken care of in the country families. Increasingly the girl who "gets into trouble" goes to the city to dispose of her baby. Once the imbecile, idiot, and stupid were cared for by their families, by relatives, or neighbors. Increasingly these defectives are being handled by agencies and institutions for that special purpose. Such a change in procedure means a wrench in the families of these unfortunates. New emotional reactions must be built up based upon scientific knowledge and these are not built in a day.

On Neighborhood Unity. The influence of urbanization has also been great upon neighborhood unity in the rural community. Sorokin and Zimmerman have shown that there is greater solidarity and mutual aid among farmers than there is among urban dwellers. This close-knit feeling of individual for individual within a community, inevitably lessens as the urbanization of rural districts progresses. Inevitably, in the first place, because there are less people required on a farm which is mechanized, and, hence, the size of the community declines; inevitably, in the second place, because the methods of mechanization do away partly, if not wholly, with joint enterprises, and in the third place, because the migration of rural young men and women to the cities creates a change in nature and variety of community social undertakings. The changes of urbanization are all away

from, rather than towards, neighborly, commonly shared living, inspired by the necessity of mutual aid in economic enterprises.

But it must not be supposed that no new common ties have followed the loss of the old ones. On the contrary, the disorganization resulting from the disturbance of the old-fashioned rural society has been succeeded by a type of joint-participation, urban in its character. Cooperative societies and neighborhood associations have developed among farmers, and Kolb and Wileden have shown that there are growing up in rural communities numerous organizations in imitation of city clubs and purposive groups.* These organizations, which the authors of this study designate as showing an increase in vertical stratification, are gradually taking the place of the old neighborly relationships. In the process of the transformation from the old-fashioned rural unity to the new urban type of community enterprise, much rural social disorganization took place. In this instance we see the development of a new social order adapted to the changed conditions.

On Class Consciousness and Political Solidarity. All of these new movements in the rural world have wrought great changes also on the immemorial consciousness of difference felt and expressed between the country people and the city people. Even in the time of Rome's greatness that consciousness asserted itself in the Roman term *pagan*, an appellation of contempt used by city dwellers for the country man. In more recent times the city dweller has expressed this frame of mind in such terms as *hayseed* and *rube*. This class consciousness also expresses itself in rural and urban points of view upon consumption and markets. The farmer has always produced his surplus goods for a market which he could not control, while he had to buy his goods at a market also quite outside his control. Naturally he has felt that he was sometimes the victim of a situation which operated to his disadvantage.

The combination of the various sources of class consciousness has led to the development of differences on political ideals, especially with reference to State and national economic policies. Beard has shown in his *Rise of American Civilization* how many of the political conflicts in the history of the United States grew out of the consciousness dividing the city dwellers and the ruralites. Jackson's whole program was a protest against the economic policies of the national government, framed in the interests of the manufacturers and commercial classes of the cities. Our memories to-day recall the greenback and the populist movements in American politics, movements indicative of the divergence of interests of the country people from the city people. These differences, while in some respects softened

* Kolb and Wileden, *op. cit.*

by the increasing influence of urban ideals on the country population, still cut deeply into the national solidarity as affected by the respective interests of the farmers and the industrial classes. With the increasing preponderance of city populations, it is a question whether the farmers are not fighting with their backs to the wall. Furthermore, with an increasing proportion of the votes in the cities it is not hard to understand that the representatives of the farmers in the legislative bodies of the country are in a difficult situation. The present anomalous situation of the farmer is in part due to the control by the city dweller in his own interest, of national laws regulating economic matters. This class consciousness, ramifying into every part of life, leads to grave maladjustments and places a strain upon rural economic, political, and social organization which in turn throw heavy stresses upon rural individuals.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Cite some historic illustrations of rural disorganization due to economic and social changes.
2. Why do changes in economic conditions affect changes in the family and in morals?

3. What are some of the maladjustments in the recreational institutions which occur in the change from the organization of life in New England a hundred and thirty years ago as described in the text?
4. What changes in social institutions have followed the mechanization of [illegible]
5. What changes have occurred in the home life, church life, and in the recreational life of rural communities with the introduction of the motor car?
6. Why has the birth-rate begun to decrease in the country?
7. In what respects has the influence of the city culture, diffused into the country, made for rural disorganization?
8. Show how the economic changes in rural life have destroyed neighborhood unity
9. In what sense may the decrease of class consciousness and the destruction of political solidarity in the country be called disorganization?

CHAPTER 24

CLASS AND GROUP DISORGANIZATION

Rapid change in any population produces conflict If such change affects the standard of living, population may increase and overflow territory traditionally acknowledged as the possession of others Encroachment upon the pastures or hunting grounds, upon the source of raw materials, or upon the trade areas of neighbors excites rancor and leads to conflict Rapid change within a group acts as a selective agent in breaking the population into classes Individuals quick in response and thirsting for new experience react favorably to a newly defined situation Those more sluggish in response, those who are best adjusted to things as they were, feel disturbed and react against the new situation This change introduces a selective process which divides a unified static group into classes and produces a new grouping Clashes inevitably arise between these divergent groups Customs become modified Old relations are strained Emotional reactions develop between sub-group and sub-group which lead to conflict

Changes in movements of population also bring into contact different cultural groups Cultural conflict is no less disturbing than conflict based upon individual differences Assimilation of variant cultures may occur with the passage of time, but in the meanwhile conflict and disorganization take place

Lester F. Ward pictured a condition of society in the days of its early development when loosely formed hordes of people, tracing kinship solely through the mothers, were the only groups of men upon the earth. During this period when the hordes of mankind were separating, wandering farther apart, developing differences of language, customs, traditions, and religions, there was an idyllic stage of comparative peace and comfort which preceded the era of strife and war between more developed groups of men [1] This picture is purely imaginative, drawn from the fact that certain groups of mankind, scattered on the outer fringes of human civilization to-day, are peaceful, knowing no war and settling their difficulties without personal violence For the great majority of mankind group struggle is to-day, and so far as history throws any light upon the question always has been, the inevitable accompaniment of contacts between people of different traditions and culture. All

[1] Ward, L. F, *Pure Sociology* (New York, 1907), pp 300-301.

history is full of stories of wars and battles. The earliest portions of our Hebrew scriptures picture the struggle between alien groups. The earliest literature of the Greeks reflects class and group conflict. These great struggles between what we now call national groups still go on. The greatest war of all history is of recent memory.

With the growing complexity of human life, with different interests and occupations dividing people into various classes, the group struggles of the present day have been greatly multiplied. In addition to the struggle of ethnic and cultural groups, nationalities, and races, we have the struggle between different classes in the same society. Some of these class struggles are survivals from previous times. For example, the conflict between clergy and laity is an historical survival. So also are the conflicts between peasant and noble, learned and unlearned, and, to a degree, between those who have and those who have not. Once the chief social bond was kinship. Group struggle was between people of different blood. To-day that has largely passed, surviving mainly in the feuds in backward communities between different kin-groups. Social and economic differences, rather than differences of blood, characterize modern class struggle and group conflict. Moreover, since many of us are interested in several different classes, our loyalties are somewhat divided. A man to-day may belong to a learned profession, but he may also through stocks or bonds be part-owner of a great corporation, or he may be a member of a cooperative society. He may have married a European wife, and he may have come up from the laboring class and be perfectly acquainted with their difficulties. Hence to-day the intensity of loyalty to one group frequently is diluted by loyalties to other groups.

SOME OUTSTANDING GROUP CONFLICTS

Space will not permit a thorough treatment of all types of conflict between various classes and groups. Consider some of the outstanding forms in our present civilization: (1) conflict between labor and capital, (2) race riots, (3) religious conflicts, (4) conflicts of culture, and (5) national conflict resulting in war.

(1) **Conflict Between Labor and Capital.** The economic struggle for advantage between the employers of labor and the laborers themselves is a development consequent upon the Industrial Revolution. In a former day when the employer and his men worked in the same shop and at the same work there was little division of interests between the two. With the introduction of machinery and the use of large amounts of capital in the productive process all this is changed. Often the stockholders who furnish the capital are not acquainted even with the manager of the business. There

is not the personal touch between employer and employed that once obtained. The stockholder is interested chiefly in his dividends; the bondholder in his interest; the manager in satisfying these two groups and at the same time keeping his labor as contented as possible Labor in many cases does not know anything about the conduct of the business, it knows only what it hears as to the amount of profit which the business reaps, it knows what wages it receives and frequently feels that the distribution of the concern's earnings is not fair. Moreover, the conditions under which the laborers work are determined not by conference of employer with employee, but arbitrarily by the employer and sometimes these conditions are bad for the laborer Expense deters the company from improving them Consequently we have these industrial conflicts which we know as strikes and lockouts.

Frequently an industry is paralyzed by a strike which cannot be settled by agreement between the two contending parties Thousands of families suffer, homes are disrupted, hatred develops, and frequently violence occurs In such a case you have war within the body politic between conflicting classes of society. The following table shows the situation from 1916 to 1924.[8]

Year	*No. of disputes*	*No of employees*	*Average number of employees per dispute*
1916	2,667	1,599,917	600
1917.....	2,325	1,227,154	528
1918.....	2,151	1,239,989	576
1919.	2,665	4,160,348	1,561
1920	2,226	1,463,054	657
1921	1,785	1,099,247	616
1922	865	1,606,321	1,859
1923.	1,132	744,948	658
1924	872	654,453	751

During these nine years there were 16,688 disputes affecting 13,797,531 employees. The seriousness of this class conflict is obvious

(2) **Race Riots.** Race riots in the United States occur as conflicts between whites and negroes, or between whites and Orientals The attacks of the whites on negroes in the South sociologically grow out of the disturbance of the status of the two races consequent upon the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln and the final issue of the Civil War So long as the inferior position of the blacks was established by law

[8] *World Almanac*, 1925, p 191 The Secretary of Labor, James J Davis, stated in his Annual Report for 1930 that over the decade, 1920-1930, there has been a gradual reduction in the number of disputes affecting the great industries of the country *Monthly Labor Review*, January, 1931, p 75

and common consent, there was no question as to the relationship of the two races. However, upon the political emancipation of the blacks, the question became critical. Habit, custom, and tradition had fixed in the mores of the people of the South the inferior status of the blacks. Naturally friction was inevitable.

The root of conflict between the whites and the Orientals on the West coast is somewhat different. Fundamentally it is economic in its nature, although social considerations also enter. So long as the Chinese and Japanese immigrants were content to take the part of servants in the household there was no trouble. When, however, they began to launch out in the economic field on their own account and with their lower standard of living were able to compete successfully with their white neighbors in industry and business, trouble began. Their family standards as well as their standards of living, their custom of working on Sundays, their insistence that their children should attend school with white children, and the rising social status which economic success brought in its train, aggravated the situation. The occasional marriage of a white woman to a Japanese or a Chinese, while not of great significance, served to excite the imaginations of the whites with the fear of social equality. A similar situation exists in the South when negroes, not content with political equality and economic opportunity, insist upon the right to intermarry with the whites and to be accorded equal social privileges.

From 1885 to 1929 there were 3,182 negroes and 1,049 whites lynched. While the number of negroes lynched has varied from year to year, rising from 78 in 1885 to 171 in 1895, the tendency from the latter date to the present, with the exception of four or five instances, has been downwards. In 1929 only 17 negroes were lynched, although there were 27 instances in which officers of the law prevented lynching, 24 of these being in Southern States.

The States which show the largest number of lynchings of negroes between 1889 and 1929 are: Alabama, 267; Arkansas, 208, Florida, 221, Georgia, 433; Mississippi, 422; South Carolina, 131, Tennessee, 165, Texas, 287; and Louisiana, 190.[1] It is popularly supposed that most of the lynchings occur in cases of negroes suspected of attack on white women. A study of the figures, however, shows that 80 per cent of the lynchings of negroes are for crimes other than rape.[2]

Lynchings do not compare with race riots in their seriousness. In spite

[1] Figures compiled by Dr. Monroe N. Work of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, editor of the *Negro Yearbook*, and published in *World Almanac*, 1931, p. 450.

[2] *Negro Yearbook* (1921-1922), p. 71.

of the fact that lynchings have been decreasing in recent years, race riots between the whites and the blacks increase. In the three years 1919 to 1921 some of the most serious race conflicts which have taken place in the history of this country occurred. In 1919 there were serious riots in Charleston, South Carolina, Chicago, Illinois, Elaine, Arkansas, Knoxville, Tennessee; Longview, Texas, Omaha, Nebraska; and Washington, D. C.; in 1920, at Duluth, Minnesota, Independence, Kansas, Ocoee, Florida, and in 1921 at Springfield, Ohio, and Tulsa, Oklahoma.

In these riots a new attitude on the part of the negroes has appeared. They are beginning to fight back. Whether retaliation for what they feel is an injustice will advance their cause or not remains to be seen. The United States, however, is not the only country which has its color problem. Trouble between white and black has broken out in South Africa, race conflict is at the bottom of the unrest in India, where serious rioting has occurred between the British and the natives; and it is a perplexing problem in the Philippines. Everywhere these colored peoples are becoming self-conscious and are insisting upon their rights. What the outcome will be no one can say. In the United States, State and city inter-racial commissions are being formed for the purpose of adjusting relationships between the whites and the blacks in an equitable manner. Certain Southern States are passing laws giving the negro a right to sue the county which allows a lynching, and serious efforts are being made everywhere to adjust such difficulties. These movements, however, are still in their incipiency.

(3) **Religious Conflicts.** A few years ago anti-Semitism was a distinct problem in Europe. The attitude of the Greek Orthodox Church and of the Roman Catholic Church toward the Jews in some European countries, and the attitude of certain sections of the Protestant Church in Germany, was a reaction against the increase of Jewish population, its expanding economic prosperity, and the cultural advancement for which it was constantly striving. With the increase of the Jewish population of the United States, especially in our large cities, some hatred of the Jews has appeared. The most striking individual instance of opposition to the Jews is that of Henry Ford, which ended dramatically in 1927. Generally the Jews who cause difficulties are newly arrived immigrants, accustomed to a lower standard of living. They colonize in our large cities and enter into competition with the American workers and with American shopkeepers. In addition to this fundamental economic pressure certain customs and traditions mark them off as a people apart. Where, as in America, the Jews are not discriminated against politically, educationally, or economically, they soon adopt the standards of living of the country, join the labor unions, accept American standards of business,

drop the customs of their old homeland, and rapidly assimilate with the people of the new country. In Palestine recently conflicts between Arabs and Jews were immediately religious, but fundamentally induced by fear on the part of the former, that the latter would obtain political and economic ascendancy In Russia the Jewish problem has been assimilated with that of cultural minorities in general and has been largely solved by the Soviet revolution Each group is encouraged to retain its own language, and, so far as consistent with the ideals of communism, their other cultural institutions. From present appearances it does not seem that the Jewish problem will remain unsettled, but will readily adjust itself in a free country like America

On the other hand, in Asia and Africa, where the Mohammedan culture comes in conflict with the Hindu, Christian, and Jewish, intense religious hatreds arise and conflicts occur In India this clash occurs between Hindus and Mohammedans; in Turkey, before the organization of the Turkish Republic, it occurred between Mohammedans and Christians

In a country of religious freedom, that is, where all religions are given equal opportunity and none special privileges, conflict tends to become competition, violence tends to give way to subtler conflict, and the outcome is the accommodation of all religions to the demands of the people The more active and flexible religious organizations tend to borrow and adapt to their own purposes, ideas and practices which have commended themselves. Under such conditions fierce religious conflicts die out, the tolerant spirit spreads, and those religions which most effectively commend themselves to the people survive, while others fade away

(4) **Cultural Conflict.** Another type of group conflict is represented by the conflict of different cultures. The conflict of religion might have been discussed under this head, since religion is an element of culture We have discussed it separately, however, because in the history of mankind it has played a much larger part in group conflicts than have many other elements of culture. As a matter of fact, many of these other types of group conflict, such as that between labor and capital, race riots, and even national conflict, frequently rest upon cultural differences For example, consider the difference in culture between the American Indians and that of the whites when they first came to this country. Both the white colonists and the Indians pursued agriculture, but there was a vast difference between the methods of agriculture, of government, religion, personal and group ideals, and traditions. The Indian had no weapons except the bow and arrow and the stone hatchet, or club. The white man brought with him the gun, which had developed out of the discovery of gunpowder The religion of the

Indian was a sort of animism, culminating in the concept of the Great Spirit, or the Manitou. The white man's religion was the result of centuries of Christian thought and practice While the Indian's theology was chiefly a mythology, the white man's religion was permeated with dogma, held to be of absolute validity The Indian had no sacred book, while the white man had his infallible Bible A definite set of traditions had attached themselves to his religion, as had definite practices in the celebration of its rites. The Indian's government was a government based upon blood relationships, real or assumed. It was in the hands of clan and tribal leaders The white man's government was based upon written instruments beginning with the Magna Charta of King John Its basis was not blood relationship, but residence within a given geographical area Though the Indian practised agriculture, he lived chiefly by hunting. Naturally he could not understand why the white man insisted upon robbing him of his hunting ground. On the other hand, the white man had passed much beyond the hunting economy, he felt that the Indian wastefully used the land and, therefore, white men had a right to use it more efficiently This brief outline of some of the differing elements of culture perhaps gives one a clear notion of the conflict which inevitably ensued Subtly working in the white man's mind was the opinion that his culture was superior to that of the Indian, and that, therefore, the latter deserved no consideration at his hands The Indian, on the other hand, felt as we should feel should invaders with a different culture settle within our borders and proceed to divest us of our rights, to crowd us out of our own land, and to subject us to their will

The unrest in Oriental countries at the present time is largely the result of the conflicts of culture. China and India, with their long history and proud civilization, feel that they are superior to the men who bring to them the materialistic culture of the West, with its physical science and its emphasis upon highly organized industry On the other hand, the white man who has invaded these Eastern countries, has a sense of superiority In the language of almost every people the name of that people indicates their sense of superiority. No wonder, then, that long separated cultures which come into contact excite a high degree of emotion on both sides The Chinese are objecting to the "foreign devils" because these foreigners have manifested and acted upon a feeling of superiority to them and to their culture, which the Orientals find intolerable The natives of India, while they recognize the important contribution made by the British Government, are stirred to their depths by the manifestation of what they believe is a contempt for Indian culture on the part of the whites.

Another example of the consequences of difference in culture was the

resentment of other Western peoples at the assumed supremacy of German Kultur.

The fifth type of conflict—international conflict—we shall discuss in the next chapter.

THE GENESIS OF GROUP CONFLICT

The origin of group conflict varies with different periods of human history and with the stages of social development. The celebrated Homeric wars which centered around Troy are supposed to have been caused by the Trojans' theft of Helen. The conquest of England by William the Norman is supposed to go back to an ancient dynastic claim. The recent World War had for its immediate cause the murder of a Prince of Austria in the capital of a Balkan State. From all the evidence at hand, however, in all these cases, we must suppose that, while war may sometimes be the result of the personal ambitions of an individual, usually at the bottom of it lie great currents of human feeling stirred by the consciousness of certain differences and the threatening of interests considered vital.

Economic Disturbance. Class conflict frequently arises out of the introduction of certain economic and industrial changes. Great economic disturbance occurred in the history of England when, after the Black Death of 1348 which swept off from a third to a half of the people of England, the old relationships between the lords of the manor and the serfs or vassals were seriously disturbed. The feudal system began to break down, and new methods of agriculture had to be introduced. Because of the demand for woolen goods sheep-raising became more profitable than ordinary farming. The common lands of whole villages were enclosed to make sheep runs; large numbers of peasants were reduced to misery; class conflict awoke in movements of one sort or another, often culminating in bloodshed.

Again, the change from domestic to factory industry at the period of the Industrial Revolution created a rift in the solidarity of the social population. Large numbers of hand-weavers were driven to starvation, while factory owners amassed great fortunes by the exploitation of their workers. Naturally a class psychology arose on the part of the worker as well as on the part of the employer. The old status of inferior and superior growing out of the feudal relationship, when once established, resulted in little or no conflict because the relationships were personal. However, the new class consciousness, generated by the Industrial Revolution, had a very different effect because interests were no longer identical but conflicting. A similar growth of class consciousness appears whenever there is radical change in economic arrangements. Thus, in the United States, the growth of great corporations with absentee ownership and the consequent separation of

owner and worker in personal acquaintanceship led to the growth of class consciousness and class conflict. Strikes and lockouts resulted. While a number of experiments in resolving the intensity of the conflict have been tried such as welfare work for employees, stock ownership by employees, shop committees for the adjustment of grievances, and plans for joint control over conditions of work and rates of pay, the clash of interests between owners and workers has not yet been allayed.

Changes in Culture. A difference in the culture of groups within a given population results often in conflict. When William the Norman conquered England and several thousand of his retainers became the overlords of the country, the elements of a new culture were introduced. A new language became the official language; a somewhat more highly developed religion was introduced by the conquerors, the status of the conquerors was superior and they made their superiority felt. For a generation or two the consciousness of difference between the conquerors and the conquered was very sharp. Frequent clashes occurred, but a process of adjustment began which in the course of centuries tended to perfect itself, and the kind of class consciousness disappeared.

When immigrants from another country arrive in large numbers, differences in culture are soon recognized. Thus, in this country, when large numbers of the Irish arrived in the early part of the nineteenth century, culture differences between them and the people already settled here were recognized on both sides. Again, with the coming of large numbers of Italians with different customs, traditions, a different language, and a different standard of living, the older inhabitants became conscious of the intrusion of an alien culture and dubbed these people, "Wops" and "Guineas." While such difference did not always result in conflict, it formed the basis of an attitude of superiority toward immigrants. Such attitudes increase the difficulty of what we call "Americanization," that is, the assimilation of foreign peoples into our culture. This consciousness of difference in culture accounts for many of the difficulties in forming labor unions in those trades in which there are large and varied numbers of immigrants. Such cultural differences also affect progress in schools, health programs, the development of recreation, housing, and many other social problems.

While many of these conflicts due to differences in culture do not break out into open violence, they are none the less conflicts. They retard social unification, prevent coherent points of view and united purpose. They constitute one of our chief social problems.

Religious Innovations. Often religious differences give rise to group conflict more or less sharp. I do not now refer to the conflict of different

religions, although such conflicts are an inevitable result of the contact of two different religions in a common area. I refer rather to the changes which are constantly taking place in the development of any single religion. This is illustrated by a large number of Mohammedan sects, the different varieties of Buddhism, the orthodox and liberal varieties of Judaism, and to-day the Fundamentalists and the Liberal, or Modernist, Christians. Rooted as are most of these innovations in social conditions, and constituting as they do a response on the part of a few leaders to changed conditions in the lives of people, they frequently lead to terrific class conflicts within a given organization. Consider, for example, the upheaval, which historically has been called a revolt, brought about by the Lutheran Reformation in Germany and the surrounding countries. All of us are familiar with the terrible results of that upheaval. It disturbed the social solidarity of Europe for centuries and still remains a basis of frequent conflict. The Lutheran Reformation was only one of a series of innovations which have disturbed the peace of the Church from the first centuries of the Christian era up to the present time. Perhaps the latest to develop is that rather fundamental division which has come about in the strife between the Modernists and the Fundamentalists in Protestant Christianity.

Assumption of Group Superiority. The most fundamental cause of class and group conflict is the attitude of superiority on the part of one class, or group, towards another. It may take any one of a number of forms. It may be pride of race, of nationality, of culture, of religion, or of political system. As long as it is conceded by all people that there are higher and lower orders of social classes, and the relationships of these classes have become stabilized, there is very little danger of conflict growing out of superiority and inferiority. However, let democracy, or a doctrine of equality enter into the minds of men as it did in the Western world in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and these stabilized relationships between the higher and lower classes receive a rude shock, class consciousness develops, and class conflict is probable. The conflicts going on in India and China and all the Eastern world at the present time are illustrations. Moreover, in subtler ways the attitude of superiority appears in any given social group.

As Professor Kimball Young has so well pointed out much of the conflict between social classes rests on prejudice. This is generated by the consciousness of certain physiological differences between individuals and groups of people, such as body odors, skin color, stature, etc., and disappears with familiarity. It is also caused by the cultural conditioning of children which teaches them to take certain attitudes towards people of other groups or classes; or by the handing down of historical myths and legends concerning

other groups. In general prejudice rests on an awareness of differences between classes and an assumed superiority by the individuals of one group or class.[5] Anything which will lessen the awareness of difference, or dissolve the assumption of superiority will lessen class and group conflict.

Consider the gulf fixed between the common people of any State and the educated classes. Too often the educated people, especially those with higher education, feel or exhibit superiority, and may even express their contempt of the common working man, or the ordinary farmer. This has its results when State university appropriations appear before legislatures for approval. The educated specialist despises the ignorance of most people on matters which are commonplace to him, and he allows this contempt to affect his whole attitude. The common people repay this contempt with interest and look upon him as a strange kind of human being. While the learned may dub the common people "boobs," the common folk return the compliment by calling the others "high-hat," or "highbrow."

The same attitude of superiority appears between the rich and the poor. Too often the man who has been successful in accumulating wealth looks upon those who have not done so as unsuccessful and, therefore, inferior creatures. All kinds of results appear from this attitude of superiority.[6]

THE SOCIAL PATHOLOGY OF CLASS AND GROUP CONFLICT

Out of this clash between classes and groups certain important results appear, some socially good, and some bad.

One would think as he reads of the intense conflict between the Catholics and the Protestants following the Reformation that no modification would be possible on either side. However, after the first burst of hatred had died down such was not the case. The Council of Trent for the Catholic Church introduced certain modifications and took over certain suggested reforms which constituted what has been called the Counter-Reformation. In other words, the Catholic Church attempted to capture some of the thunder of the Reformers. Moreover, within two generations after the Reformation had started, the reformed churches took over parts of the Catholic ritual and a large part of Catholic dogma and incorporated them into the creeds of Protestant Christendom. As Ward long ago pointed out, these conflicts secure a cross-fertilization of culture. Men borrow ideas even from those they dislike. Weber has claimed that Calvinism is responsible for the frugality and

[5] For a detailed discussion see Young, *Social Psychology* (New York, 1930), Chs. XVIII and XIX.

[6] For an analysis of the socio-psychological roots and processes of conflict, see Young, *op. cit.*, Chs. XVIII and XIX.

industry characteristic of the capitalistic system.[7] Whatever the merits of his contention, it is clear that modern capitalism developed first in Protestant countries. In spite, however, of the strained relations between Catholics and Protestants, Catholics have not hesitated to borrow the capitalistic system. Or take the matter of usury or interest. According to the Canon law interest was unchristian. The Jews, who did not come under Christian law, were the usurers or money-lenders, of Europe. At many other points their culture was at variance with that of the Christians. They were heartily disliked, as witness Shylock in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. Yet in the course of time the Gentiles took over from the Jews, by steps interesting but too involved to be described here, the practice of lending money at interest.

Evil Results. Certain evil results have appeared as the effect of class conflict from the earliest period of history until the present time. (1) The most outstanding of these is *the rifting of the social solidarity*. Open conflict brings to expression all the hatred and suspicion which lie at its base. The gulf already opening between classes is made deeper and wider for the time being. Take, for example, the conflict between the industrialists, traders, and farmers of the North and the slave-holding planters of the South during the Civil War in the United States. The consciousness of difference which had been growing for nearly a century became sharpened and fixed as a result of that great struggle. The resolution of each side for the time being was stiffened. After a lapse of sixty years and more, in spite of the growing economic and cultural similarity, the gulf between the North and the South has been only partially bridged. Misunderstanding between the two sections is easily excited. It is true, however, that the lapse of time tends to heal old sores. In the end social integration will probably take place.

(2) Another evil result of class conflict is *waste of effort*. Consider the useless words spoken, the fruitless efforts spent on sectional divisions over public questions in the United States. How much more constructive measures could have been adopted in our political problems in the United States, for example, had the issues not been confused by the memories of the hatred and strife of the Civil War. How destructive are many of the efforts put forth by Fundamentalists and Modernists in their strife over a dogmatic problem of the present day. How much fruitful cooperation has been prevented by the strife between the Catholics and Protestants in this country. These class conflicts have drawn red herrings across the path of progress and have diverted the attention of men from problems of greater social

[7] Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, tr Parsons (New York, 1930). See also Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, A Historical Study* (New York, 1926).

importance which so badly needed settling. How much money has been spent both on the part of labor unions and of employers in maintaining their respective so-called "rights" in the industrial conflict! There is no question that class conflict means enormous waste of effort.

(3) Another immediately evil result of class conflict is *the weakening of the bonds which hold us to some of the old loyalties*, such as the family bonds, church bonds, and patriotism. Perhaps this means in the end the creation of a finer loyalty to family, church, and State. Nevertheless, immediately, it has decidedly disastrous results upon these social institutions. How frequently religious disputes cut across family lines and dissolve family loyalty! Divorce statistics give us some idea of these conflicts as they appear in cases of marriage between Protestants and Catholics, or between Christians and Jews. Many times these age-old conflicts result in the disruption of a family.

The last war showed us the difficulties for thousands of our immigrant citizens and their dependents in maintaining loyalty to the country of which they are citizens rather than to the country from which they or their parents had come. Our German-American citizens were in a very difficult situation. They loved both countries, the old and the new. The war was a time of severe testing for many of them. In all these ways great class and group conflicts produce results which in their immediate aspects are evil.

Consider the effect upon religious loyalty—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Mohammedan, or Hindu—of race antipathy or class conflict. A good example is provided by what happened in the World War. Consider the predicament in which both the Catholic and the Protestant churches were placed, with their adherents ranged on both sides of the great conflict. The church is in a peculiarly difficult situation in our industrial conflict. Which side shall it take in that strife which has risen over labor questions? Shall it hold with the property owner, the employer, the capitalist, or shall it take the side of the workman? It requires wise statesmanship to steer the ship of church in the troubled waters of industrial conflict.

(4) Moreover, the *effect of a conflict of cultures on the personality of the immigrant* is often devastating. He is often perturbed, emotional strain develops, and frequently a psychosis follows. That fact explains in part the high incidence of various forms of insanity among foreigners. As Thomas has shown in his *Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, the consciousness of the conflict between the culture patterns to which the Polish immigrant was accustomed in the old country and the culture pattern of America upsets for the newcomer to America marriage affiliations, economic obligations, and various other social adjustments.

(5) Again, class conflict *prevents the development of that social solidarity* on which depends quick, effective coöperation of the whole society in providing an atmosphere friendly to the aspirations of the individual members. The more perfect the assimilation of all parties, groups, and classes to a common culture pattern, the more quickly may the society agree upon a common policy and the less may friction hinder their arriving at the objective agreed upon. An example is the public schools in the United States. In our early history the class ruled by aristocratic traditions opposed the free public schools on the ground that education would unfit the laborers and the women for their proper places in society. The forerunners of the labor movement and the class which held democratic political principles felt that free public education is necessary for a political experiment based on manhood suffrage. The conflict between these two classes delayed the acceptance of free public education, and postponed the realization of that ideal for many years. Many other examples might be cited.

FACTORS WHICH AMELIORATE GROUP AND CLASS CONFLICT

In the previous paragraphs numerous hints had to be dropped which showed that these group conflicts ultimately are settled. Let us now look at those devices which ameliorate the sharpness of the conflict and tend to bring about compromise and adjustment.

In the Economic Field. In the economic field new inventions giving individuals opportunity to rise from one class to another, wide distribution of property ownership, rapid industrial development providing an outlet for energy and genius and a chance for steady employment, lessen class and group conflict. Moreover, provisions for safeguarding the health, old age, or employment of workers, such as health insurance, old-age and unemployment insurance, or other devices, tend to ameliorate the conflict between classes. Charity, as an aid to those who are unfortunate, and devices for settling disputes between industrial groups or between nations, both help to cut down the occasions for conflict and mitigate the struggle. Many industrial disputes would not occur were there clear understanding of the facts with reference to each side of the conflict. Science applied to the economic field and to others may yet solve economic conflict.

In the Social Field. Widespread educational opportunity for all who are capable of profiting by it is a mitigating influence on class conflict. That is the justification for the provision now being made by every great civilized country in the world for education suited to the needs of its people.

Another mitigating factor in the social field is the shifting of attention away from emotional prejudices and hatreds to new social values. For ex-

simple, shifting attention to service to one's country or city frequently resolves present conflict. As people widen the range of their interests to include philanthropy, art, literature, civic virtue, or any other great social activity, class conflict, resting upon elemental emotions, becomes less intense.

Widening political opportunity, giving every one a chance to share in government to the extent of his capacity, tends to lessen the ancient strife between privileged and unprivileged. Democracy, while bringing new sources of class division and strife, closes the gulf between ancient classes. Where, as in England and America, the humblest citizen, by his gift or the exercise of his talent, may rise to the highest office, the significance of the ancient political classes has entirely disappeared.

Moreover, equality before the court and the law—an ancient dream not yet realized—nevertheless softens the asperity between classes so far as it is achieved. Once the peasant had before a court no rights which his lord was compelled to recognize. In theory each man to-day is equal before the judge. In actual practice this has not yet been realized. Often a man with money or influence still has the advantage. The setting up of the public defender, *viz.*, a man to defend the poor man against charges brought against him in the court, is a movement in the direction of equality before courts of law. Legal aid societies which provide good lawyers for the man who is sued for a small sum or to whom a small sum is owed, are part of a movement in the same direction.

Finally, socialized religion, that is, religion suited to the needs of the common man and adapted to the social problems of the day, is another factor ameliorating group and class conflict. Could all religions unite on the simple but profound teachings of the Hebrew Prophets and of Jesus, how the conflicts and struggles which have marked the history of dogmatic Christianity would fade away! In the light of the "Sermon on the Mount" and the twenty-fifth chapter of *Matthew* strife between Fundamentalists and Modernists seems puerile and futile.

If this brief sketch of the significance of group and class conflict has any value, it makes clear to us how conflicts arise, how certain of them are inevitable, and how there are constantly working in human society certain forces and influences which mitigate the severity of the conflicts, lead to compromise, and effect integration of the various groups into one great unity. The real problem is how to bring about the union of different cultures and different groups of men devoted to contradictory principles and practices, with the least evil results and with the ultimate combination of all that is socially useful. Professor Cooley has pointed out that these conflicts tend to become less personal by reason of the fact that men's loyalties are organized

increasingly across class lines. A man is not only a Republican, for example, but he may be an employer or a laborer, a Presbyterian or a Roman Catholic, an educated or an ignorant man, a lover of art or a lover of fine stock. Class conflict is one of the inevitable results of social evolution. Travel follows the development of communication and transportation, men become acquainted with each other, groups learn to appreciate each other's culture, and the fundamental basis of class strife disappears.[8]

Processes in Socialization. In short, any conditions or movements which make for accommodation, assimilation, and amalgamation reduce the disorganization due to conflict. *Accommodation* in sociology means the organization of the relationships between classes or groups on a mutually satisfactory basis. The caste system is such an organization at certain periods in the life of some peoples. Before the caste system in India had been disturbed by the changes introduced on contact with Western Civilization it was not galling even to the "untouchables." From the standpoint of modern democracy it was vicious. Yet, life was organized on a static basis, the relations between the various castes were well understood, people were accustomed to those relationships, and there was little heartburning on either side. People had accommodated themselves to the system. Before such a state of adjustment is reached a number of other steps may be taken. For example, Catholics and Protestants, Gentiles and Jews in most Western countries to-day do not strive against each other as once they did. They tolerate each other. There is no stratification between them, no superordination and subordination. Conflict has been weakened by accommodation.

Assimilation is the next step in the integrative process. The term refers to the mingling of different cultures so that a new culture arises, different from any of those assimilated, yet having many elements of each. The term implies that this mingling has gone on long enough so that people feel comfortable in the new culture. Our culture, basically English, has been changed into a new American culture by taking over many elements from foreign peoples through contacts made possible by modern methods of communication. Language, religion, manners, dress and many other culture elements show this.

Amalgamation means the interbreeding of different peoples. When classes or groups have gone so far as to allow intermarriage they have taken the final step in social integration. Conflict between these groups has disappeared.

[8] The books in English from which the reader will get the most help upon the subject of class conflict are Cooley, *Social Process* (New York, 1918), pp. 241-263; Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, rev. (New York, 1920); Publications of the *American Sociological Society*, 1907, Vol. II, devoted to "Social Conflict"; and Young, *Social Psychology* (New York, 1930), Chs. XIV, XVIII, XIX.

Assimilation of culture is then taking place rapidly, and the process dissolves class and group conflict.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Outline the ways in which change induces class and group conflict.
2. Name the outstanding group conflicts
3. Discuss each one of these conflicts, pointing out the changes which occasioned it.
4. Analyze the factors in the genesis of group conflict
5. Show how cross-fertilization of culture often results from conflict
6. Point out the pathological social consequences of group and class conflict.
7. What are the chief factors which ameliorate group and class conflict?
8. Illustrate from (a) the economic and (b) the social field.
9. Name and explain the chief processes in socialization.

CHAPTER 25

INTERNATIONAL DISORGANIZATION

THE ORIGINS OF WAR

With the *increase of modern methods* of communication contacts between ever larger groups were multiplied. Population grew with the advance of machine industry. The ends of the earth were sought out as sources of raw materials needed for manufacture and for consumption. Mass production demanded markets for surplus products. These were exchanged for the raw materials and consumption goods not indigenous to the manufacturing country. Such trade brought strange peoples into contact. Vast areas of the world's surface which were repositories for coal, oil, iron ore, forests, chemicals, and gold or other precious or useful metals were grabbed by nations which needed them. The people of such areas were exploited to produce these raw materials or as buyers of the manufactured articles. Thus *economic imperialism* developed.

Different cultures grew up in widely separated regions. Each, after a certain length of time, hardened into an inelastic system around which gathered an aura of proud superiority, giving solidity to the group. Sometimes this culture was primarily a militant religion, like Mahommedanism and Christianity at certain times, or a missionary religion like Christianity in recent times. Bound up with these religions, however, were always certain other culture elements like modes of dress, manners, and morals. Sometimes the religion was closely connected with the economic culture patterns. Thus arose a *cultural imperialism*.[1]

In any discussion of the origin of war let us not forget the part played by the leader. Cultural differences between nations do not always lead to conflict. Even economic greed and hunger for more territory may be felt by a great part of the population without resulting in attack upon another people. Before a war there is always a deeply felt clash of interests, in

[1] The name *imperialism* is new. The phenomenon is as old as the first conquest of one people by another for either glory, gain, or "welfare." In either case *imperialism* means the attempt to impose the culture of one people upon another, sometimes for the welfare of the imperialists, sometimes the exploited, and often for what is conceived by the imperialists for the welfare of both. In any case culture-conflict results.

modern times chiefly economic. In any nation the population is composed of individuals widely different in their capacity to originate ideas and devise plans of action. Always there is a leader around whom clusters the unrest growing out of the consciousness of inequalities in economic station between two peoples and of felt superiorities and inferiorities between culture groups. Back of every war is a leader who makes these differences concrete and vocal, summons arguments to support his position, and invokes deep hatreds in order to produce action

Sometimes this leader is a wise man Sometimes he is a fool What part the pathological personality who achieves leadership has played in war we do not know There is some evidence of such instances. Whether fool or sage the leader, together with the economic and cultural situation, furnishes the combination fateful for war or peace, for international disorganization or international socialization

THE RÔLE OF WAR IN SOCIALIZATION

To-day, among serious students of history, there are two schools of thought with respect to the value of war in social evolution Both agree that war brings about many evils One, however, contends that war has played a useful rôle in the development of human society The members of this school point out the disciplinary value of war They assert that it produces a spirit of sacrifice, of endurance, of courage, and of superiority over ease and materialistic interests They assert that only war can produce these qualities in superlative degree The best known representative of this school is Bernhardi, the German apologist for war

The other school composed of a larger number of writers, just as able and sincere, refute every argument of the first school. They urge that every defense of war offered by the others is invalid They claim that every virtue claimed by protagonists of war can be produced without war and without the evils necessarily consequent on war Perhaps this school is best represented by William James in *The Moral Equivalent of War*

No scholar, since Gumplowicz and Ratzenhofer wrote, has denied that war has played a rôle in the historic evolution of peoples and nations.* They pointed out for the first time the important results of war in social development According to them the following developments follow war in a natural order

(1) *Subjugation* of one race is achieved by another. (2) *Caste* originates as a consequence of the imposition of the will of the conqueror upon the

* Gumplowicz, *Der Rassenkampf* and *Outlines of Sociology* Ratzenhofer, *Die Soziologische Erkenntnis*

conquered. (3) Gradual softening of this stratification and the haughtiness of felt superiority on the side of the conquerors and of resentment on the side of the conquered comes about through acquaintance and mutual helpfulness, but leaves a state of *inequality*. (4) In place of purely military subjection the substitution of the regulation of the relations between conqueror and conquered in terms of a statement of legal right develops into *law*. (5) Then follows the rise of the state, with a clear claim of *sovereignty* on the part of the conqueror and its recognition by the conquered, and with rights and duties recognized by both. (6) Amalgamation of the conquerors with the conquered by interbreeding, and the assimilation of certain parts of the culture of each by the other results in a *people homogeneous in blood and culture*, and (7) the sentiment of *patriotism* develops out of the sense of a common country and a common culture. Hence, the development of *nationality*.

When the curtain first rises on the stage of history, men are fighting. The myths and hero tales imbedded in the early literatures of peoples celebrate the heroic deeds of warriors on battlefields. Since archaeologists have dug up the ruins of old cities, explored caves and camping sites, found battle-axes and other implements of warfare, cleft skulls, and weapons buried with deceased heroes we know that even back beyond the written literature mankind had learned the art of warfare.

With the dispersion of the races and peoples of mankind differentiation between groups set in. With the separation of groups differences of language, customs, and traditions inevitably arose. Within the last twenty-four hundred years of history, even in so narrowly confined a region as Southwestern Europe, there have occurred those differentiations in language and other elements of culture characteristic of the various Latin peoples. Given the long periods of time since man first appeared in Europe, it is not difficult to understand how enormous changes took place in what may have been an original single culture; these changes would enable us to account for the differences in the cultures of the different groups, which when they later met, made them alien to each other. The conquest over nature and greater control over food supply cut down mortality and stimulated population growth. With the growth of population groups inevitably press upon one another.

Furthermore, we must remember that in the early history of mankind all social relationships were based upon kinship bonds. One who was related by blood, either in fact or by fiction, was a member of the group, therefore a friend. In the struggle for existence the qualities of courage, resourcefulness, invention, agility, and cunning were developed. Along with

these qualities, the struggle for existence also produced between members of the group kindliness, sympathy, and mutual helpfulness.[3] Such mutual aid, however, did not extend to those outside the group except under extraordinary circumstances, since broad human sympathy developed very much later than sympathy for kin.

Add to these considerations the fact that the points of concentration of population were determined by economic resources, such as wells in the desert, hunting and fishing grounds, and pasture lands. These natural resources upon which primitive man depended for his sustenance are not equally distributed over the earth. In a desert country wells of water or springs are a primary natural resource. Consequently groups with herds of cattle picked such spots and fought over their possession. A good illustration from a very familiar book is in point. Isaac had migrated with flocks and herds to a place called Gerar. There he came into conflict with the Philistines over wells at which to water his flocks.[4] Among modern peoples the conflict arises out of incompatible desires for resources suited to their stage of industrial development. Similar conflicts took place between the tribes of our American Indians with respect to hunting grounds.

The results of these conflicts and wars were various. Sometimes one group subjugated the other; sometimes, the conquered group was driven to seek other places. At other times, when the strength of the two contending parties was nearly equal, treaties seem to have been made, which operated as working arrangements for the occupation of the same territory. In such cases in the course of time federations of tribes and groups took place. Examples are the union known as the Six Nations in New York at the time of the early colonization of this country, or the federation pictured in the Bible as having occurred between Abimelech on the one side and Isaac on the other.[5]

Other illustrations of conflict suggesting themselves to moderns are the Civil War in the United States and the recent World War. The former grew out of the gradual divergence between North and South in their respective cultures, the one based upon an agricultural-industrial culture, the other upon an agricultural-slavery culture. The latter developed out of the conflict of interests partly motivated by economic imperialism, and partly by political aims.

In the case of both conquest and treaty assimilation of culture usually occurred. Occasionally amalgamation of the two groups took place by reason

[3] Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution* (New York, 1904).
[4] Genesis, XXVI: 18-22.
[5] Genesis, XXVI: 26-31.

of intermarriage, and finally such union of both stock and culture as made these groups one people came about. This we call *socialization*. An illustration is provided by the probable history of the twelve tribes of Israel. It is quite likely that the people of Israel were the result of such amalgamation of various groups. The resulting socialization which came about by living together in a common area and sharing the same culture, finally developed common institutions and a common political system. That the socialization was not complete is shown by the fact that in the later history of the people of Israel a political division took place between South and North. Did space permit, the same process could be traced in the history of the people of the British Isles.

THE SOCIAL PATHOLOGY OF WAR

Whatever valuable results come from war between peoples our concern here is the pathological consequences. War brings about social changes. Change, as we have seen, involves readjustments. After any striking change affecting a group there follows a period when established relationships are disturbed and new adjustments are necessary. Pathological conditions are a necessary concomitant of a rapidly changing society. Even in human physiology, to say nothing of human psychology, sudden violent alterations of conditions either within or without the organism induce a strain. Adjustments must be made in order that the organism may function properly. The onset of puberty with the significant changes in form, stature, the secondary and especially the primary sexual characteristics, and the development of the glands which regulate such characteristics bring about a crisis in the individual. Moreover, he lives in a new world and must learn to adjust to the whole new culture pattern applying to adolescents and adults. Similarly changes brought about both within and without a people by war demands new arrangements. These readjustments in social and economic matters are not possible in a day. There is friction, strain, and malfunctioning. The old customs no longer suffice. Individuals and classes feel this strain. Let us consider some of these social maladjustments.

Destruction of Human Life. Except for the ravages of disease the human race suffers from no other single thing as from war. Consider the staggering waste from the World War.*

Think of the millions more in all the warring countries who suffered from deprivation during the war. No one can even estimate how many civilians died from disease induced by insufficient food and care during the war. How many children in the belligerent nations will never recover their physi-

* *The World Almanac* (1932), p. 377.

CASUALTIES OF ALL BELLIGERENTS IN THE WORLD WAR[a]

(Compiled by U. S. War Department. Checked up on February 25, 1924; corrected, June 30, 1928)

	TOTAL MOBILIZED FORCES	KILLED AND DIED	WOUNDED CASUALTIES	PRISONERS AND MISSING	TOTAL CASUALTIES	PER CENT
Allies						
Russia	12,000,000	1,700,000	4,950,000	2,500,000	9,150,000	76.3
France	8,410,000	1,357,800	4,266,000	537,000	6,160,800	73.3
British Empire	8,904,467	908,371	2,090,212	191,652	3,190,235	35.8
Italy	5,615,000	650,000	947,000	600,000	2,197,000	39.1
United States.	4,355,000	126,000	234,300	4,500	350,300	8.0
Japan	800,000	300	907	3	1,210	.1
Roumania ...	750,000	335,706	120,000	80,000	535,706	71.4
Serbia	707,343	45,000	133,748	152,958	331,106	46.8
Belgium	267,000	13,716	44,686	34,659	93,061	34.9
Greece	230,000	5,000	21,000	1,000	27,000	11.7
Portugal ...	100,000	7,222	13,751	12,318	33,291	33.3
Montenegro ..	50,000	3,000	10,000	7,000	20,000	40.0
Total	42,188,810	5,152,115	12,831,004	4,121,090	22,069,709	52.3
Central Powers						
Germany	11,000,000	1,773,700	4,216,058	1,152,800	7,142,558	64.9
Austro-Hungary	7,800,000	1,200,000	3,620,000	2,200,000	7,020,000	90.0
Turkey	2,850,000	325,000	400,000	250,000	975,000	34.2
Bulgaria	1,200,000	87,500	152,390	27,029	266,919	22.2
Total .. .	22,850,000	3,386,200	8,388,448	3,629,829	15,404,477	67.4
Grand Total	65,038,810	8,538,315	21,219,452	7,750,919	37,494,186	57.6

[a] Killed and died includes deaths from all causes. British Empire and French figures are official.

Figures for the United States include marines serving with the army. Wounded casualties include, for the United States, those who died of wounds, numbering 14,500.

Excluding members of the United States Marine Corps who served with the Army in France, the United States Army casualties were as follows: total mobilized forces, 4,057,101; killed and died, 110,956; wounded casualties, 193,663 (representing 181,074 individuals but not including 12,942, who died of wounds); prisoners and missing, 4,433 (now represents prisoners only, all missing cases cleared up); total casualties, 318,042; per cent, 7.0.

cal vigor impaired by their experiences during the war? Just after the World War Danish statisticians estimated that in addition to the millions of soldiers

killed in the war about 30,000,000 civilians lost their lives. The incomparable destructiveness of the methods used in the last war is indicated by a comparison of the losses in the World War with the loss of soldier lives in previous wars. In the Civil War of the United States, 1861-1865, about 700,000 soldiers died; in the Franco-Prussian, about 184,000, in the Spanish-American, an estimated 10,000, while in the World War nearly 10,000,000 soldiers perished.[7]

Furthermore, war disables large numbers physically and mentally. Up to the close of 1919 the government had received compensation claims from 1,130,870 veterans. Of these 560,119 were granted. At the close of the same year 266,498 veterans and the beneficiaries of 88,529 were receiving compensation. The monthly disbursements for these compensations in 1930 approximated $16,000,000. The total amount of disbursements for compensation up to that date was $1,438,751,961.50. Up to July 1, 1929, 429,660 ex-servicemen had been admitted to hospitals. On July 1, 1929, 27,784 patients remained in all hospitals of whom 6,547 were suffering from tuberculosis, 13,781 from neuro-psychiatric diseases, and 7,456 from general and surgical diseases or conditions. In addition on the same basis, the bureau was supervising the guardianship of 57,530 wards, of whom 21,774 were incompetent veterans and 34,787 were minor children of diseased veterans, besides 969 incompetent dependents. Up to that date for medical and hospital services the government had paid $351,076,919 on behalf of these disabled ex-service men.[8] Many other figures might be given to show the large number of men who have been injured by the war in addition to those who died from battle or from disease.

When the Armistice was signed plans were on foot on both sides to attack the civilian population in the great cities behind the lines with poison gas dropped by airplanes. This gas was of such a nature that the population of such cities as London and Berlin would have been wiped out by a hundred planes. The next great war without much doubt will destroy civilian population as well as armies on a scale compared with which the greatest natural calamities like earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, tornadoes, and epidemics of disease will appear pigmy.

Economic Loss from War. Picture also the enormous money loss from war. It has been estimated that the World War cost $186,000,000,000. But this figure takes no account of the indirect losses not only to the countries engaged in the conflict but to all others with which they trade as a result of the business disturbances growing out of the World War. Those who are

[7] Irwin, *The Next War* (New York, 1921), pp. 50-51.

[8] *The World Almanac* (1930), p. 235.

now witnessing the enormous economic disturbances largely due to that war do not need labored argument on this point. International trade in all the world has been disrupted. At least among the Central Powers and in Russia the internal debt was wiped out, sweeping away the life savings of millions who had invested in government securities and insurance funds. Vast numbers of business people have been beggared by the disruption of relationships. The whole economic structure has been upset. It will be years before the after-effects disappear. Our children's children will be taxed in one way or another for the waste of the last war, even, as we are suffering from the after effects of former wars. Many are the prophets who are saying that another war like the last will bankrupt civilization. Are they wrong?

Consider also the enormous drain upon the national revenues by reason of obligations entailed by former wars and by the expenditures made necessary to provide for possible future wars. When the European nations to which we lent money during the World War shall have repaid their loans after sixty-two years, they will have paid out $22,143,539,093. If they do not pay us, then our taxpayers will be compelled to contribute that amount, for we made the loans. In 1927 it was estimated that in 1925–1926 the nations paid out the following percentages of their national incomes: Great Britain, 24; France, 30, Italy, 25, Belgium, 17, United States, 11; and Germany, 23. In the United States almost 70 cents out of every dollar of taxes collected by the federal government goes to pay for past or to prepare for future wars.* Are not these figures enough to indicate that war is a most wasteful business both in lives and money? The glory has faded from it. The international folly of modern war has never before stood out so clearly.

The Dysgenic Effects of War. Consider the effects of war upon the stock of the people. Who are selected as the fighters in modern warfare? Are they not the young men of the nation? It is generally recognized that the best soldiers are the most physically fit and those in the so-called athletic age. They are in the very prime of their physical manhood, preferably between the ages of twenty and thirty-one. They are alert, strong, active, and yet easily molded into a fighting machine. By reason of their youth most of them have not yet left progeny. They are of the age when men are best able to bear the physical and mental strain of war and by the same token are at their highest degree of virility and most fit to be the fathers of children. They are taken out of society, subjected to the hazards of battle, and large numbers of them destroyed. From the figures just given with respect to the

* Page, *Dollars and World Peace, Christianity and World Problems*, No. 14 (New York, 1917), p. 71. *Information Service*, Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, May 7, 1932.

number of men who were killed in action or who died of disease in the last war, it is apparent that here is a terrific rate of selection by death of the most promising manhood in the days of its greatest strength and virility.

On the other hand, the war machine rejects the less fit, the mentally defective or diseased, and the older It has been said that the Napoleonic wars cut two inches off the stature of the Frenchmen. The consequence of this dysgenic selection is that if enough are killed or unfitted for breeding on return, war selects for destruction the best of the young manhood and selects for survival the physical and mental runts There is little question that from the standpoint of the stock of the race at the present time there is no selective agency at work so dysgenic in its result as war.

If the stock breeders of the nation wished to produce an increasingly inferior grade of cattle, of horses, or of hogs, they could hardly devise a better means than our method of selecting the fittest young manhood of the nation and in throwing them into the front lines where they have the greatest chance to perish, while we allow the children of the next generation to be produced by those who are physically and mentally unfit for army service.

In the same connection should be mentioned the very great growth of venereal infection when men are taken out of their home communities and put into cantonments or sent to the battle front Of the second million men drafted by the United States in the World War, 5 67 per cent had a venereal disease at the time of examination [10] Notice the average admission rate for venereal disease in some of camps in this country In 1916 the venereal disease admission rate in the regular army was 6.3 In October, 1917, of the National Guards in camps the admission rate was 133 4 Of the national army 138 7 [11] In the navy it is well known that venereal diseases caused more sick reports than any other disease.[12]

In the army the venereal diseases caused a greater loss of time than any other disease except tuberculosis In this connection it must be remembered that both the army and the navy of the United States provide special precautions in the way of prophylactic measures In spite of these precautions, however, the massing of large numbers of young men away from normal social relationships, together with the war psychology, leads to this enormous incidence of infection When these men return to civil life, unless in the meantime they have been completely cured, they carry the infection into their ordinary social relationships

[10] Dublin and Clark, *A Program for the Statistics of Venereal Disease*, Reprint No 518 from the Public Health Report, December 16, 1921, United States Public Health Service (Washington, 1922), p 7

[11] Evans, "The Roll of Dishonor," Chicago *Tribune*, December 7, 1917.

[12] Dublin and Clark, *op cit*, p 9

Furthermore war destroys eugenic ideals What boots it that the biological flower of a nation is destroyed? What attention is paid by the militarists to the effect of this dysgenic selection for death? The nation has its eugenic ideals smothered in the storm of hatred and in the frenzy of war. Every other social ideal is engulfed in the great passion to win for the glory of the country or for some false ideal set up in order to secure the allegiance of the people.

Yet again war, by slaying the males, unbalances the relative number of the sexes and so in our monogamic society prevents reproduction by many eugenic females. The enormous destruction of young men in the last war only added to the preponderance of females in the population of the early age-groups and made it less possible for these females to bear children in legitimate family life Thus, indirectly, war contributes to the lowering of the stock not only by the destruction of our finest and brightest young men, by the sterilization of some of those infected with the venereal diseases incident to war, but also by denying maternity to a large group of young women, the majority of whom are eugenically sound.

Social Effects of War. Out of the destruction of the stock of the best blood certain bad social results theoretically follow As J Arthur Thomson, the English hereditist remarks, "preoccupation with the biological outlook—the breeders point of view—will undoubtedly lead to fallacy upon fallacy, to the 'materialisms' to which we have already referred, on the other hand, an ignoring of the biological point of view means a deliberate rejection of the order of facts which we can mostly precisely measure and test. Moreover, the commonplace is apt to be forgotten, that when changed ideas and ideals find physical embodiment in flesh and blood, they acquire *ipso facto*, an inertia which no belated conversion on the psychical plane can ever do away with Even Pasteur could not add 'the cubit of stature' which Napoleon lopped off Frenchmen"[73]

In ordinary times of peace there is always a precipitate from the more capable to the less capable in a population Bad social and economic conditions, especially in the large cities, prevent the growth of that social atmosphere which places a premium upon ability, and by indifference and neglect allow or even promote the multiplication of the incapable In short, social degeneracy aggravates biological degeneracy and the combination of the two results in human disorganization of the most serious sort.

War greatly aggravates this process of disorganization By destroying the accumulated capital of the country and diverting to the purpose of war funds which should go into building up more wholesome human life,

[73] Thomson, *Heredity* (London, 1912), pp 536-538

war halts those measures intended for better organization of human life and thus stops the progress toward social integration When the cost of war has to be paid in increased taxes, the first institutions to suffer are not the army and the navy or the provisions for ex-service men, but our educational and other cultural institutions These, in popular opinion, are more or less in the nature of luxuries and, therefore, must have their budgets trimmed The amount of money spent on the care of people's health, clinics, hospitals, schools, museums, parks, and playgrounds is reduced Nothing has stood out more strikingly in the recent financial crisis, one of the aftermaths of war, than the emphasis of most people upon bread-and-butter relief in our community drives with more than a silent hint that the support of the "character building institutions" should be cut down School-boards are having to trim their budgets for education Hospitals, in spite of the fact that the economic depression has increased their load many fold, cannot expand The State services which deal with the spiritual aspects of organized human life are put upon a starvation budget The result is that a decided retrogression in those services and activities which make for the higher life of the people follows in the wake of war Fifty years after the defeat of the Confederate States by the Federal forces, the South showed the result of this tremendous prostration caused by the civil conflict She was only beginning to get back to the place where once more she could undertake those activities which make for the higher social development, when we became involved in the World War That war set back—who knows how many years?—the processes making both for the integration of our people and for the development of a social organization, better compacted, more delicately adjusted, with greater emphasis upon education, and wider concern for the health of the people How long will it take the world to recover from the World War?

Dependency. One of the most striking after-effects of war, not only in every country directly involved, but also in every one indirectly affected, is the growth of poverty and dependency In the first place consider the large number of dependents of soldiers killed or disabled in the World War For two generations these dependents will be a burden upon the resources of every nation concerned While the United States escaped comparatively unscathed, consider the situation in Germany, Austria, France, and England. The figures previously given as to the financial cost of war illuminate this point.

These figures reveal nothing at all concerning the large number who have been beggared by the economic maladjustments which have followed in the wake of the War. Consider those whose savings or whose businesses have

been destroyed in the war-wrecked countries of Europe by the economic changes consequent on the War. Contemplate the large number of people who have lost heavily by the ensuing economic disturbances in the United States.

Crime. It was noticed during the World War that there was a heavy increase of juvenile delinquency in Germany, France, and England. In England juvenile delinquency increased 34 per cent during that time. In Berlin, during the first year of the war, twice as many crimes were committed by children as in the previous year. A similar phenomenon appeared in France. While the adult crime-rate rapidly falls during the progress of a war, perhaps because many of the disorderly elements are in the army and the whole population is involved in a feverish emotional state which concentrates attention on the ideals of victory or national preservation—following every war there has been a crime wave. This is true even in England, which had a steadily decreasing crime-rate up to the outbreak of the World War in 1914. War, by uprooting men from their ordinary place in society, subjecting them to the régime of organized destruction, and upsetting their emotional balance, sends them back to civil society poorly prepared for the ordinary duties of peace. The disorganization of social order following war is registered in the increase of crime.

Mental Disease and Emotional Instability. Who has not noticed the emotional instability which has followed the last war? I am not speaking only of the thousands of ex-service men in every land engaged in the war now shattered wrecks, languishing in some hospital for nervous and mental disease, most of them never to recover. Consider the enormous growth of numbers of the civilian population in our hospitals for mental diseases since the war. This cannot be accounted for merely by the increase in facilities for those suffering from mental disturbances. While one cannot prove its direct connection which the terrific disturbances caused in social relationships by the war, the coincidence of the increase in mental cases among the civil population with the terrific disruption of the ordinary tempers of life brought about by the war hysteria, is worth consideration. No great emotional upheaval can take place without aftereffects of a most serious nature. The War provided that emotional upheaval.

War and Morals. What was the effect of the last war upon morals? Let us take for illustration of this point only two areas of our ethical life. Consider first the effects of the late war upon our sex morals. Eugenics had made enough progress in our popular opinion to make us conscious that by sending young men into the army we were taking the risk of denying them progeny. Hence arose in this country and in certain of the European

countries the cry, "Breed before you die." Under the influence of this slogan and of the war hysteria many hasty marriages were made which have proved very unstable.

Consider again the effect upon great masses of young girls of the excitement and hysteria connected with the mobilization of our forces. In spite of everything that was done by the various social organizations of the country to provide proper conditions around the camps, a great deal of difficulty was found in controlling the situation. The girls were called upon to provide entertainment for the men in the camps and overseas. Great care was taken to see that they were properly chaperoned and that they were not swept off their feet by the unusual conditions. Nevertheless, in spite of all the precautions, the more unstable girls congregated in the towns and cities near the great cantonments, with the very frequent breakdown of moral inhibitions.

Consider also the loose relationships which were tolerated abroad. The soldiers of the allies billeted in the French villages found an attitude toward the soldier boy which played havoc with the ordinary sexual morals. One evidence of this situation is to be found in the large number of French brides which American soldiers brought back. In addition there was the large number of illegitimate children who were left behind when the soldiers returned.

There is no question that in addition to these distinct evidences of the lowered sexual morality incident to the excitement of mobilization and shipment abroad, much of the changed attitude toward sex morality in all countries since the War is due to the breaking down of the moral standards then current, and to the let-down which followed upon the conclusion of peace and the demobilization of the troops.

Distrust of Other Nations. Out of the destruction of social idealism, consequent upon the disillusionment following the War, has grown up a distrust of other nations more deeply entrenched and more menacing than we had seen for a quarter of a century. The peace movement has been hampered because of this cynicism. The only good thing from the standpoint of international relationships which has appeared upon this desolate horizon since the World War, is the disgust at war as a method of settling international maladjustments. Even so harmless a pronouncement as the Kellogg Pact has been cited by some of the leaders of public opinion as a childish fantasy of fools.

Generation of International Hatred. Growing out of the attitude propagated during the World War and buttressed by the cynicism and idealistic let-down that followed there has been a development of inter-

national hatred which is astonishing in its virulence and its subtlety. To one who remembers the propaganda during the War this result will not be astonishing. Never before in the history of mankind were the instruments of propaganda so widely organized and so skilfully used as during the World War. From the bayonet practice on dummies in the training camps to the stories of atrocities committed by the enemy, put forth on both sides, every country was busy generating such a wave of hatred for the enemy as would heighten the morale of the fighting forces and their supporters behind the lines. This propaganda of hate and suspicion on both sides did more to produce the underlying social psychology out of which international discord grows than we can repair in a generation. The same thing on a smaller scale occurred in previous wars in which this country has been engaged. I remember after the Civil War the attitude of Northern soldiers and fierce partisans of the North toward the South, its leaders, and its soldiers. All of the Southern soldiers were "Johnny Rebs." I am told that in the South many a child grew to manhood before he learned that the term "Damn Yank" was two words. Those in middle life will remember before the World War the attitudes of suspicion and hatred in this country toward Great Britain. It was a hatred generated during the Revolution and the War of 1812, and on several occasions had almost brought the two countries to war. Witness the intensity of the situation in the Venezuela incident during Cleveland's administration, and the nervousness concerning the position of England at the time of the Spanish-American war. Other examples will occur to the historically minded.

Right in the face of the most terrible war in the history of human kind we have the militarist, the jingo, and the munitions-maker putting on a campaign of propaganda in favor of a huge army and navy. These men in the face of a war-sick and economically prostrate world would have us believe that the United States has never been in such jeopardy from other nations as to-day. Our navy must be the largest on earth. In addition to a large army our national guards must be strengthened and given training at great expense. Our reserve officers must go to training camps each year. Our high school and college boys must be compelled to take military training. All this is for "defense." Our best defense is arming and training our young manhood against a possible enemy who may attack us across thousands of miles of ocean—for what reason, who can say? These loud-mouthed evangelists of "defense" lap up hatred as a sweet morsel and spew it out upon a peace-loving people in the hope that a like frenzy may inflame us all. Such suspicion and fear does more to produce war than anything else. We must be led to share them, else we shall come to believe that

peaceful concord between nations is possible. The fountainheads of such propaganda are either knavery or folly on the part of those who are not informed of the facts and of the profound desire for peace in the hearts of the great masses which suffer most from war. Watch out for "the African in the wood-pile" and the empty-headed purveyor of predigested patter.

PROPOSALS FOR INTERNATIONAL ADJUSTMENT

In the face of such stupendous factors, producing dislocation of social ties, are there any practical proposals by which these disturbances can be prevented in the future? There is a great body of doubtful opinion even among those who are not cynics and jingoists. Many believe that the modern means of communication, the shrinking of space due to new inventions, the growing population of the different nations of the world which leads to struggle for natural resources and for markets, and the weakness of idealistic aims as compared with the selfish aims of profits and glory make any program of international organization of relationships impractical.

There are others, however, who refuse to believe that the same processes which have brought ever-increasing aggregations of people into organized peaceful relationship, cannot be applied to the relationships between nations. They point out that in primitive societies every little group was the natural enemy of every other. They admit that from the time man invented his first weapon and learned how to overcome and control nature, population has increased, the struggle for natural resources has gone on, and cultural differences have been recognized. And yet they suggest in spite of these conditions, there has been an increasing movement toward peaceful relationships. They believe that men are motivated not merely by material and selfish considerations, but by ideals. What suggestions have this latter group to offer?

(1) **An International Organization.** They suggest the necessity of some kind of international organization to serve as a court or forum where the conflicting interests can be harmonized, such as the League of Nations, with its International Court, or something better. Whatever be the organization it must serve as a place for the discussion of problems threatening to disturb relationships among different nations. It must also serve as an organization through which treaties can be made. It has been suggested that the League of Nations will not fulfill its purpose unless it provides also an international police force, with an army and a navy to back up its decisions. Even under the present league-covenant provision is made whereby the different nations may outlaw an offender and proceed against him with military power. In the present state of world opinion, however,

such a situation is difficult to envisage. Economic sanctions are provided for in the league-covenant, however, by which trade with the offender nation would be refused by the members of the League. This is a less serious sanction than that of military or naval force. Whether the League of Nations as at present constituted will serve as an effective means whereby international disputes can be settled and a friendlier arrangement between the members of it can be promoted, remains to be seen.

(2) An International Mind. To make such an international organization effective, steps must be taken to develop an *international mind*. The hatreds, suspicions, jealousies, and lack of appreciation of the culture and economic demands of other nations must be supplanted by understanding and appreciation. It is suggested that the training to produce that kind of an attitude towards other nations should begin in the schools. Instead of textbooks which feed national egotism and encourage the feeling of superiority, children should be taught early an attitude of kindliness toward other nations, an appreciation of their art, their culture, their literature, their points of view, and their economic outlook. The virtues of other people should be presented to the minds of children so that, grown up, they would not look upon them as barbarians but as fellow citizens of the commonwealth of nations.

It is suggested in this same connection that if this attitude of international comity is to be spread in the minds of the people of the different countries, the press and the radio, the platform, and the pulpit, which too often now are the instruments of jingoism and of a false patriotism, should be brought to treat fairly the issues between different countries. Perhaps it is idle to expect these agencies of propaganda to do so until there is a rather large body of opinion favoring such attitude.

The advocates of international good-will also urge travel and exchange of students in order to promote a better understanding between different peoples than now exists. Such an exchange of students and teachers was in force before the World War and is now in operation between some of the countries of the world. That such a measure does promote acquaintanceship, understanding, and appreciation of the institutions and the attitudes of other peoples is indicated by what happens to missionaries who go even to backward countries, to business men who live for years in a country with which their organizations are doing business, and to students who spend some time in the universities of other peoples.

(3) Control of Instruments of Propaganda. It has been suggested that in every country efforts should be made to control the instruments of propaganda in the interests of peace. That cannot be done, however, until

public opinion supports it. Then it will not be necessary. It is doubtful whether newspapers should be throttled, destroying the freedom of the press, which since the time of Milton has been one of our cherished traditions. It is not impossible, however, for those who are in favor of international comity and peace to provide newspapers and other organs of their own to promote the cause of international organization. The League of Nations Association is an illustration of one such organization. Churches, especially those which believe that the gospel is to be applied to the present-day social conditions, can be used when once the people of the churches are inclined to these policies as forums whereby the doctrine of international good-will can be promoted.

(4) **Removal of Economic Barriers.** Since the economic forces and interests are important in causing modern warfare it is suggested that the economic causes of friction should be removed.

One cause of friction is a tariff originally built to protect one nation's commerce no matter what they do to the economic system of another country. Up to the present time tariffs have been built chiefly to promote national and selfish considerations. It is suggested that there might be some kind of an international tariff union which should seek to regulate tariffs between nations in the interest of all of the nations within the union. If that could be extended until it takes in the whole world, something might be accomplished.

In this same connection it has been suggested that measures be taken regulating the distribution of raw material. Economic imperialism has set itself to take in hand and appropriate to the use of a single nation great areas of land in which raw materials necessary for the modern industrial order exist in abundance. Some understanding between the different nations as to a proper distribution of raw materials no matter where they may exist, might be effective in removing one of the causes of war.

The same thing is true with regard to the internationalization of foreign loans. At the present time a creditor nation makes its loans in all kinds of places where the returns promise to be more profitable than on investments at home. The theory which has held up to the present time is that the flag should follow such investment. The present and many of the past difficulties in China have grown, in part at least, out of the obligation other governments felt to protect their foreign investors in that country. It is a question, however, whether the flag of a country should be used to protect the interests of those who invest in securities, of whatever nature, in foreign countries, merely for the sake of profit. It is proposed in some quarters that those who wish to invest in foreign concerns or in the securi-

ties of foreign governments, should take their risks just as they do in any other kind of investment at home, without expecting the government to embroil itself in war with another nation in order to protect hazardous loans.

(5) **Removal of War Irritants.** It has been proposed that international understandings abolish certain war irritants One of those which the Treaty of Versailles is supposed to have abolished is *secret diplomacy*. This has frequently been a means of stirring up trouble All those in the League of Nations are supposed to publish whatever understandings and treaties they have with other countries

In addition there are those who believe that *disarmament* is one of the means by which to get rid of irritants causing war If disarmament is not possible, then limitation of armaments is a step in the right direction. This proposal is a direct contradiction to the old theory that the way to preserve peace is to build up such an army and navy that any one else would fear to attack The bankruptcy of that theory was proved by the World War

To many people in these times of international cynicism any of these suggestions seem illusory Possibly nothing that we can do within the next generation or two will prevent the recurrence of war However the endeavor to displace cynicism with hope and fear with confidence is worthy the metal of young world-citizens As serious students of the ways in which men are organized in society and of the processes by which social groups come together, divide, come into conflict, accommodate themselves to each other and are eventually welded again into an integrated whole, we cannot be uninterested in the consequences of the maladjustments between nations, since they affect the people in every land and create disturbances among every people We have the beginnings at the present time of an international economy There are suggestions of an international culture Whether the forces at work in the present world, either those working automatically or those consciously in operation, will bring to pass an international integration only the future can tell Sociology has not reached the scientific development at present where it can prophesy concerning such an important event. It does know some of the processes by which pathological conditions result from international conflicts and disorganization, and it can see some of the underlying factors which produce that pathology Such an understanding of the factors producing maladjustment may suggest effective remedies and methods of prevention.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Define Imperialism
2. What are the origins of war?
3. What are the differences between the theories of the two schools of thought as to the rôle of war in socialization?
4. According to the school of Gumplowicz and Ratzenhofer what social events follow in the wake of war?
5. Show how conflict was inevitable with the growth of population, the discovery of the use of an increasing number of natural resources and with the close contacts of different cultures.
6. Point out the difference between early and modern wars.
7. Point out the salient facts with reference to the destruction of human life in modern warfare.
8. Picture statistically the economic costs of war.
9. What effect does modern warfare have upon the blood of the race?
10. Point out the chief social maladjustments which result from modern warfare.
11. What are the chief proposals for the adjustment of international relationships? Discuss each one critically.

PART IV

THE BREAKDOWN OF ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS

FOREWORD TO PART IV

By economic relationships we mean those ties which bind people into a system of organized life concerned with making a living No man in Western civilization lives unto himself economically So minute is the division of labor that each one of us has his part to play in the total economic organization Once the family or the small group was the economic unit. Within that unit there was some division of labor. There is some evidence that in prehistoric times there were arrow-makers, skin-dressers, etc , who made articles for the use of others They were devoted to such economic specialization because they were more adept than others in that particular skill. Within the family unit in the household system of economy there was also some division of labor The men and boys made certain things required by the household, such as plows, hoes, harness, shoes, etc The women and girls spun the wool and flax, dyed and wove the cloth, and fashioned it into garments Some men engaged in trade as merchants, others as blacksmiths, wheelwrights, etc However, with the coming of the machine age, which we call the Industrial Revolution, the division of labor became much more minute. The article which once was made by one man is now produced by the labors of many, one engaging in only one process, another in another, and so on Sometimes many individuals are engaged in giving form to one final product For example, the shoe, once the product of a single worker, now requires many men to produce it in finished form.

In addition to the division of labor within a single factory, there is what the economists have called *occupational division of labor* Some are merchants, some artisans, some bankers, etc Then with the large-scale production possible with the power-machine there has appeared great diversity in the organization of business, such as gigantic corporations for various purposes All these things have produced an economic organization which requires very careful integration of the activities of each member of society, if the system is to work smoothly When it does not, economic disorganization results The consequences of economic disorganization touch not only the economic relationships of man, they affect his social life as well

Because of the limits of our space we can illustrate the maladjustments which grow out of the breakdown of economic arrangements with only three examples.

CHAPTER 26

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY ARISING FROM THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Pathological conditions arise in society not only from strictly social conditions, but also from those which directly or indirectly affect social relations One of the important phases of social life is the economic. The wealth-getting and wealth-consuming activities of human beings in the modern world are intertwined with man's social relationships. They affect all human institutions They form a center of interest around which cluster attitudes, ideals, and mores The "economic determinists" believe that the economic life determines the direction and form of all social activities and relationships One need not go so far in order to give economic activities their full weight of influence upon the forms and the processes of social life. They affect the family relationships, and the size and forms of group life. They determine in part the associations which bind men together, and they account for some of the cleavages which divide a population into classes. They condition many of the types of social reaction observed in any aggregate of people Any relationships so intimately connected with the every-day activities of people must be rather delicately adjusted to men's needs, else other relationships will be seriously disturbed

In Family Relationships. If a man cannot earn a living for his family, the family relationships will be sadly disorganized If his job is not fairly secure, a man cannot plan for the education of his children Neither he nor the other members of his family can have that serenity of spirit nor mutual affection and respect which is the foundation of sound social living Indeed, he may be entirely discouraged from marrying and having a family A high birth-rate, a large infant mortality-rate, a large amount of sickness, broken homes, desertion, juvenile delinquency, immorality, dependency and adult criminality are found in the homes where economic relationships are disorganized

The family relationships are seriously disorganized by sudden changes in the economic organization This strain on the family ties is registered in the increase of divorce, and in juvenile delinquency. Dr. Earl H. Bell has shown what happens in a concrete case in *A Socio-Anthropological Study of a Small Middle West Community*, an unpublished doctor's thesis at the

University of Wisconsin. The family forms, mores, and attitudes hang over from a previous economic order. They no longer fit the new economic situation. The old relationships between husband and wife are altered by the new economic system. The old division of labor between husband and wife no longer holds. She buys the clothing ready made instead of making it. The children get their training to an increasing degree in the schools instead of by assisting in the daily work of the household and the shop. Recreation is no longer a family or neighborhood affair, but is commercialized. Religion decays. The old folkways and mores dissolve for the young people while the older hold to patterns of conduct which grew out of a non-mechanized economic system. Strains in the relationships between parents and children arise out of this situation. The readjustment of social connections lags behind economic adjustments. An economic organization which allows unemployment to be the fate of large numbers of the working people upsets the arrangements between an individual and his fellows in every aspect of life. He drops his insurance and hence his family is left unprotected in case of his death. His rent can be paid only if he has saved an amount sufficient to tide him over bad times. He is unable to meet his bills at the grocer's. In a thousand ways his normal relationships are broken.

In Public Services. Moreover, public services for the people of a community are interfered with. Schools are starved. The children are deprived of those services upon which depend their development into good citizenship. Parks and playgrounds cannot be provided. Leaders cannot be hired.

In Economic Security. Public sanitation and public health measures are crippled. Taxes cannot be collected. Home-owners lose their equities and suffering develops among all classes except the well-to-do. In the meantime business shrinks. Capital is tied up in unproductive plants. Bank credits are contracted. Banks which had lent money on property worth 60 per cent or more than the loan find it necessary to call the loans. Securities are dumped on the market in order that their owners may get money to pay loans. Values shrink. Banks are forced into receivers' hands. A fear-psychology takes possession of ever larger numbers of people. Money is withdrawn from circulation and hoarded. Further unemployment results, with increased distress. Such are some of the results of an unstabilized economic system.

In the Church. The church likewise suffers because of this "cultural lag." Geared to the patterns evolved in an earlier day in response to a pioneer agricultural economy and to an intellectual and emotional pattern of behavior the church finds its congregation melting away. It no longer plays its former role in social control because its appeal is adjusted to a

mode of life which is passing Its ministers live in the past. Its services meet no needs felt by the youth of the new order.

In Morals. The old sex morals disintegrate under the impact of the automobile, good roads, the movie, and the new press The number of children per family decreases with their lessened economic importance, with the increased cost of their birth and rearing, and with the increased attraction of leisure and of the modern mechanized comforts such as autos, radios, tractors, etc. The old sanctions have gone with the economic and social complex out of which they grew. Few new and adequate props to sexual morality, based upon modern economic and social relationships, have had time to develop in place of the old Hence the present moral chaos

CAPITALISTIC ORGANIZATION OF THE ECONOMIC ORDER

Our present economic system, except in Russia, may be called one of individualistic capitalism In Russia the system may be called state capitalism. Capitalism is a system characterized, as Sombart has pointed out, by three ideas acquisition, competition, and rationality[1] Max Weber points out that the capitalistic system would be impossible without the opportunity of exploiting free labor.[2] Capitalism is motivated by the desire for profit. Hope of profit is the very soul of the system The informing spirit of the system is to acquire wealth and more wealth, not merely to satisfy one's needs or to provide for those needs in the future No matter how large the profits, they never can reach a level sufficient to satisfy the spirit of capitalism Seeing that in the pre-capitalistic system, goods were produced and traded so that consumers' needs might be supplied and that ample livelihood for producers and merchants might be provided, economic processes were grounded in personal values Human relationships were the touchstone governing economic transactions Not so in the capitalistic system, where *acquisition* is the aim of all economic activity The aim of the system is not the welfare of people nor of any individual, but an increasing stock of material things and a greater variety of services

As acquisition is the mainspring of economic activity under capitalism, *competition* characterizes the attitudes shown in the processes of acquisition Under this system acquisition must be free from regulation by means of bonds imposed upon the individual from the outside, and from any limit placed upon the amounts which the individual may acquire. The individual insists on freedom to seek his profits without interference and in accordance with his own natural abilities He takes great risks of failure,

[1] Sombart, "Capitalism," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, III, 196

[2] Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York, 1930), p 21

but also great chances of success. The only limit upon his activity is a penal code. The result is that all other values except that of profits must be subordinated. Ruthlessly capitalism with its goal of profits ignores the value of human personality and the concepts of the general welfare. Not only does the desire for profits dominate the economic field, but it reaches over into the cultural fields of human society and tends to set up its own values in those fields. A human being is no longer looked upon as of any value in himself; he is merely a unit of labor power. Nature itself is no longer a thing of beauty, with values of its own for human beings, but is a reservoir of materials and forces to assist the making of gain. Hence the appalling unscrupulousness and ruthlessness of modern business.

In the third place capitalism is characterized by *rationality*. By that we mean a tendency to long-range planning, careful consideration of the adaptation of means to ends, and cold and careful calculation of what measures will bring the greatest gain. It is this characteristic which has brought into such prominence in modern business the highly developed systems of cost accounting, efficiency plans, experts, and the careful and manifold functionalization of business organizations. It also accounts for the introduction of modern technology into industry and commerce, and the departmentalization and coordination of the parts of the whole organization. It has given rise to the modern methods of salesmanship and the development of the new forms of retailing.

Here again rationality, characteristic of capitalism, falls over into all the other cultural spheres. The esthetically inclined individual is mercilessly weeded out. Education becomes the training of men for the making of a living by fitting them into the social organization dictated by the aims of capitalism. All social life must be efficiently organized. As a consequence, from the standpoint of the social idealist, capitalism often appears to be a horrible monster, careless of human values and of the perfection of human relationships.[8]

PRESENT ECONOMIC MALADJUSTMENTS

Let us turn to a consideration of some of the present arrangements in our economic order which play some rôle in social pathology.

Wages Inadequate for a Decent Standard of Living. Large numbers of our population have an income that is insufficient, even with the very best management, to keep them from poverty, at least when a crisis

[8] Sombart, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–108. Weber, *op. cit.*, Ch. II. For a good description of the precapitalistic system see Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York, 1926), Ch. I.

comes in their affairs, and inevitably makes it impossible to save a sufficient amount to enable them to tide over the crisis or to support them in disability or old age Says Miss Lathrop: "We still cling to the shaken, but not shattered, belief that this free country gives every man his chance and that an income sufficient to bring up a family decently is attainable by all honest people who are not hopelessly stupid or incorrigibly lazy. The fathers of 88 per cent of the babies included in the Bureau's studies earned less than $1,250 a year, 27 per cent earned less than $550. As the income doubled, the mortality-rate was more than halved Which is the more safe and sane conclusion, that 88 per cent of all these fathers were incorrigibly indolent or below normal mentality, or that sound public economy demands an irreducible minimum living standard to be sustained by a minimum wage and such other expedients as may be developed in a determined effort to give every child a fair chance?"[4]

Taking the country as a whole it appears "that the great mass of labor is living below a standard maintenance line"[5] In September, 1921, 49 per cent of the railway workers in the United States were averaging less than $1,500 a year, 26 per cent less than $1,200 a year. Since the National Industrial Conference Board, an employers' organization, in September, 1921, prepared for Detroit, a budget establishing a minimum of $1,697 25 for a family of five, and since most wage workers do not receive as much as the strongly unionized railway workers, it is apparent, taking labor the country over, that quite a large majority of the workers receive less than the estimated budget.[6] The recent wage-cuts have depressed the income of the workers still more The Interchurch World Movement investigation of the steel strike of 1919 shows that for years over one third of all productive iron and steel workers had received wages below the level set by government experts as the minimum of subsistence standards for families of five, and that the earnings of 72 per cent of all workers were and had been for years under the minimum of comfort for such families.[7]

In certain monopolized industries it is claimed that earnings are sufficient either to pay higher wages or to reduce the price, or both For example, the newspapers reported late in 1920 that the Standard Oil Company of Indiana had issued a stock dividend of $150,000,000. It has been claimed that

[4] Lathrop, "Income and Infant Mortality," *American Journal of Public Health*, April, 1919, p 274

[5] *The Wage Question*, Bulletin No 1, Research Department, Commission on the Church and Social Service, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, February, 1922

[6] *Interchurch World Movement, Report on the Steel Strike of 1919* (New York, 1920), p 23

this was for two purposes: (1) To obviate payment of income tax on cash dividends, and (2) to hide the monopoly profits. In 1918, the Steel Corporation, after paying dividends of $96,382,027, and setting aside $174,277,835 for federal taxes in 1919, yet had a surplus of $466,888,421. In 1919 the undivided surplus was $493,048,200.93.[9] One, of course, must remember the necessity in business of providing, by means of a surplus, for slack times and expansion in busy times. Yet it would seem that consumers of monopolized products in such cases are paying more than a fair price for the commodities or else labor is being underpaid. It must be remembered, too, that while in our modern business world such monopolies are not universal by any means, their size and control over the fields they cover enable them to control output. It is also possible that the large scale on which they carry on industry makes for economies impossible in competitive industries, so that the price per unit of product to the consumer is not greater than under a competitive system between small industries. That, however, has not been clearly shown. At any rate, with the economies possible in large-scale production with a practical monopoly as in the two industries cited, the surpluses show that a lower price per unit of product with the same wage scale is possible.

The fact stands out clearly that the social conception of property is subordinated to the will to make profits for the owners of industry. It is also clear that if industry does not pay laborers at least a subsistence wage, and if it requires hours which produce undue fatigue, denies men proper recreation and time with their families, then health is undermined, the worker is old at forty and is thrown upon the human junk-heap, children are denied educational opportunities and are forced to begin work at too early an age, and certain moral problems for children and youth are sure to arise. The result, then, in the words of Goldsmith is that "wealth accumulates and men decay."

Fluctuations in Prices and Wages. Fluctuation in prices disturbs the relationship between the income and need. Wages and prices do not vary in direct ratio. Many families, able to get along without distress under static conditions, find themselves reduced to dependency, or even to destitution, by reason of the rapid changes in prices.

The last fifteen years have seen a remarkable change in the prices of products. Part of this change was due to the increasing amount of gold and the multiplication of paper money and credits which take the place of specie. Part of it was due to the lessened production, part to American

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 12. The figures given in Ch. IV, "Wages in a No-conference Industry," are for 1918 and 1919 only.

exports for the world's markets and, recently, to the after-effects of the World War. A department of the United States Government is authority for the statement that the price of twenty-two staple articles of food more than doubled from 1913 to January, 1920.[8] On the other hand, from 1913 to the spring of 1919, the earnings of cigarmakers had increased 51 per cent, and of men in the clothing industry 71 per cent.[9]

In any period of rapidly increasing commodity prices, wages lag behind, as shown in an investigation by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics The report of this investigation, comparing the index numbers of average weekly earnings in the New York State factories and of retail prices in the United States from 1914 to 1919, shows this tendency. Wages and prices were nearest together in 1915 when the index number for earnings was 101 and for prices was 102, the greatest divergence was in 1917 when the index number for wages was 129, while that for prices was 147. In 1918 they were as 160 to 170[10] In 1919 the average cost of living based on data from thirty-two cities in the United States was 77 9 per cent higher than in 1913[11] Following the depression, beginning in 1920 prices fell and wages were depressed

Inequitable Distribution of Wealth and Income. If a large proportion of the population has very little chance to accumulate sufficient fortune to tide it over crises, such as sickness or unemployment, or to keep it in old age, numbers will fall into poverty when such crises arise

Moreover, the hopelessness which such a situation engenders renders such people less ambitious, less efficient producers in many cases, and makes them less regardful of their responsibility for their children's future

In 1915, King showed that the poorest two thirds of the people owned but a petty 5 or 6 per cent, and the poorest four fifths of the population owned scarcely 10 per cent of the total wealth of the land, while the richest 2 per cent of the population possessed almost three fifths. In other words, each of the men in the richest four-hundredth part of the population possessed one hundred times the wealth of the average citizen[12] In 1919, Royal Meeker, then United States Commissioner of Labor, estimated that American families on the average were not fully nourished until their yearly income reached $1,800. He pointed out, however, that the average income

[8] *Monthly Labor Review*, U S Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Vol X, No 3, March, 1920, p 35

[9] *Ibid*, p 90

[10] *Ibid*, Vol IX, No 1, July, 1919, p 148.

[11] *Ibid*, February, 1924, p 64

[12] King, *Wealth and Income of the People of the United States*, 1915, pp. 80-81.

in this country fell well below $1,600; as a matter of fact it was about $1,350.[18]

The *distribution of the national income* showed an even more portentous situation. Wealth may keep the wolf from the door in a crisis, but is not so important for day-to-day living as income. In 1918, the federal income-tax returns showed that over one third (34.28 per cent) of those reporting had incomes between $1,000 and $2,000, and received only 14.2 per cent of the national income. The most prosperous 5 per cent of the income-receivers got 26 per cent of the total, the most prosperous 10 per cent received nearly 35 per cent of the total. One result of the World War was to reduce slightly the inequality in the distribution of the national income. The per capita income of the people of the United States increased from $318 in 1909 to $506 in 1918. Or, if reduced to terms of prices of 1913, there was an increase from $333 in 1908 to $372 in 1918, or one of 11.7 per cent. Nevertheless, the National Bureau of Economic Research estimates that even if an equal distribution of income could be effected without serious impairment of the machinery of production on which all incomes depend, there would be only a small margin for the normal family above the amount needed to maintain a decent standard of living. According to a study by the National Industrial Conference Board in 1928, the average income per capita for the United States was $650 and per each person gainfully employed only $1,749.[19]

In addition consider the facts cited in the chapter on Old Age. That the great majority of people who survive to sixty-five or over are dependent on other resources than their own challenges attention. The economic order which produces such results cannot be working perfectly. One can indict for incapacity that majority of the population which cannot earn a livelihood during youth and middle age, or that other large moiety of society which comes to old age without savings. But even so, one must admit that the economic system is not adjusted to their capacities. If, on the other hand, one does not wish to say that the great majority of the people are incapable, then all the more certain is the conclusion that the trouble is with our economic order. The social and economic machinery is not geared to the capacities of our people closely enough to enable the great majority to enjoy the opportunities, privileges, and security of the few.

Occasionally vast multitudes are denied employment. Many who have

[18] Meeker, "What is the American Standard of Living?" *Monthly Labor Review*, July, 1929, p. 5.

[19] Burnett, "Preventing Poverty," *The Survey*, April 15, 1925, p. 87.

Seager, "Income in the United States," *The Survey*, November 19, 1921, p. 270. *World Almanac* (1931), p. 484.

saved for sickness or old age have their savings swept away. Vast sums of money are made when the cycle of business is on its upward curve. Enormous sums are lost when it swings downward into a depression. The economic order is not stable. In fact it is uncertain whether any system man can devise will ever be so perfectly adjusted to the needs of all the individual members of society that the social relationships dependent upon the economic organization will not be disordered. So far as we know in human history it never has been so perfect. Some, under the present capitalistic system, are struggling to perfect its maladjustments. Some progress is being made along the lines suggested by Sombart. The Fabian Socialists are attempting to transfer certain economic functions from private hands to municipalities and states in order to correct some of the disorders of the system. The Marxian Socialists in Russia are trying out an experiment on a grand scale. They have taken over into state control all capital goods, i.e., goods used in the productive process—land, coal, oil, means of transportation and utilities, factories and distributive agencies—in order to remove the profit motive in big business. They are seeking to distribute to the mass of the workers and peasants the economic benefits of large-scale production. The results of that gigantic experiment on the whole system of social relationships are not yet clear. It is worth watching.

Whether by one method or by another, the Western world, at least, is struggling to solve the maladjustments of the economic system to the individual. Thinking men cannot rest content with letting things alone to produce whatever results they will. They are beginning to see that economic disorganization produces social disorder, that economic insecurity affects social serenity, that all social relationships are affected by the economic. Man does not live by bread alone, but he must have bread to live. To live well he must have security and opportunity. He must have status, he must *belong*. The ties which make him human must not forever be threatened by economic hazards.

In the period of what Sombart calls full capitalism which began about 1750 and closed in 1914 with the outbreak of the World War, the inherent tendencies of the capitalistic system came to their full expression. Struggle for profits and what he calls economic rationalism, completely controlled and molded all economic relationships. In this period economic activity enlarged its scope. Marketing expanded to meet the enlarged demands of business. Plans were introduced to make business more productive and industry everywhere was mechanized. Institutionalized rather than personal relationships existed between employer and employed. Business was organized from top to bottom in a strict regimentation. Buyer and seller no longer

came face to face, but the process of exchange was mechanized as far as possible on the basis of fixed prices. Merchandise was increasingly standardized, corporate systems took the place of the old personal relationships. Credit institutions, tending to operate impersonally, arose everywhere. Corporate control took the place of individual ownership and partnership ownership. Large financial concerns grew up to provide credit for the large units of industry. Credit instruments of all sorts, like bonds and certificates of stock, took the place of personal notes, and again impersonal supplanted personal relationships. Wall Street and Lombard Street tended to dominate the whole industrial system through their power over credit.

In the current period of capitalism, dating from 1914 to the present, certain important changes are appearing. Industrialism is spreading to every part of the world and wiping out the differences once noticeable between industrial and agrarian countries. Mixed public-private undertakings, State and communal public works, cooperative organizations, and other forms of non-capitalistic economic activity increase in number, size, and importance. Some of these began in the previous period but in a good many countries are now coming to more pronounced expression.

While the capitalistic spirit at its full tide emphasized rationalization in the organization of the whole business world, the system itself contained elements of irrationality. By that I mean that in the system there was psychological strain between the emphasis upon rationality in the business process and the irrational procedure of allowing all adjustments to be made by the individual entrepreneur pursuing his own profits.

Furthermore, there are certain signs that with the increase of the size of the economic unit, striving for profit tends to decrease. At least in Europe we find evidence in some quarters of a tendency to fix a limited dividend rate and to reinvest the surplus in the capital of the concern. The emphasis upon freedom from external restraint is beginning to yield to the pressure of public opinion, with a consequent increase in the number of restrictions upon the struggle for unlimited profit. Some of these regulations are self-imposed by industry and business itself. They are illustrated by the bureaucratization of the internal management of business, collective trade associations, credit exchange boards, cartels, and similar organizations over a large area, characteristic particularly of business in Europe. Still others are prescribed by the State, such as factory legislation, workmen's compensation, social insurance, unemployment reserves, sanitation, etc., and limitation of hours of labor for women and children. Still other restrictions are imposed by the workers themselves, such as work councils and trade agreements, governing conditions of labor, wages, etc. Again in this late period

the modifications of the practices of full capitalism appear in the tendency to look upon the employee as more or less a public servant. His wage is often determined by non-economic and non-commercial factors. Emphasis is being placed upon a "living wage" equal to that of a civil service employee. Industrial pensions approximate in principle the States' old-age pensions.

Furthermore price regulation in various fields appears upon the horizon. The Interstate Commerce Commission in this country regulates the rates charged by the railroads and in a number of the States there are commissions to regulate the rates charged by public utilities.

While Sombart and certain other economic prophets before the recent world depression were of the opinion that even the cyclical vacillations of prosperity and depression, characteristic of full capitalism, tend to become attenuated in the last period of capitalism, the world-wide economic crisis following 1929 suggested that such a generalization is hazardous and that prophecy in the light of present knowledge is "a dangerous business."

All of these movements in the current period of capitalism are attempts to adjust the economic system to the needs of individuals on the basis of justice to capitalists, consumers, and workers. Much, however, is needed to make that adjustment adequate to meet the strains incident to economic change. Nothing makes that clearer than recent experience.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Show the intimacy of the economic arrangements with social relationships.
2. Show how derangement of the economic relationships affects such social institutions as the family, the schools, public health, and personal adjustments
3. Why do changes in the technological methods of producing goods, of transportation, and communication disturb the relations between neighbors, between parents and children, and between husbands and wives?
4. How has the invention of the motion film affected the forms of recreation?
5. What has been the effect of these modern methods of farming on the stability of the family? On community solidarity? On the church?
6. What are the distinguishing features of modern individualistic capitalism?
7. Distinguish the last two periods of capitalism
8. Name and discuss some of the present economic maladjustments as they affect social relationships
9. How does the distribution of wealth and income react upon the stability of social relationships?
10. What attempts are being made to adjust the economic relationships in the interests of all the people?
11. What is the difference between the procedure of the Fabian and the Marxian Socialists?
12. Contrast the inherent tendencies outlined by Sombart of the period of full capitalism in contrast with those of the last period of capitalism
13. In view of the recent depression what do you think of Sombart's opinion that in the last period of capitalism the cyclical vacillations of prosperity and depression tend to become attenuated?

CHAPTER 27

POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

Another disturbance of social relationships develops from poverty and dependency. The most apparent basis of these pathological relationships is the lack of a proper income or wasteful expenditure. The real roots, however, rest in the social and economic organization, in the inherited capacity and early conditioning of the individual.

The rich and the poor have been with us ever since one man was able to control more of desirable objects than another. They were not pressing social problems, however, until methods of trading developed to such a point that a market was established for the exchange of commodities and a scale of values was established in the minds of men. To-day, with business organized on a world basis, with the development of what is practically a world market, and with certain standards of living established in the customs and traditions of men, poverty has become a stark and naked reality in contrast with riches, and dependency stands out in contrast with independence. Differences in the amount of goods possessed by different people may be of great significance even for those above the poverty line. For those below that line such differences may be tragic.

The poverty line is determined by the customs and modes of living of each society. Poverty may be defined, therefore, as *that condition in which a person, either because of inadequate income or unwise expenditure, does not maintain a standard of living high enough to provide for the physical and mental efficiency of himself and to enable him and his natural dependents to function usefully according to the standards of the society of which he is a member.* Any one living in that condition is below the poverty line.

Dependency in a broad, general sense may or may not have any relationship to poverty or pauperism. The young child is dependent upon its parents although they may be rich. The child in an orphanage or placed out in a family is dependent and may be a pauper. *The only dependency which creates a social problem is the dependency connected with support by some one other than one's natural or legal supporter.* The wife, dependent upon her husband for support, is a dependent, but constitutes no social problem. However, the wife left without means of support by her husband, who deserts, goes to jail,

or dies, creates a problem for society. Dependency in the narrow sense of the term is synonymous with pauperism.

Pauperism, therefore, may be defined as *that condition of life in which one depends upon some one else than his natural or legal supporter for his sustenance, either in whole or in part.* The child dependent upon its parents is not a pauper, while the child dependent upon an orphanage or a child-placing organization, or boarded out, is a pauper. The wife, whose husband supports her, is dependent upon him but is not a pauper. If, however, she receives a mother's pension, she is a pauper, unless the pension be conceived as a wage paid by the State for the care of her children.

AMOUNT OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

Unfortunately national statistics in most countries do not provide us information that will throw light upon the amount of poverty and dependency. We must arrive at a conception of their extent by indirect methods. For example, in 1918, the federal income tax returns showed that over one-third (34.18 per cent) of those reporting had incomes between $1,000 and $1,000, and received only 14.2 per cent of the national income.

According to a study by the National Industrial Conference Board in 1918 the average income per capita for the United States was $650 and per each person gainfully employed only $1,749.[2]

These facts are but indications of the actual situation. No one can say exactly what proportion of our people are living on or near the poverty line. However, from the standpoint of our definition of poverty, we shall certainly be conservative if we say *a fifth of our people do not have those necessaries of life which would enable them to maintain their physical and mental efficiency and to conform to the standards of decency set by the members of their group.* If we think of the standard as one which implies taking advantage of life's opportunities for the children, doubtless the proportion of those in poverty would be greater. Lack of recreation, a poverty-stricken social life that gives no outlook beyond the bare necessities, absence of opportunities for those social contacts that ennoble personality, create an aspiration for better things, and inspire a sentiment of patriotic devotion to the country are conditions that obtain in all too large a proportion of our population. These people from the standpoint of social development and good citizenship are in poverty.[3]

[2] Burritt, "Preventing Poverty," *The Survey*, April 15, 1915, p. 81. Seager, "Income in the United States," *The Survey*, November 19, 1921, p. 270. *World Almanac* (1931), p. 484. Other facts pertinent to this subject are to be found in Ch. 26 of this book.

[3] For further details see Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency*, rev. (New York, 1925), Ch. 4.

Judging from all the indications we can get from Europe since the War, poverty is much more widespread than it was before. The staggering burden of national debt weighs upon each individual, raising the price of commodities needed, and taking taxes from the people in unprecedented measure. Probably the recent depression has changed the whole picture in this country at least.

Pauper Dependency. In 1913, 4 per cent of the population of England and Wales were in receipt of public aid. By 1923 this figure had risen to over 6 per cent. In that year England and Wales gave poor relief to 1,547,990 persons and old-age pensions to 889,000. Fortunately the figures for 1924 and 1925 show a substantial decrease to 3.11 per cent in the latter year. This, however, is an enormous increase over the rate of 2.3 per cent in 1908.[3] Every report from the British Isles during the latter part of the second decade of this century shows an enormous increase in the numbers dependent on the poor rates or upon the various insurance funds. By January 1, 1926, the number of persons receiving poor relief of any kind had increased by 80 per cent over the number in 1912. The number receiving outdoor relief is even more significant, since the figures just given include the insane, etc. The number per 10,000 of the total population had increased from 113 in 1912 to 258 in 1926.[4]

In the United States we have no national statistics on pauperism except figures for those in almshouses. On January 1, 1923, 7.1 persons per 10,000 of the population were in almshouses in the United States. The number in such institutions is steadily decreasing. However, since almshouses are only the last resort of the dependent pauper, almshouse numbers are no indication of the extent of pauperism in the United States. We shall do better, then, to take figures from a few States which keep fairly good statistics and from private organizations.

A survey in Newburgh, New York, showed that 5 per cent of the population in that city received charitable relief from December, 1912, to April, 1913. In 1912, 2.8 per cent of the population of Springfield, Illinois, received relief from either public or private sources. In New York in 1911, 2.33 per cent of the population of the State received public poor relief. Recently the Russell Sage Foundation has shown that forty welfare societies in twenty-eight cities during 1927 had applications for help, mostly material in nature, from about 100,000 families.[5] We shall not be beyond the mark if we

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[4] *Monthly Labor Review*, August, 1927, p. 66.
[5] Rubinow, "Can Private Philanthropy Do It?" *Social Service Review*, September, 1929.

estimate that somewhere between 3 and 6 per cent of the population of the country call for help some time during each year.

Social and Economic Cost of Poverty and Dependency. In the United Kingdom in 1915 the relief of the poor cost £36,841,768 sterling. In addition old-age pensions cost £19,868,603, while £51,550,823 were paid out for unemployment benefits Not all of the latter amount, however, can be charged to the relief of dependents since some of this amount came from contributions of the workers themselves. However, for poor relief and old-age pensions the equivalent of $298,508,683 was paid out by England and Wales in 1923. This amount is almost two and one half times that of 1912.

Rubinow has estimated on the basis of rather careful statistics that in 1918 this country was spending through public relief agencies from $100,000,000 to $200,000,000 a year In addition, through private relief agencies we are spending from $60,000,000 to $100,000,000 on outdoor relief, or at least a total of $200,000,000 for social work in general He estimates that this amount is perhaps only one fifth of one per cent of our national income, or one fortieth of our total wealth[6] President Hoover's committee on economic changes estimated in 1931 that the annual expenditure on social welfare from taxes alone is $2,800,000,000 a year[7]

How a period of industrial depression increases this burden is indicated by figures recently released by the Census Bureau The table opposite covers areas containing 89 2 per cent of the total population of all cities and unincorporated places, and 57 4 per cent of the total population of the United States It also includes reports from 1,716 counties out of a total of 3,073 covering 34.2 per cent of the country's population[8]

These figures give us some conception of the total amount of money spent on dependents in the United States. They suggest that the total sum is an enormous amount.

Consider, moreover, the social cost in addition to the economic. What does it mean—no matter whether the cause is the individual's own incapacity or lack of frugality, or social circumstances and economic conditions—that an army of people every year have to depend upon some one other than themselves or their relatives for help? Consider what it means in terms of childhood deprived of opportunities, of sickness which has brought many of these people to need, of the destruction of ambition, of the loss of hope, of despair, of vice, the sense of futility, and the lack of self-esteem—all of

[6] Rubinow, *loc cit*, p 301

[7] *Literary Digest*, December 26, 1931, p. 11.

[8] *Information Service*, June 11, 1932, Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

Summary of Expenditures for Relief

	Total population Apr. 1, 1930	Population of incorporated places reporting[a]		Summary of expenditures for relief to families and to homeless men		
		Population	Per cent of total population	First quarter of 1929	First quarter of 1931	Per cent increase
Grand total	122,775,046	70,439,827	57.4	$22,338,144	$73,757,300	230.2
Cities of over 300,000.	48,585,928[b]	48,508,779	99.8	16,621,341	56,669,124	240.9
Governmental	.....	.....	...	10,802,102	34,200,963	216.6
Private	.....	.....	...	5,819,239	22,468,161	286.1
Incorporated places of less than 30,000 ...	30,343,469	21,931,048	72.3	2,545,556	8,039,396	215.8
Counties (1,716 out of 3,073)	.....	.....	...	3,171,247	9,048,780	185.3

[a] Incorporated places of less than 30,000 include a few unincorporated places for which reports were received.

[b] Excludes population of Santa Ana, California, but includes population of the metropolitan area of Sharon, Pa., a city of less than 30,000 and of metropolitan areas of 9 cities exceeding 30,000 population.

which are essential to good citizenship Consider the slums where these people live, and the bad houses in which they abide, the lack of sanitation, the dirt, the squalor, and all the evils that attend such conditions Picture to yourself also the economic inefficiency which lies back of this dependency. Think of the changing jobs which have marked the history of these dependent families Consider the hopelessness with which they look forward to old age, the destruction of aspiration on the part of their children for something better than their parents had, and the denial of opportunity. Think of the misery and despair of which these things are indications.

Then, above this mass of dependents behold the army of the poverty-stricken, who are not so degraded in spirit, have not lost ambition, who have just fallen below the poverty line but are struggling against adverse circumstances to attain something of their dreams of prosperity

Consider the significance of the fact that in the midst of our last prosperity period, ending in November, 1929, in the whole United States there were only one out of ten of the 45,000,000 employed persons in this country who had an income of $2,000 or more Of the nine with less than $2,000 perhaps eight earned less than $1,000 *

Moreover, consider the light which this mass of poverty and dependency throws upon our social stupidity. If we were really a far-sighted people, should we not begin to appreciate that the prevention of poverty and dependency is one of the first steps to economic independence and prosperity? Are not the sums we pay for the care of the pauper a measure of the price of our neglect and do they not constitute an indictment of our vision? How little insight have we into causes of social conditions when we allow such things to happen without more regard for the consequences! How little social statesmanship we have shown is indicated by these impressive figures We go on allowing people to drift down from self-support and independence to poverty and dependency year after year and do so little to prevent it. If we looked at the matter simply from the standpoint of good business, would we not make an effort to stop this enormous drain upon the resources of the financially able? The ordinary business man is not concerned about it; he cries out against high taxes and forgets that from ten to twelve cents of every dollar of taxes is paid for the support of those who have been brought to their present state by reason of neglect. We have great regard for the engineer in building bridges, constructing roads, and making machines, we do not seem to know that there is such a thing as a social engineer. The application of science to the prevention of human misery, the destruction of homes, and the impairment of human efficiency have only just begun

* Rubinow, *loc cit.*, p 374

to be appreciated even by intelligent people and have not yet been thought of by most of our population.

CLASSES OF THE POVERTY-STRICKEN AND DEPENDENT

There are many classes of the poverty-stricken and the dependent. These classes are based upon the conditions which account for their dependency. A number of these classes such as the aged, the children, the mentally defective and diseased, and the epileptics, we have discussed in other chapters. Here it suffices to call attention to these classes, since our concern in this chapter is chiefly with the poor and the dependent who are such by reason of economic conditions.

It makes little difference, however, whether economic conditions or disease and defect in the individual are responsible for his condition. Social relationships are affected adversely no matter what the cause. Whether a family appeals to public and private agencies for support because they are mentally incapable of adjusting themselves to conditions or because forces of nature, a faulty educational system, or economic maladjustment accounts for their condition, makes little difference. They cannot maintain decent family life, they cannot become members of clubs and other private agencies which bolster self-respect, they cannot dress and house themselves and their children as they have been accustomed to do. They lose status. Both they and their children are ashamed in the presence of those who knew them in their better days, and their morale is seriously impaired. Or, conditions prevent the fulfillment of ambitions and hopes for advancement in the world. They become discouraged, lose their ambition, and slump down without hope and without effort to play any worthy part in the affairs of the community. People often wonder at the patience of the poor. There is no doubt they possess patience. When one becomes better acquainted with them, however, he often wonders if a part of that which he calls patience may not actually be dreary discouragement. Certain it is that the *chronic paupers* display a most a-social if not anti-social attitude. They pretend to social virtues which they know society approves, but which they have entirely lost. Nothing is more hopeless of change than such an attitude. Their characteristics are the antithesis of the social virtues.

So far as economic conditions produce discouragement, despair, and the feigning of social virtues in order to get a living, those conditions produce pathological relationships.

CHIEF FACTORS IN POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

No one case can show all the factors in poverty and dependency; yet a case reveals the concrete realities of the situation better than statistics. Consider the various factors in the following case:

"**The John Thomas Family.** John Thomas had come to an eastern city of the United States from Wales when he was a lad of eighteen. He had been brought up in a mining community in Wales, and mining was the only occupation he knew. After landing he went to a mining community in Pennsylvania where he got work in a coal mine. He was sturdy, industrious, and a likable chap, although he was not especially ambitious and had not many of the social graces. He had had only a common school education but was fairly bright and quick to learn.

"At the age of 21 he married a girl of 18, whose family lived in this mining community. Her parents were a rather roving, somewhat ne'er-do-well family. The father was a hard drinker and a common laborer, frequently in debt, sometimes in trouble, and consequently the family lived on the verge of poverty all the time. Her mother was a slovenly woman with a large family. She was not very bright. The home was located in a rather poor part of the community and was poorly kept. A younger sister of Thomas' wife was so mentally defective that she had been sent to one of the state institutions for the feeble-minded. Another was an epileptic in the state institution for that class of defectives. A brother who could not get on well in school had become a hard drinker, was sexually loose and became a vagrant. Another brother became a common laborer and lived a hand-to-mouth existence. One sister was bright and became a school teacher, and in time became the chief support of her parents. Two sisters and three brothers had died before attaining maturity—one in convulsions, the others from scarlet fever and diphtheria. One sister who was rather slow witted at an early age had become the mother of an illegitimate child.

"John's family from all that could be learned of his history from his wife, had been a respectable miner's family in Wales. However, in the family there had appeared a history of three persons disposed to tuberculosis. Two sisters and a brother had died of that disease before John came to the United States. His parents also had died shortly before he left for this country, his father having been killed in a mine accident and his mother dying of an attack of pneumonia. John was well but not robust.

"When this family came to the attention of a social agency in a mid-western city, there were five children. The oldest was a girl of eighteen, the mother of an illegitimate child. The next, a boy of sixteen, not very strong and of feeble intellect, who had never been able to get beyond the fourth grade in school. The next was a girl of fifteen who was up to grade in school but not very well and with a tendency to resist parental control. The two younger children were two boys of ten and seven respectively who were weakly and the older one was behind grade in school.

"In 1903 a strike occurred in the mines where John was working, and he

was out of work for a considerable time. For some time he had been somewhat discouraged with mining, his health was not of the best, and he desired to get into some occupation in the sunlight. Therefore he moved his family to a farm some distance away which he rented on shares. With what little money he had been able to save he purchased the necessary animals and implements to enable him to run the place. During the five years on this farm he did quite well and had saved about two thousand dollars. He decided to go west and try farming in a better country. Accordingly he and his family moved to South Dakota, rented a farm for a few years, prospered, and finally bought a quarter section of land, paid down $2,500.00 and promised to pay the balance, $1,000.00 per year, plus interest and taxes. He was doing fairly well when in the first year the hog cholera swept off most of his fine herd and left him behind in his payments. The next year proved to be equally disastrous by reason of a severe drought which left him nothing for his work.

"The next year there was a scourge of army-worms which destroyed part of his wheat and the Hessian fly and the rust hurt badly what was left, so that he had but a small fraction of a crop, and that was of poor quality. That fall when his corn was in blossom a severe hailstorm battered it into the ground, and, since he had no insurance, left him so far in arrears that the skin-flint creditor foreclosed on the farm. Discouraged, he sold his stock and farm implements and after he had paid his debts he had $400.00 left. With this sum he decided to go to a large city of the Middle West and get employment in a factory. The War was at its height, and at once he got a job at fair wages although he had never worked at anything but mining and farming. This work was common labor in the factory but paid a fair remuneration. The family had moved into a rather poor house in a crowded section of the city so that John could be near his work. Here again ill luck was his fortune. One day his shirt sleeve caught in an unguarded machine and his arm was so badly injured that he was idle for about five months. His compensation cared for the family during this time, and he returned to his old position without serious disability. In the factory, however, his health began to fail. He contracted a cold which left him with a severe cough which racked him night and day. Moreover, about this time his wife's health became poor and the doctor finally advised an operation. This required much expense and the household ran down. While the wife had never been an excellent housekeeper, knew little of how to save and how to prepare food tastefully and economically, they had been able to get along because until the disaster came on the farm John had earned fair wages. Mr. Thomas kept to his occupation until the slump in industry occurred in 1920. Then he was let out with thousands of others. Weak and discouraged he sought work without success.

"While the mother was in the hospital the oldest girl who had charge of the household began to go out with an attractive but wild boy of the neighborhood. Her father warned her of this boy without other effect than to irritate her. The household was neglected, the younger children left without guidance and control except when the father was present. The fifteen year old girl did her best to keep the household going, but was not strong,

was busy in school most of the time, and could not manage to meet all of the requirements of the task. The oldest girl was sullen and irritated at the other children. She helped little and was gone most of the time from the household on one excuse or another. For a short time she obtained a job in a ten cent store but was out late at night and would tell her father and the children nothing of her whereabouts. After the mother returned home this daughter was found to be pregnant and some months later gave birth to an illegitimate child. When her condition was discovered, the father had gone to the boy with whom she had kept company and tried to persuade him to marry her. Under duress he promised but at once left for parts unknown. The mother was so ill after she returned that she was unable to look after the home. The younger girl, under the strain of the burden that she had been trying to carry, became ill and ultimately had to be sent to a sanitarium for the tubercular. The eldest boy became unmanageable, was taken into juvenile court, and placed on probation. The ten year old boy was getting into mischief in the neighborhood and the younger child was so woefully neglected as to attract the attention of the neighbors. Finally, unable to find work in the community, and discouraged by the difficulties which he faced, and sick, John Thomas set out one afternoon to go to another town in which he thought he might be able to find work. He never came back, and all efforts to find him proved unavailing. A social agency through the neighbors became interested in the youngest child, and another agency made arrangements for the tubercular girl to go to the sanatorium. Finally, in the dire circumstance consequent upon the desertion of John Thomas, the Family Welfare Society took hold of the family in the endeavor to work out a solution. With that solution we are not here concerned."[10]

Let us analyze this case and see the factors which brought this family to need.

Hereditary Factors. Observe that in the family of John Thomas there is a history of tuberculosis. While one cannot be certain that the predisposition to tuberculosis was hereditary in this family, the case suggests that explanation. It is well known that some people resist tuberculosis and others are predisposed to it. The difference seems to be due to inherited characteristics. Even clearer is the inheritance of mental defect on the wife's side. This seems to be hereditary, because it appears in the children of the John Thomas family as well as in the family of Mrs. Thomas. Of all the feeble-minded, it has been estimated that from one half to two thirds are such by reason of heredity. The deficiency of the remainder is due to accidents at birth, prenatal conditions, and the results following sickness or accidents in childhood. The hereditary factors in poverty and dependency can only be attacked successfully by preventing reproduction by defectives. For those already here efforts should be made to adjust the environment to them so

[10] Gillin, op. cit., pp. 136-139.

that they can make the most of their poor abilities and contribute to their own support as much as possible.

Industrial Conditions. In the John Thomas case a strike in the coal mines appears as the first step in the demoralization of the family. Such strikes are frequent in the history of American industry. From 1881 to 1905 in the United States there were 36,757 strikes affecting 181,407 establishments and throwing out of work 8,703,824 workers. In addition during the same period there were 1,546 lockouts in 18,547 establishments, involving 825,610 workers. The average duration of a strike was 25.4 days. In the establishments affected by the lockouts, the average of closed days was 84.6. Happily from 1916 to 1930 the number of strikes were gradually decreasing.[31]

Adverse Climatic Conditions. Had it not been for the adverse physical conditions experienced by John Thomas in his farming operations, the whole history of the family might have been quite different. The children reared in the country might have turned out otherwise than they did after they returned to the city. He seemed to be doing well when the hog cholera swept off most of his herd and the severe drought left him nothing for his work. Then the scourge of army-worms, the Hessian fly and rust destroyed most of his crops. Finally a hailstorm destroyed his corn, the loss of which left him badly in debt.

No one knows the extent of damage caused by climate, natural disasters, and pests which afflict the farmer, but there is no question that it is very large.

Sickness. In this case also we see the physical factor of sickness. Possibly had Mrs. Thomas remained well and had John himself continued to be healthy, disaster would not have come to the family in the city.

We have already noticed that three fourths of the cases which come to the charity organizations come by reason of sickness. When we further consider that in the United States the average member of the population loses thirteen days a year because of sickness and that the cost of preventable sickness and death amounts to billions of dollars a year, we can easily see the influence of sickness in producing poverty and dependency.

Unemployment. In the Thomas case, as in so many other cases, unemployment was the final demoralizing step in the family situation. Discouraged with all the sad circumstances which had preceded, and unable to get a job, John Thomas left his family, ostensibly to seek work, and never returned. There are many cases, however, where the man does not desert, but is unable to make a living because he cannot find employment.

[31] Gillin, op. cit., pp. 119-120. *World Almanac* (1932), p. 361.

Next to sickness unemployment probably is the most fertile cause of dependency. Careful studies have shown that unemployment ranges from 2 per cent among the skilled workers in the most prosperous times to as high as 25 per cent among the unskilled laborers in times of industrial depression. Until society finds some way by which it can reduce unemployment, poverty and dependency are inevitable for large numbers of people, especially those least capable of the intensive struggle for existence

The Labor of Women and Children. The Thomas case provides illustrative material for the effect of the labor of children outside the home The oldest girl began to work under the pressure of family need. Working itself is a consequence of certain economic conditions in the family However, freedom from home restraint and subjection to influence outside the home conduced to the loosening of family control and final demoralization

Every study made anywhere in this country has shown that the labor of women and children demoralizes the family The children's welfare, physical, mental, and moral, is neglected when the mother works outside, often the mothers impair their health, and child labor is usually a sign of inadequate income in the family [18]

Inadequate Education. This case also shows the unhappy results that come from inadequate education Thomas had no broad foundation educationally and was not trained for any particular skilled trade He illustrates the abbreviated educational life of children, especially of the lower economic classes, the lack of vocational aim in much of our elementary education, and the consequent blind-alley jobs for the individual and his children.

Industrial Accidents. Getting a sleeve caught in an unguarded machine in the factory was one more circumstance which diminished the Thomas family income and discouraged the worker It is estimated that there are about 75,000 deaths from industrial accidents in the United States every year. A half million more workers are annually incapacitated with a loss to the nation from such accidents of not less than $125,000,000 A case study in Boston a few years ago showed that 13 per cent of the intake of the family social agencies of that city was made up of families where industrial accidents or industrial disease was a factor [19]

There are various other causes of poverty and dependency, but these are sufficient to give an insight into the tangled complex of conditions which bring about demoralization of individuals and families in their struggle to make a living. Often these tangles are as inevitable as fate; sometimes they

[18] For further discussion see Gillin, *op cit*, pp 84, 85

[19] Pear, "How Boston Meets and Supports its Family Service Program," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work, 1925*, p. 482.

are the result of the individual's lack of forethought and prudence In the complex conditions of modern society, especially in our cities, it requires careful consideration and adjustment on the part of the individual to enable him to find his way from early manhood or womanhood to successful independence Unless he comes into the world naturally equipped with intelligence and certain characteristics which produce sound judgment, and unless he is trained to know the complex conditions of the world in which he makes his struggle for life, he is bound to fail Natural ability must be trained Out of experience must come lessons for the future The experience of older and wiser men and women should be made available to the youth as he starts out on his career Our policy in the past has been to let each man struggle for himself, on the theory that thus the most capable would achieve his ends and the less capable would perish However, it has been discovered that in this struggle for existence, unmodified by mutual aid and sympathetic help, many who have fine abilities also fall by the wayside Success or failure in life depends upon the combination of two sets of factors—the natural abilities which have been handed down to us by our parents, and the way in which these abilities are developed by our education, family experience, and life contacts with others Our philosophy of "every fellow for himself and the Devil take the hindmost" is not suited to the complex conditions of modern life Man ought to be able to select better than can blind nature Every effort ought to be made by society to give ability a chance That does not mean, of course, that we should allow the congenitally defective and incapable to propagate and thus continue their stock That is quite another matter from giving the capable every chance to make the most of their ability for the welfare of society Many of our present arrangements, however, do not accomplish that purpose We allow the defectives and degenerates to multiply without let or hindrance, we permit the naturally capable boy or girl to struggle without aid, to go into blind-alley jobs without advice, to live and work under conditions which promote disease and untimely death We permit people to be overwhelmed by natural disasters and economic circumstance, whereas if they were given a chance, they might well develop and achieve What is needed is some social engineering, first, to discover and discriminate between the capable and the incapable, then to throw about the incapable protection and direction of their poor capacities, to see that they do not reproduce, and finally to give the capable a decent chance to achieve what is in them Though we are making the attempt in a rather blundering way, we are endeavoring to do some of these things through preventive medicine, the care of the sick, mental hygiene, old-age pensions, free public education, various plans to prevent

unemployment, and taxation systems devised to lay the heaviest burdens of taxation upon those most capable of paying. However, much remains to be done in the adjustment of social circumstance to the individual in order to enable each person to make the most of his capacities.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1 Define (a) poverty, (b) pauperism
2. Give figures in regard to the proportion of people having small incomes which throw light on the amount of poverty in the country
3 How does the inequitable distribution of wealth make for poverty?
4. Give figures which indicate the seriousness of the inequitable distribution of wealth
5 State an estimate of the proportion of the people who are living in poverty
6 What proportion of the people of England and Wales before the War were in poverty?
7 Was the proportion of the population of the United States which was dependent greater or less than the proportion in England and Wales?
8. Estimate the money cost of pauperism in (a) England and Wales, (b) in the United States
9. Point out some of the social costs of poverty and pauperism
10. Name three outstanding classes of poverty-stricken and dependent.
11. Of what social significance is the fact that it costs so much more to raise a child than the young of any other animal?
12. What are the chief pathological results of poverty and dependency on the personality of children?
13. What are the chief factors making for poverty and dependency? Discuss each.

CHAPTER 28

WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN MODERN INDUSTRY

As a concrete illustration of the pathological results of changes in economic relationships upon social relationships, consider what has happened in the case of women and children employed in modern industry and commerce. Women's work and children's work in the industrialized world of to-day are no more like what they were in the time of our forefathers than day is like night.

From before the dawn of history down to the full development of the Industrial Revolution, women and children had their share in the economic activities of their group. In the earlier period children shared with their parents the productive activities of the household where handicrafts were carried on. Agriculture was shared by the whole family. The care of the flocks and herds were to a degree a responsibility not only of the adults but of the children as well. The development of the factory system, however, and the growth of large scale production, together with the organization of the corporation for carrying on industry and commerce have changed the whole picture. Now the major part of productive work except in agriculture is removed from the home, and articles which were once produced in the home exclusively are made in the factory. The articles for the household are bought in the marts of commerce. The result has been an entire rearrangement not only of economic relationships but also of social relationships.

Not a hundred years ago women performed a share of the agricultural labor. Even in my own boyhood I can remember that the women of certain families worked in the fields, especially in haying time and at harvest. My grandmothers spun the wool and flax, carded them, wove them upon hand looms and made the garments not only for themselves but for the whole household. I can well remember the first suit I had bought from the store. It was a great event. In addition, in those earlier days before the Industrial Revolution had made itself felt in this country, the women prepared practically all the food in the household. The daughters worked with the mother and all had a hand in the chores of the farmstead.

Back in the Middle Ages there grew up, under the craft guilds of that

time, the system of employment for children, known as the apprenticeship system, which on the surface seems to be a breaking away from the household economy. As a matter of fact, however, these children worked in the household of the master. In certain cases to be sure both women and children were employed in the effort to break down the monopolies of the guilds just prior to the development of the Industrial Revolution.[1]

Under that ancient and honorable system of household economy, while the legal and social status of women and children resembled that of other property owned by the father and husband, the economic and the social relationships fitted together well. The wife and the children under those circumstances were economic assets. It is not remarkable, therefore, that the wife received a dowry from her father in order to make her somewhat independent in case of trouble. Often the supernumerary children not needed by the head of the house in his own economic establishment, were apprenticed to others and the wages belonged to their father. The ownership of human labor at that time, like the ownership of the labor of animals, was one element in a man's wealth. Under our modern system that has changed. There is, however, a carry-over from the former pattern of economic relationship, especially among immigrants to this country and among peasants abroad in that they consider their children as the means whereby they will be taken care of in their old age.

Gradually under our industrialized economic order this old relationship has been broken up and at the present time it is conceived that the husband and father has the responsibility for the support of his wife and children. The result of this change from the domestic to the factory system and from small-scale to large-scale economic organization has produced a serious strain upon the family relationship. In addition the new idea that the father has the full responsibility for the support of the members of his family, fosters the idea that a girl or woman who works is earning a wage supplementary to that of her father and brothers. The consequence is that the labor of women and children has come to be regarded as a form of supplementary labor reserve and their wages as a wage supplementary to that of the chief wage-earner. According to our pattern of conduct, girls and women may work in times of unusual crisis like that of war, or in case the husband and father is incapacitated so that their wages are needed. Married women may work if their home duties are light, in order to secure a supplementary wage in the family or to secure pin money. Unmarried girls may go to work between the time they quit school and the time they are married. Women who have no husbands may work in order to support

[1] Caplin, *The Labor Problem* (New York, 1906), p. 35.

a family of children In times of unemployment there is usually quite a reaction against the working of married women and children

The movement for the equality of women with men has made headway in the political realm and is making considerable progress in the business field. Almost 10,000,000 women were engaged in gainful occupations at the time of taking the 1930 Census. Women in increasing numbers are entering special professions and occupations to which they are particularly fitted Those occupations which have long been occupied by women in an informal way are more widely open to women than others The professions of dietitian, home economist, nursing and teaching are perhaps the most wide open to women The professions of medicine, music, dramatic art, writing, law, and commerce are not yet as available to women as to men. In some professions and lines of employment marriage is looked upon as closing the career.

The hangover of the man-made pattern as to what occupations are suitable to women is to be seen in the lower wage which is paid to women and children This lower wage-scale also registers the view that the work of women and children is merely supplementary to the work of men Wherever there are large aggregations of men employed in industry, one will find other industries in which the workers are preferably women and children In the coal mining regions one will often find textile industries because in the wives and daughters of the miners is a labor reserve which can be used in such industries, and the wage is needed to supplement the family income since the man is so often idle When the men are at work in the mines full time, some of their wives and daughters do not work. When the miners are laid off the women must work in order to support the family[8] In the large cities similar openings for women and children are to be found in stores, offices, and factories Here the men are engaged in various occupations, and the wives and daughters are employed in other occupations when their wages are needed for the family or when the women wish to enter an occupation on their own account The United States Department of Labor has shown the lower wage-scale of the women in a number of the textile industries In 1930 in twenty-one establishments in which 18,743 males and 13,549 females were engaged, the average earning for males per hour was 50 4 cents and for females 34 4 cents, while the average full time earnings per week for males was $25 75 and for females $16 86.[9]

[8] *Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1924-1926*, United States Department of Labor (Washington, 1927), p 981

[9] *Monthly Labor Review*, December, 1930, pp 150-153.

FEMALES IN INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES

In 1930 almost two fifths (39.8 per cent) of the entire population of the United States were gainfully employed. Of the population ten years of age and over just about half (49.5 per cent) were gainfully employed. Of the entire number employed in industry in 1930 a little more than one out of five (21 per cent) was a woman or girl.

Since 1880 the relative numbers of women among the gainfully employed has been growing. Thus in 1880, 14.7 per cent of the females ten years of age and over were engaged in gainful occupations. In 1890, 17.4 per cent, in 1900, 18.8 per cent, in 1910, 23.4 per cent, in 1920, 21.1 per cent, and in 1930, 22.1 per cent. Over the same decades the percentage of men ten years of age and over engaged in gainful occupations has slightly decreased from 78.7 in 1880 and 81.3 in 1910 to 76.2 in 1930.[4] It is probable that a part of this drop in the males gainfully employed in 1930 may have been due to the unemployment caused by the industrial depression. Nevertheless there is no question that the number of females gainfully employed has been steadily growing.

Up to 1910 the displacement of men by children was another outstanding fact. Since 1910 there has been a rather wide movement especially in the Northern section of the United States to regulate the labor of children as to age, character of work, and the conditions under which they labor. The depression of 1930 with the widespread unemployment of men has without question strengthened the compulsory school attendance laws for children and the child labor legislation. The lessened demand for children's labor is registered in the increased attendance in the schools. In every age-group from seven years old to twenty, between 1910 and 1930, there was an increased percentage of persons attending school. Thus in the age-group from seven to thirteen the percentage increased from 90.6 in 1920 to 95.3 in 1930, in the age-group fourteen to fifteen years of age from 79.9 in 1920 to 88.8 in 1930. In the age-group sixteen to seventeen years of age there was an increase from 51.9 per cent in 1920 to 57.3 in 1930, and in the age-group eighteen to twenty years of age a decided increase from 14.8 per cent in 1920 to 21.4 per cent in 1930. Perhaps most significant of all was the fact that the number of those twenty-one years of age attending school had almost trebled between 1920 and 1930.[5]

[4] *Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1924-1926*, p. 640. Newspaper releases by the Census Bureau for 1930.

[5] Data published in *The United States Daily*, September 11, 1931, and collated by Dr. Colbert, in Gilbo, Dittmer, and Colbert, *Sexual Problems* (New York, 1931),

The entrance of women into gainful occupations varies from division to division of the United States While the percentage of females ten years of age and over gainfully employed in the United States in 1930 was 22.1 per cent, in the New England Division it was 27 6 per cent, in the Middle Atlantic 24 6 per cent, in the South Atlantic 24 1 per cent and in the Pacific 23 2 per cent The divisions in which it was lower than the average for the whole country were the East North Central with 20 5 per cent, the West North Central with 18 per cent, the East South Central 21.9 per cent, the West South Central with 18 6 per cent and the Mountain Division with 17 3 per cent In other words, in certain sections of our country women are represented in industry to a much greater degree than in others Probably the generalization may be made that the greater the degree of industrialization, the higher percentage of the females engaged in business and industry.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN AND THE DOMESTIC ATTITUDES

The biological function of woman is bearing children, her chief social functions have been making a home for her husband and rearing the children The picture presented by the Census is that there has been a steady increase in the employment of women in industry and business and a like decrease in employment in the home and in those activities which prepare for home-making and child-training It likewise shows that an ever smaller number of women are gainfully employed in the agricultural occupations Whether the slight gain in 1930 in the category of domestic and personal service has been due to the unemployment of that year it is impossible to say Possibly that is the explanation, since from 1870 down to 1920[4] the percentage of women in domestic and personal service has been steadily decreasing Are the results of this trend upon the future wife and mother good or bad? Probably the fact that telephone operating is an occupation in the hands of young women and girls accounts for that decrease In the manufacturing and mechanical industries nearly half (46 6 per cent) were under twenty-five years of age and only about one out of six (15 5 per cent) were over forty-four Clerical occupations show an age-level even lower than that of the factory workers About three out of five (59 3 per cent) were under twenty-five and only 4 2 per cent were over forty-four Public service and professional service show a very much larger percentage of

Ch 16 To Dr Colbert credit should be given for other factual material found in this chapter

[4] *Women in Gainful Occupations, 1870 to 1920*, Census Monograph Number 9, United States Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1929)

workers in the older age-groups Over half of the public service workers and nearly half of the professional service workers are between twenty-five and forty-four years of age, while 81 per cent of the public service workers are between twenty-five and sixty-four years of age.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Professor Frank A. Ross in a study some years ago showed that the proportion of boys gainfully employed, especially those in their early teens, were practically double the proportion of girls The girls are sent to school and the boys to work in accordance with the pattern of conduct held by the great majority of our people Consequently a larger proportion of girls than of boys, especially in rural communities, are able to complete the grade schools and go on into high school It is only after the girls have reached the age of fifteen and sixteen that any considerable number go into industry Only one girl in twelve is gainfully employed at fourteen years of age, one in seven at fifteen years of age, while more than one in four of the girls sixteen years of age are at work, and over a third of the girls seventeen years of age are employed More than three fourths of the total number of women in gainful occupations are over twenty years of age and considerably more than half are over twenty-four.[1]

MARRIED WOMEN GAINFULLY EMPLOYED

In 1920 almost one fourth of all the women gainfully employed were married women This is somewhat smaller than the proportion in 1910, although it must be remembered that in that year the Census was taken in January, while the 1920 Census was taken in April Since in 1910, 47 per cent of the married women who were gainfully employed were in agriculture, while in 1920, 39 7 per cent of the women were in this occupational group, the indication is that the time of taking the census accounts for this difference The chief occupations in which married women are employed in large numbers are agriculture (39 7 per cent), public service (34 6 per cent), domestic and personal service (29 4 per cent), manufacturing and mechanical industries (24 5 per cent) Unmarried women dominate in clerical work, professional service, and transportation

The Census figures in the different decades indicate an increasing proportion of married women who are entering the business and industrial world Mary Ann Winslow points out that between 1910 and 1920 there was a great increase in the employment of married women in manufacturing

[1] Ross, Frank A, *School Attendance in 1920*, United States Bureau of the Census, Monograph Number 5, 1924, pp 3-10

and mechanical industries. In the same decade there was a decrease of married women in domestic and personal service occupations.[8]

In view of the fact that 24.7 per cent of all employed women are married while only 12.5 per cent of the workers fifteen to nineteen years of age, 11.4 per cent of those twenty to twenty-four, 9.7 per cent of those twenty-five to thirty-four, 9.5 per cent of those thirty-five to forty-four and 6.6 per cent of those forty-five years of age are married, it is clear that a greater proportion of those over forty-five years of age than those below are both gainfully employed and married.[9]

In general it may be said that there are three general classes of married women in gainful employment:

(1) Young married women who are at the beginning of the child-bearing period. The employment of these presents certain problems relating to health both for themselves and their unborn children.

(2) Young mothers with growing families whose employment away from home requires a double burden—employment and caring for home and children.

(3) Older married women past the child-bearing age, whose children are for the most part grown, and who probably gain more than they risk by being at work in business or industry.

It is clear that in so far as the Census figures are available the old contention that married women have gone into business and industry in order to obtain personal liberty and freedom from the monotony of house work was somewhat of an overstatement. It seems to be the opinion of those who have studied the matter that most of those married women who are going into industry have done so because of the necessity of earning a wage to supplement that of the husband and father in order to have a decent standard of living. Says Mary Ann Winslow: "Whatever may be the extent of their earning capacity, whatever may be the irregularity of their employment, married women are in industry for one purpose and, generally speaking, for one purpose only—to provide necessities for their families or to raise their standard of living. In one study we found that practically all women who were wives or mothers—95 per cent of them to be exact—contributed all of their earnings to their families. And although these earnings were not as a rule large, they often brought the family income up to a level which was adequate for the maintenance of a satisfactory standard of health and education for the children." Married women are

[8] *Married Women in Industry*, Women's Bureau Bulletin Number 58, United States Department of Labor (Washington, 1924).

[9] *Fourteenth Census*, Vol. 4, "Occupations," p. 594.

gaining from their employment in industry the personal joy and satisfaction of increasing the family income so that it more nearly comes up to the level necessary for maintaining adequate standards.[10]

THE "SWEATED" INDUSTRIES

One of the survivals of the former home industries is to be seen in the "sweated" industries. Thirty years ago a great deal of attention was paid to these matters in our large industrial centers. As a result laws were enacted providing for inspection of the sweat shops, the homes and tenements in which these home industries were carried on In spite of all these efforts, however, the practice continues. Under the conditions of modern production and with the legislation attempting to lighten and supervise such places, certain industries have been transferred to factories and thus taken out of the homes and tenements. Some still remain At the present time the clothing industry is probably the worst offender in this respect The cloth is cut in the factories, the sewing is sublet to a sub-contractor for finishing and he in turn lets out the work to individuals to be done at home at so much per garment Ever since the Industrial Revolution home industry has been marked by low wages, long working hours, unsanitary working conditions, and speeding-up [11] The small shop, set up in a tenement or dwelling house, was characteristic of the earlier period of sweating, but it is disappearing as a result of the legislation already mentioned The other type, where the work is let out to the individual to be done in his own home, still persists Here licensing and inspection of standards of lighting, hours of work, and sanitation is next to impossible In the areas of our large cities that are characterized by factories and businesses, irregular or seasonal in their nature, the necessity of a supplementary wage is felt keenly It is there that the home sweat shop flourishes In such places artificial flowers are produced, gloves are finished, various types of millinery work are done, garters are made, certain confections are turned out, men's neckties are manufactured, beads are strung, aprons are hemmed, the making of buttonholes on men's suits and children's suits is carried on. That the system is not dead is shown by a report of the New York State Department of Labor in 1927. This report indicates that 13 per cent of all the workers in industry in New York City and 6 per cent of those in Rochester, one of the American centers of the clothing industry, are home

[10] *Married Women in Industry*, Women's Bureau Bulletin Number 38, United States Department of Labor (Washington, 1924), p 4

[11] Carlton, *The History and Problems of Organized Labor*, rev (New York, 1920), p 426.

workers This study also points out the great instability of employment in home-work industries The earnings of these home workers in New York City are about one third that of New York factory workers and almost one half that of factory workers in Rochester[12]

MOVEMENTS TO CORRECT THE EVILS OF WOMEN'S WORK

The growing recognition of the evils of some types of women's work has led to certain movements to correct those evils. For example, the National Consumers' League was organized as a private enterprise to cure sweating. It furnishes a label especially to manufacturers of white goods, in order that the buyer may be sure that the goods have not been produced in a sweat shop In addition to that, State and national health departments, certain labor unions, and other private organizations have endeavored to educate the public to the evils incident to this low paid and improperly supervised industry However, the chief means of controlling some of these conditions is legislation, which under the police power of the constitutions of the States and of the United States, is intended to conserve public health and welfare In some of our States the minimum wage law for women, the compulsory school laws, and other laws applying to women in industry and business have attempted to correct other evils All the efforts so far put forth have been inadequate to meet the problems which arise under the sweated industry.

There has been a distinct trend toward legislation concerning women in industry because of the recognition of the inadequacy of private measures of whatever nature Women have not been able to secure either a proper wage or proper working conditions by organization The number of women in the National Women's Trade Union League is rather small This is probably due to the fact that for the most part gainful employment is for women a transitory state.

The above-mentioned laws may be said to fall into three general classes: (1) those directed toward establishing a minimum wage, (2) those intended to improve working conditions and to adjust the conditions in industry and business to the capacities and peculiarities of women, and requiring rest-rooms, seats, and certain safety equipment, (3) laws restricting or excluding women from those occupations which are now recognized as most detrimental to their health and well being, and those which limit the hours of employment. Eight States at present have an eight-hour day for women while fourteen States have a nine-hour day. Thirteen States

[12] *Annual Report of the Industrial Commissioner*, New York State Department of Labor, Albany, 1913, p 42

regulate home work, and the same number prohibit night work, while twelve States have minimum wage laws for women.

CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY AND BUSINESS

In 1920, 8.5 per cent of the children from ten to fifteen years of age were engaged in gainful employment. This enumeration was made in January when a larger proportion of the children are attending school and, therefore, it probably understates the proportion of the children of that age-group in employment. In the 1910 census, taken in April, the percentage of children of that age-group gainfully employed was 18.4 per cent.

Child labor varies considerably in different areas of the United States. The East South Central Division reported 23.7 per cent of its boys and 11.1 per cent of its girls as gainfully employed. Rural areas and villages register a higher employment of children than do large cities. Throughout the country as a whole 11.3 per cent of the boys and 5.6 per cent of the girls ten to fifteen years of age were employed. In cities of 100,000 population and over, only 7.5 per cent of the boys and 5 per cent of the girls were gainfully employed. It looks, therefore, as if child labor was largely a rural and small-town evil. However, it must be remembered that in such communities the social damage of child labor is very much less than in the city. Here they work with their parents upon farms or in stores, under conditions very much better than those to be found in the industrial centers. Nevertheless there are certain kinds of agricultural labor which are of very great significance to the childhood of the nation. In various parts of the country children are employed in the beet fields, in the berry patches, in canning factories, and other activities which seriously interfere with school attendance and involve questions of health, housing, and social relationships as well as questions of hours and conditions of work. A number of studies in California, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania in 1930, and in the years immediately preceding in some other States, have thrown some of these evils into the limelight. Such studies led to the creation by New Jersey of a commission to make a study of the whole subject. Maryland, in 1929, through its commissioner of labor and statistics devoted special attention to the enforcement of the child labor laws with respect to the children employed in canneries and in packing oysters, as well as those putting up fruit and vegetables. In a number of other States the regulation of children employed in beet fields and other such activities has led to legislation providing that they must be given proper schooling.[14]

Child labor is three times as prevalent among the negroes as among the

[14] *Handbook of Labor Statistics*, September, 1931.

native whites of native parentage and more than twice as prevalent as in the foreign-born population. Among the negroes the result is not so serious because these children are usually employed with their parents in the cotton fields. Nevertheless their attendance at school is thereby seriously interfered with.

An inspection of the census statistics gives us a picture of the child labor problem in greater detail. Sixty-one per cent of the children ten to fifteen years of age and 87 per cent of those ten to thirteen years of age were employed in occupations listed under agriculture. Of these 88 per cent were listed as laborers on the home farm. These children do not give us any serious problems except with respect to school attendance. On the other hand, in manufacturing, in which in 1920, 17.5 per cent of the working children were employed, we have not only the problem of school attendance but the question as to the bearing of this work upon the child's health and growth. Usually they are employed in unskilled occupations which in later years are found to be blind alleys from which they cannot escape. Without proper education not only their economic but their social relationships in later years become decidedly pathological. A certain proportion of these children do not want to continue in school, and prefer to go to work. This points, of course, to the school system's lack of adjustment to the needs of the child and to his lack of understanding of the future importance of proper education. In 1923, a study made in thirty-five cities showed that in twenty-one the number of children obtaining permits to go to work was increasing. In only fourteen was there a decrease.[14]

MOVEMENTS FOR THE CORRECTION OF THE EVILS OF CHILD LABOR

For some time a section of society has recognized the evils of certain types of child labor. The Children's Bureau of the United States has fathered a movement to control these evils through an amendment to the Federal Constitution. So far this attempt has failed. The amendment is urged because a Federal law, intended to check child labor, was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. At the present time the whole matter of the regulation of child labor remains with the States. While some of our States have high standards with respect to this problem, others are allowing their children to be exploited in new industries to a shameful extent. With the exception of certain States, the South is notorious for negligence towards this problem, some States have been violently opposed to any kind of regulation because of their desire to build up a local industry in competition with the more advanced in-

[14] *Monthly Labor Review*, September, 1923.

dustrial development of the North Progress is being made in some of our States not only through the laws regulating employment of children, but perhaps more successfully through the compulsory education laws At present movements, aside from legislation in the various States, relate chiefly to building up of public sentiment in favor of protecting child life and giving it a chance at the opportunities which modern society provides The recent White House Conference on Child Health and Protection held in November, 1930, paid particular attention to this matter This Conference pointed out that many child workers are from the families of unskilled and low paid wage-earners, or in the case of most of the children in agriculture from families among which the struggle for existence is most acute The incomes of these families were for the most part below that needed for a comfortable standard of living The Conference urged, therefore, that attention should be directed toward the solution of such problems as adult unemployment, farm economics, and a living wage It urged the extension of systems of Mothers' Pensions, adequately administered, in order that the children under sixteen years of age might remain in school It pointed out the importance of developing scholarship funds to enable children to remain in school It urged that the schools themselves should give attention to their failure to hold the child in school since many of these children prefer to go to work It pointed out that the present school system fails to meet the needs of the children of superior as well as of those of low intelligence.

The Conference laid chief emphasis upon the regulation of the employment of children in other than agricultural work It urged a minimum age of sixteen years for employment in any industry and a higher age for physically or morally dangerous or injurious employment Children between fourteen and sixteen might be permitted to work outside of school hours and during school vacations in carefully selected occupations

It urged an educational minimum as a prerequisite to the issuance of work permits up to sixteen years of age unless the child was physically or mentally incapacitated for attendance, and up to eighteen years unless the child is actually and legally employed or is a graduate from a four-year high school It advocated continuation schools for vocational education

The conference also emphasized the needs of a physical minimum in the child given a work permit The hours of labor for a minor under eighteen years of age should not exceed eight hours a day, not more than six days a week, and should not total more than forty-four hours a week Night work should be prohibited for minors under eighteen except that boys between sixteen and eighteen might be permitted to work up to 10 P M

Certain standards as to cleanliness, sanitation, and safety were urged by this Conference. The enforcement of school attendance should be effective and the issuance of employment certificates should be carefully safeguarded Inspection of places of employment should be provided for by the State, and the personnel engaged in child labor regulations should be properly qualified The Conference also urged the establishment of a minimum wage-scale for minors in order to prevent their industrial exploitation.

As for agriculture, the Conference urged the extension of school attendance requirements for all children so engaged Migrant agricultural workers should be required to school their children a proper share of the year and should see that the conditions under which these children live are decent No child under sixteen, resident or non-resident, should be permitted to be employed in agriculture whether at home or away from home, during the hours when the public schools are in session Those under fourteen years of age should not be hired out for agricultural work, either on a contract basis or otherwise, except that children twelve to fourteen years of age might be employed outside of school hours and for only a few hours a day during a short season The Conference also urged that children under sixteen engaged in agricultural work other than on the home farm should be limited to an eight-hour day when school is not in session and, during school time, to an eight-hour day for both work and school Children should not be allowed to work around dangerous agricultural machinery. Work permits should be required for children under sixteen engaged in agricultural work not on the home farm

The Conference gave some attention also to hazardous occupations. It urged the collection of statistics on the hazards to children in industry It urged education in safety and suggested that the State labor department should have the power to determine hazardous occupations in which children are engaged It recommended future earning capacity should be the basis on which compensation should be computed in the case of minors permanently disabled It also advocated that the laws as to multiple compensation in the case of children disabled in industry now obtaining in some of our most advanced States should be universally adopted

The Conference called attention to the plight of children in labor camps and among migrant workers. It urged that labor camps should be under the supervision of a State agency empowered to regulate them In such areas special arrangement should be made for school facilities for children

The Conference also advocated the prohibition of the manufacture of articles of commerce in homes by children, urged that street trades should be carefully regulated, and that employment outside of school hours should

be limited to employment which would provide not more than eight hours of work both in school and at work. The use of children in theatrical exhibitions should be regulated by uniform legislation between the States since many of these children are in traveling companies going from State to State.[14]

Some of these standards are taken from the laws of States which have made great progress in the regulation of child labor. Others are suggested on the basis of experience with the problem.

PATHOLOGY OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN'S WORK

One important result of the employment of women and children at low wages, is that in a number of occupations in which men could be employed just as well, either the men are displaced or else their wages are lowered to the level for which women and children can be hired. By creating competition with the male workers the entrance of women and children into industry has the effect of lowering the wage level and thus reducing the standard of living for the families concerned. A movement for minimum wages for women and children is based upon an understanding of this effect of the lower wage of these classes upon the general wage level.

Another difficulty connected with the working of men and women in certain industries, especially in the machine industries, arises from the fact that the working conditions, the hours, the type of machines, and the pacing of the machines are all based upon the employment of men. Often the machines place a strain upon women and children, since men are usually several inches taller. Frequently, therefore, platforms and other devices have to be used supplementary to the ordinary mechanism of the machine in order to enable women and children to work at them. In some cases this renders women and children more liable to accident.

Still another socially evil result of the employment of women, especially unmarried girls who live at home, is that since the wage they receive is looked upon more or less as a supplementary wage they usually do not earn enough for their own complete support. Therefore they have to be subsidized by their families. That fact may so reduce their scale of living that some unforeseen or unpreventable circumstance may plunge the whole family, the girl included, below the subsistence level. In the great majority of cases the amount an employed woman can earn during reasonable hours and under suitable conditions, actually does form her only financial support. She has no family to subsidize her. The only economic basis for health and length of life, the possibility of marrying and rearing healthy

[14] Briefly summarized from *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 32, No. 6, June, 1931.

children, for her personal efficiency and happiness, is the wage she receives. If this is inadequate for that class of women, the whole standard of living must be kept down to a level adequate only for the girl who can be subsidized by her family. The result on girls who have to make their entire living by their wages is a level of subsistence below that which is desirable and necessary in our present society.[16]

Upon that moiety of working women who are both wage-earners and home-makers, employment in industry and business is often a very heavy strain. In some lines of work it has been discovered that women seem more susceptible than men to industrial diseases. Women workers in benzol and lead plants, in cigar factories, chocolate factories, luminous wrist-watch factories, in cosmetic concerns, and in enameling plants, show less resistance to the industrial poisons than men.

Moreover, a study by the United States Department of Labor of the absences on account of illness in cotton mills shows that the woman worker loses twice the number of days lost by the male worker in the same industry.[17] It is a very serious question, therefore, whether the work of women in modern industry may not impair their future health and the health of children they may bear. It is because the constitution of women is different from that of men that some of the laws regulating the labor of women require seats for them in stores and factories so that they need not be on their feet a great deal. The limitation of hours, the requirements concerning sanitation of the factories and places of work, the forbidding of night work, and the provision in some countries of a vacation with pay before and after childbirth, are based upon the inferior capacity of women to stand strains to which men are subjected in modern business.

Studies by the Women's Bureau indicate that a large proportion (72 per cent) of the employed married women have children. These carry the double burden of caring for their households and earning the supplementary wage. That the attempt on the part of these married women to carry this double burden results in serious pathological conditions in the home, especially in the lower income levels, is to be seen from the studies made by the United States Children's Bureau. In Manchester, New Hampshire, the mortality among babies of mothers who went out to work during the first year of the baby's life was 227.5 per thousand, compared with 133.9 for babies of mothers who remained at home and were not gainfully em-

[16] *Wages of Women in Thirteen States*, Bulletin of the Women's Bureau Number 83, United States Department of Labor (Washington, 1931), pp. x and 2.

[17] *Causes of Absence for Men and for Women in Four Cotton Mills*, United States Department of Labor Bulletin No. 7 (Washington, 1909), p. 7.

ployed. In the study in New Bedford, Connecticut, the rate was 167.8 for babies of working mothers away from home as compared with 108.8 for other babies. In the rubber town of Akron, Ohio, with comparatively higher wages than in Manchester and New Bedford, the death-rate of babies of working mothers during the first year of life was 88.2 in contrast with the death rate of 77.2 for the babies of mothers who remained at home.[18] While the improved income and the higher living conditions due to the supplementary wage earned by these married women with children helped in some ways, it still cost the lives of eleven babies out of every thousand born to wage-earning mothers. It is clear, therefore, that an economic situation which drives married women with children to work in order to have a decent standard of living, seriously interferes with the function of the home and registers itself in a high infant mortality. In too large a group of the married American wage-workers, the income does not represent a family wage but one adjusted to the needs of unmarried people. The United States is not awake to the hazards which its wage level brings to the families of the lower income groups. It has not considered the effect of the situation upon the health of the mothers in these groups, upon the chances of children born therein to survive, and upon the future working capacity of those children.

It is clear from the above discussion that the labor of women and children in many cases brings about pathological relationships of the greatest concern to society as a whole. If the labor of women lowers the wage level of workers as a whole it is of serious importance. If woman's labor puts strains upon her physical organism which endangers her health and her capacity to be a proper mother of children, such labor is a menace to the proper functioning of women as members of an ongoing society. If the wage of women in general forces the individual into poor living conditions and frustrates the fulfilment of her social aspirations, again woman's work undermines the social structure necessary to sound social order. Again, if woman's work interferes with her function in caring for her family and in providing a center around which the values of family life may focus, it is socially undesirable. To the degree that it does so women's work induces a pathological relationship.

If children's work deprives them of the opportunity of schooling, thrusts them into unskilled trades which lead to blind alleys for the future, it constitutes a social menace. If child labor deprives children of the right to wholesome play, forces them into housing conditions in which family relationships cannot be properly developed, and denies them the social develop-

[18] *Married Women in Industry*, pp. 5-7.

ment necessary for their efficiency when they become adults, it cannot be held as desirable. If child labor subjects them to hazards to life or limb, since they cannot protect themselves, it must be so regulated that such a menace is reduced to the minimum. If the entering of children into industry leads to a large increase in juvenile delinquency, from the standpoint of society it is a questionable procedure

In the case of both women and children so far as their labor is made necessary by a low standard for adult wage-earners, such labor is a menace both economically and socially. That some women and some children may work with great profit to themselves is true The labor of women and children is only pathological in those circumstances where it interferes with social functioning and with the development and stability of sound social relationships.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Describe the part which women and children had in the economic activities of a family before the Industrial Revolution.
2. Compare the economic activities of women and children before the Industrial Revolution with their economic activities now.
3. Contrast the economic advantage of a large family of children before the Industrial Revolution with the disadvantages to-day What accounts for the difference?
4. What is meant by the statement that to-day the wages from the labor of women and children are supplementary wages?
5. Account for the lower wages of women as compared with those of men
6. What is the result of the employment of women and children on the employment of men? What is the effect on the standard of living of the family?
7. What are the effects on women's health and on the welfare of their children, when women work in industry?
8. What has been the trend of the employment of women in industry in the United States?
9. How does the employment of women vary with different industries in the United States?
10. How does the employment of women vary by age groups?
11. Has the proportion of married women increased or decreased in industry in the United States?
12. What socially pathological results occur in the sweated industries?
13. Describe the trends in the employment of children in industry in the United States What evil results occur?
14. Describe the main movements to correct the evils of child-labor
15. Outline the main points in the pathology of women's and children's work in industry.

CHAPTER 29

UNEMPLOYMENT

The most serious economic maladjustment is that which results in unemployment. When men and women cannot earn an income all social relationships are strained. Rent cannot be paid, taxes become delinquent, property is lost. Necessary food cannot be purchased. Clothing, fuel, and a hundred other necessities are lacking. Not only the unemployed are affected, but also merchants and those supplying needed services. Since the wage bill is the largest single item in the income of a people, when wages are not paid every line of economic activity suffers.

EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

Unemployment varies with industrial conditions. In recent years a number of studies have been made as to the extent of unemployment in the United States. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that during the twenty years ending in 1918, the average annual loss per worker from unemployment was sixty days. Thirty days of this was complete unemployment, and the other half was lost on account of part-time work while on the payroll. In other words, one fifth of the possible working time of our entire working population was unused, an equivalent in twenty years of four years' work for perhaps fifteen million people, or sixty million years of work lost in this country in that fifth of a century.[1]

The Russell Sage Foundation, in a recent study of public employment offices, said: *"A conservative estimate as to the amount of this continuous unemployment, taking it year in and year out, over a long period of time and excluding extraordinary disturbances like war and depression caused by war, puts the amount at from five per cent in good years to upwards of twenty per cent in bad years. To conclude that, averaging good and bad years, from ten to twelve per cent of all workers are idle all of the time is probably an understatement of the situation."*[2]

It is difficult to get anything more than an approximate unemployment

[1] Bradford, *Industrial Unemployment*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 310.

[2] Harrison, *Public Employment Offices* (New York, 1924), pp. 8 and 9.

figure for the United States during a severe depression like that of 1931-1932 William Green of the American Federation of Labor in the summer of 1932 estimated that there were then 10,400,000.[3]

In a number of foreign countries during 1931 unemployment varied as follows:[4]

		Per Cent	
Australia	(June)	17.6	Trade unionists
Belgium	(Aug.)	9.9	Unemployment insurance societies
		16.8	Partially unemployed, insurance societies
Czechoslovakia	(July)	6.7	Trade-union insurance funds
Denmark	(July)	12.4	Trade-union insurance funds
Germany	(Aug.)	33.6	Trade-union wholly unemployed
		21.4	Trade-union partially unemployed
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	(Sept.)	17.9	Wholly unemployed
		5.3	Temporary stoppages
			Total of 2,879,466 registered with unemployment exchanges
Hungary	(Feb.)	19.8	Of trade-unionists
Netherlands	(Aug.)	14.8	Unemployment insurance societies
Norway	(March)	24.9	Trade unionists
Poland	(Feb.)	27.1	Mfg. industries, partially unemployed
Sweden	(Aug.)	12.7	Trade unionists
Switzerland	(July)	3.3	Wholly unemployed
		11.3	Partially unemployed

CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The classification of the causes of unemployment here proposed is for the purpose of making clear the factors with which remedial and preventive measures may deal, and may not be the best logical arrangement. We discriminate causes (1) due to conditions within industry itself, (2) personal causes, (3) social causes, that is, causes arising from social changes and social motives outside of industry, and (4) natural causes, that is, events which result from the forces of physical nature. If we know the agencies responsible for the conditions which lead to unemployment, we may perhaps change conditions by working directly upon these agencies, or we may by insurance spread out the damage so that it will not fall so directly upon a single individual or a class.

We shall deal only with those factors for which the economic system is primarily responsible.

[3] *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 1932, p. 40, gave his estimate for the winter of 1932-1933.

[4] *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 1931, pp. 61-65.

CONDITIONS IN INDUSTRY

As to (1) there are two general conditions in industry which affect employment. first, there is the fluctuation in demand for labor, and, second, there are the labor policies of industries.

Fluctuations in demand for labor are due to a number of causes. The following are cited as examples

(1) **The Labor Reserve and a Disorganized Labor Market.** Employers like to have a surplus of labor so that they will always be certain of a sufficient number of laborers to take care of their utmost demands. They also find it profitable to have a surplus of labor because the competition from the employer's point of view has a good effect upon the rate of wages. Some of our large industries locate at least one of their factories at a place where there is certain to be at most times a considerable surplus of workers For example, a few years ago it was the policy of a certain sugar refining company to make its refinery in a certain city a safety valve for the industry At times of lively demands for sugar this plant would be open, while at other times when the demand was slack that particular factory would be shut down That city had a sufficient number of laborers not steadily working to serve the purposes of the company

Often advertisements for laborers are placed in newspapers for the purpose of accumulating local labor reserves [5] However, in addition to the labor reserve thus artificially provided the conditions of the labor market in America make inevitable a surplus supply of labor even in the busiest seasons of industry. Some of this is due to the fact that men happen to be at places where there is not a demand for their particular abilities

Moreover, at seasons when their service is not needed the migratory laborers constitute a labor reserve The situation is all the more serious by reason of the fact that this surplus of labor is scattered all over the country without any mechanism whereby either the men or the employers can know where on one hand there is work for which they are fitted and on the other where there are men adapted to the need The difficulty lies in the lack of organization in the labor market This has made it possible for employers to count upon a surplus of men in the neighborhood of their plants.

(2) **Seasonal Fluctuations.** While these are due to natural causes rather than to the organization of the labor market, they account to a considerable extent for widespread unemployment. In the northern United States many trades, such as building and construction work, are largely summer

[5] Leuchner, *The Labor Market* (New York, 1919), p 15.

occupations. Clothing industries vary with the season In winter there is a demand for commodities like coal and for entertainment and recreation furnished by theaters, concerts, etc., which gives occupation to those engaged in these industries. Logging flourishes in the winter months. Ice cannot be packed in summer time. Workers in electric light plants are more numerous in winter than in summer

(3) **Fluctuations Due to Business Cycles.** In periods of the liveliest industrial activity, such as we saw during the last years of the War, every available man is at work. Even those of the lowest industrial efficiency are employed While the labor turnover is enormous in such periods, it is due largely to the defects of the man himself rather than to deficiencies in the industrial organization On the other hand, however, when a business depression comes large numbers are discharged, first, of course, the least efficient workers

(4) **Fluctuations Due to Maladjustments in Business Organization.** In addition to the unemployment caused by the fluctuations in demand for labor just cited there is the unemployment due to interindustrial relations which cause one industry to shut down by reason of the fact that another does not supply material or service For example, factories sometimes have to shut down on account of lack of coal The shortage of coal may be due either to the breakdown of the transportation system or a shutdown in the coal industry due to strikes or other causes. A strike of the miners in the ore regions of Michigan and Wisconsin may throw thousands of men out of employment at Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and every other iron center This may so affect construction gangs working either on railroads or buildings that thousands more men are laid off. Hence, these maladjustments in organization of industry very often affect employment both directly and indirectly

(5) **Fluctuations Within an Industry.** Within an industry itself there are changes in demand. The industry may be undergoing transformation. Invention of new machinery may lessen the demand for men. A new process may be invented requiring less men or men of different capacities than before Business failures may occur, shutting up the plant and throwing hundreds or thousands of men out of employment. A large corporation may be formed, controlling hitherto competing plants and thus a large number of plants may have to be absolutely closed A few years ago when various plants manufacturing strawboard were bought up by a large corporation, many of the smaller plants were closed.

(6) **Changes in Buying Capacity.** These and other influences already cited affect the buying capacity of the country. At present we are experienc-

ing a crisis resulting in a lessened capacity to buy goods In response to dull conditions in industry, wages are being readjusted, and this in turn has cut down the purchasing power of the laboring classes. Since the wage-earners are so numerous in the country, industry feels the effect and the shutting down of production goes on apace Thus, unemployment breeds unemployment

(7) Changes in Popular Demand for Articles Consumed. Industrial changes are constantly going on by reason of changes in taste and fashion. For example, the invention of the motor car has very greatly diminished the demand for bicycles. Those employed in bicycle factories and shops had to seek other positions Many men who could not adjust themselves to new lines of work were for a time out of employment.

Fashions and vogues have a similar effect A novelty will appear which becomes the style. Large numbers are employed in making the article The fashion dies or is displaced by another with the result that workmen are dislodged, and some of them remain unemployed

These changes are more serious to the old, for the older the worker the less adaptable he is to a new job.

Labor Policies of Industries. Policies in the hiring and firing of men have a very direct effect upon the matter of employment Some of these policies are inevitable with an unorganized labor market and some seem to be the result of purpose on the part of employment managers

One of these policies is that of hiring new men rather than training men for a permanent job The processes of modern industry have become so specialized and the division of labor so minute that employers have, without considering the cost, often pursued the policy of hiring a new man rather than spending any efforts carefully to select and train men who by natural capacity and personal characteristics would be adapted to the task and remain with the firm The result has been an enormous labor turnover which has greatly aggravated the labor problem and contributed to irregularity of employment

Another policy incident to the increasing size of industries has psychological results of the greatest importance for the problem of unemployment. Industrial organizations have become so large that labor force is regimented; personal relationship which once obtained no longer exists The inefficiency of the worker has made cynical the employer or employment manager, the worker is sought for when he is needed and discharged in slack periods without a thought for his welfare Conditions of employment sometimes are so prejudicial to health and safety that the laborer is in constant fear of injury. All of these factors have widened the breach between the manage-

ment and the men. The policy of keeping a larger labor force than is necessary by means of part-time employment also irritates the men. The result is a disgust, leading men to quit employment at the least provocation. On the other hand, the management, exasperated by the seeming lack of interest on the part of the employees, fires men without the least concern for what will become of them. Recently, however, a new spirit has begun to appear in labor management which may bring about more coöperation between employer and employee, and in the end may lessen the labor turnover and the demoralization of the worker from frequent changes in occupation.*

Disease or Accident. Disease or accident may have caused deficiency. Sometimes the factory itself is responsible for the accident or the disease. Sometimes the deficiency is due to malnutrition, bad home conditions, and unsanitary neighborhoods. The worker goes to his work without that mental alertness so essential to efficient production. His body tires easily. He has no ambition. He is the equivalent of a man who is by inheritance defective physically or mentally, except that with proper conditions his natural ability will manifest itself. Yet until recently employers were not concerned about the conditions under which their laborers lived. Even yet many of them take no interest in community improvements which will provide better conditions for the worker. It is the growing consciousness of the importance of good living conditions for laborers that has led many wide-awake manufacturers to pay attention to industrial housing, sanitation, decent wages, and other conditions which allow the native ability of the worker its freest and most efficient expression.

Lack of Organization of the Labor Market. In this country there is very little organization of the labor market. Private employment agencies do something to supply labor where it is needed, but they are quite inadequate to solve the problem. The public employment agencies are so imperfectly developed that they too have failed in a large measure. Laborers do not know where their labor is needed, employers do not know where laborers are available. There is no adequate organization to bring the two together. The consequence is that there may co-exist in the same country and even in the same State large numbers of unemployed men and numbers of employers seeking men. The result is unemployment.

Lack of Industrial Stabilization. We have as yet done very little to stabilize industry and thus steady the demand for labor. Hence at some seasons of the year certain industries take on practically all of the labor they can hire; at other seasons they discharge most of these men. In certain

* See Leupolner, *op. cit.*, Chaps. I-IV.

months business is going forward with feverish activity; at others industry is dull and men are laid off by the thousands. The coal mining industry is a good illustration, during the spring and early summer the demand for coal lessens on account of the warmer season. Storage facilities have not been developed so that the miners can go ahead providing coal for the coming winter. Consequently many of them are either unemployed or underemployed.

Furthermore, many industries making seasonal goods require much overtime during periods just preceding the season when these goods will be in demand. Clothing is a good illustration. The reason for this is that the producers do not wish to have their money tied up in unsold goods any longer than necessary, thus increasing interest charges. Furthermore, manufacturing on the eve of demand saves storage charges and insurance. We need, therefore, the development of storage facilities for bulky goods like coal so that the miner may work steadily all the year round. In manufacturing provision should be made either for credit operations which would provide capital for the manufacturer at low rates or else legislation which would prevent overtime work in such trades and thus force the employer to spread his industrial activity over a longer period of time. Of course from the economic point of view this would increase the cost of goods to the ultimate consumer. However, it is doubtful whether it would be more costly than the present plan of working overtime with the consequent undermining of health, lessened production due to fatigue, and the burden of charitable relief of the worn-out and unemployed workers.

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The results of unemployment, including irregular employment and underemployment, are of utmost importance to social relationships. Some of these effects are:

(1) **Lessened Income.** Since upon income depends the maintenance of a decent standard of life, income should be adequate and as regular as possible. Unless a man is steadily employed, he must either have considerable savings or the scale of living for his family and himself will inevitably be lowered.

Unsteady employment affects wages in three ways: "It reduces the amount of the workman's earnings, it causes irregularity of income; and it decreases his efficiency."[7] Whether unemployment is as important as sickness in causing the breakdown of family independence is a disputed question, nevertheless, it plays a great rôle in family demoralization. Says Dr. Devine:

[7] Leuebur, *op. cit.* (New York, 1918), p. 197.

"From the point of view of the charitable agencies, the importance of this especially is indicated by the fact that in two-thirds of the families who come under the care of the Charity Organization Society in industrially normal times, one or more wage-earners are unemployed at the time of their application for aid.[8] Three-fourths of the applications for help to the New York Charity Organization Society come to them by reason of sickness.[9] While unemployment may not be the most important factor in destroying family independence it certainly stands next to sickness and possibly stands first. In Chicago, according to figures from the United Charities, "unsteady work caused a little over one-half of the applications for help."[10]

Lescohier states that "financially considered, it [unemployment] probably reduces the actual earnings of the American workers more than any other type of misfortune to which they are exposed." Investigations reveal the decided influence of unemployment upon yearly earnings. Thus Lescohier cites an investigation in Connecticut which showed that the actual earnings of employees in different industries fell from 13 per cent to 18 per cent below full-time earnings. In New York 61.1 per cent of the paper-box workers and 63.4 per cent of the confectionery workers fell more than 10 per cent below full-time earnings. The New York Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor in 1911 estimated that 70 per cent of its applicants would not need outside aid if the work could be regular and the wages adequate, and investigation in Massachusetts showed that, while 71.8 per cent of the workers in the women's clothing industry were supposed to earn $6 a week or over, only half of them actually did so.[11] Thus, every study establishes the importance of the workers having regular employment.

(2) **Destruction of the Worker's Efficiency.** As Lescohier has so well said of the worker, unemployment "undermines his physique, deadens his mind, weakens his ambition, destroys his capacity for continuous consistent endeavor, induces a liking for idleness and self-indulgence; saps self-respect and the sense of responsibility, impairs technical skill, weakens nerve and will-power, creates a tendency to blame others for his failures; saps his courage, prevents thrift and hope of family advancement; destroys a workman's feeling that he is taking good care of his family; sends him to work worried and underfed, plunges him into debt."[12]

(3) **Effects on the Family.** In addition to the attack on financial resources of the family and the impairment of the efficiency of the workman,

[8] Devine, *Misery and Its Causes* (New York, 1909), p. 117.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[10] Lescohier, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 103-105.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

unemployment also strikes at every tie which makes for wholesome family life. It forces the mother out of the home to supplement the earnings of the man; it takes children from school at the earliest possible moment and places them in industry. By taking the mother away from home it prevents her giving that care to the children which lies at the foundation not only of good health but of good morals. It forces the family to move into poorer quarters; it compels them to reduce the scale of expenditure not only for those things that contribute to the spiritual development of the family but even those things which are basic necessities for health and vigor. Thus in every way unemployment, if at all frequent and long continued, destroys the very fabric of social life. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that measures be taken to reduce unemployment and irregular employment to a minimum.

The following case, from a study made by the Children's Bureau during the depression of 1921-1922, shows the inevitable lowering of the standard of living by families when unemployment exists.

"One family consists of American-born parents—about 30 years of age—and three children, 4, 9, and 11 years old. The father, a welder, for an implement works, lost his job a year ago. Since then he has worked three weeks for the city and has had irregular employment at his former place, earning a total of $505 during the year. An aunt came to live with the family during the summer. For four weeks she paid $2.50 a week and the fifth week $4. Then she lost her job and has paid nothing since.

"The family has not yet been obliged to ask for charitable aid, but the struggle to keep from it has been hard. When the father was laid off they were living in a nine-room house, for which they paid $35 a month. Realizing they could not keep up this rent they moved into a six-room flat at $20. After four months they felt they must retrench even more, so they moved across the street into their present flat of four rooms, at $15 a month. It is heated by a stove and has few of the conveniences they had in the other houses. There are no sidewalks and the street is unpaved.

"The father had to drop his own $2,000 insurance policy and also smaller policies for his wife and children. The mother has cut the food down to the minimum. She tries to give the children milk once a day now instead of every meal, as she did when the father was working. They have run up a $200 grocery bill, owe $29 for clothing, $6.50 for gas and electricity, and have borrowed about $400 from friends. In addition, they owe $9.50 for coal to the factory where the father was formerly employed and $160 for groceries obtained through the commissary."[18]

Unemployment seriously affects family relationships. Family desertion often results when a man is unable to find work to support his family.

[18] Lundberg, *Unemployment and Child Welfare*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 115 (Washington, 1923), pp. 39 and 40.

Strained relationships between husband and wife occur. Children are bewildered. Chaos frequently results.

Perhaps nothing—certainly nothing unless it be sickness, death and delinquency—so upsets the emotional stability of those involved as does lack of a job. What happens to the willing worker who unsuccessfully seeks a position day after day? How can he keep up his morale? What does worry do to the spirit of the wife and mother? How can children of the unemployed develop that sense of family pride so necessary to the attainment of status in society? Moreover, what is the effect on the heads of the family of seeing their savings whether in money or in a home slowly melt away? Their saving has all been in vain. That which they hoped would be a safeguard against sickness and old age vanishes, and with it goes ambition.

(4) **Industrial and Political Unrest.** When a considerable number of men are unemployed they feel that they have a just cause of grievance. This is especially true of men who are very willing to work but are unable to find it. The unemployed man feels that in unemployment he has one more cause of complaint against the industrial order. In the involuntarily idle the agitator may find fertile soil for the seeds of revolution. I do not mean to imply that unemployment is the sole cause for industrial unrest. It is, however, important enough to challenge the attention of those who are solicitous in allaying the unrest so characteristic of our day.

(5) **Social Demoralization.** Every season of unemployment sees a great increase of drunkenness, theft, and crimes of violence. The moral standards of the unemployed man are impaired by spells of idleness, time lies heavy upon his hands, constantly seeking work without finding it discourages him, and unless employment is found in the course of time even the good workman may become desperate enough to steal and to commit crimes of violence. The unsteady workers are even more likely to fall into crime than the steady workers. Usually they have no savings to tide them over. Their characters are already weakened. A period of unemployment pushes them over the line into criminality. These and the unemployable are the reservoir from which comes the flood of criminals which springs up in every period of hard times.

Not only crimes against property but other crimes increase. The whole social order is shaken as if by a cataclysm. The banker or bank clerk who was speculating with the bank's funds in "good" times is caught in a time of depression. While his crime was committed in a period of industrial progress, it is discovered and registered in the criminal statistics in a time of depression. Need, growing out of unemployment, drives people to commit crimes. Robberies, hold-ups, and burglaries indicate in part the result of

the rôle played by unemployment in providing the strains on individual character that it is unable to withstand. The crime rate also partly registers the personal demoralization due to unemployment.

In the dull time of 1914 it is reported that in Boston men committed petty crimes in order that they might be sent to the workhouse. Then they were sure of their keep while their wives might draw from the city 50 cents a day. In 21 cities burglaries increased 30 per cent over the number in 1912, vagrancy 51 per cent, robberies 61 per cent, and mendicancy 105 per cent. The divorce- and suicide-rates also increased.

Again, consider the effect of unemployment upon the social solidarity. When following the World War, central Europe was convulsed with red revolution, communism could make no headway here. Why? Because the workers felt that they had no serious complaint to make against a system which gave earnest and willing workers steady employment at high wages. When a depression throws out of employment millions of men who are not loafers, but who want to work and cannot, is it unnatural that they should feel that there is something wrong with a system which permits such a catastrophe? Is it not also natural that they should come to feel that their former or possible employers are to blame for the situation? Hence, the solidarity which in good times binds employer and employe together in a joint enterprise is broken; suspicions develop, and hatreds spring up. In that situation the doctrinaire agitator finds his opportunity. Bewilderment and stark want provide listening ears to any one who offers an explanation and a remedy, no matter how superficial the one or how toxic the other. Unemployment on a large scale provides the tap-root of revolution.

As John Palmer Gavit has so well said recently:

"All the time, but more than commonly just now, we are paying heavily and in manifold ways for living in a country, in a world, so badly arranged and so stupidly managed that thousands of people, ready and anxious to work for their living, can't find anything to do, and respond to that dismal situation, each in accordance with his individual temperament.

"Some steal, some beg in the streets, some whose number never can be known, starve despairing in their corners, or more commonly and little better, from chronic under-nutrition degenerate in health and nerve. A great multitude are living from hand to mouth upon funds doled out in various forms of charity, or drudging through ghastly days at odd jobs contrived for them for which they have neither fitness nor zest, at first hoping somehow to regain a footing in security and self-respect, but in innumerable cases sinking lower and lower and at last permanently in the demoralization of unresisting or even willing parasitism. Families lately buttressed by reserve

funds and owned-homes established in better days by thrift and self-denial are breaking up; bright hopes for education of children and safety in old age have faded out, never to be revived

"No figures can state the amount that we are paying. The money-loss, the failure to create wealth, the depreciation of idle capital in machinery, transportation, shops and ships, is the least of it. Far worse is the loss of faith in ourselves, the degeneration of skill and ambition, the clogging of useful brains with the dust and rust of idleness and discouragement Worst of all is the irreparable damage to childhood, to the generation that will succeed us; not alone in terms of physical deprivation, hunger, cold, shabbiness of life; but in the even deeper harm, from the general atmosphere of a demoralized environment." [14]

METHODS OF DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The simplest method of obtaining employment is for the man out of work to go from factory to factory This method, however, is no solution of the problem There may be no openings for the man in the community in which he lives As has been said, "The haphazard method of tramping the streets in search of work is no method at all It is sure of success neither to the idle worker in his search for work, nor to the employer in his search for workers On the contrary, by its very lack of system it needlessly swells the tide of unemployment and through the foot-weary, discouraging tramping which it necessitates often leads to vagrancy and to crime" [15] [16]

Another method largely used at the present time is advertisement in the newspapers. It is estimated that the newspaper advertisement costs about $5 for every worker thus obtained Say Commons and Andrews: "If the money spent brought commensurate results there would be less grounds for complaint, but at the present an employer advertises for help in several papers because not all workers read the same paper The employee lists the positions advertised and then starts on the day's tramp At one gate 50 or 100 men may be waiting for a single job, while in other places 100 employers may be waiting, each for a single employee" [17] [18] Unnecessary duplication of work and expense by both parties is evident Moreover, newspaper advertising provides possibilities of fraud, in spite of the efforts of papers to prevent misrepresentations.

Such methods are failing to solve the problem In spite of them, thou-

[14] Gavit, "Paying the Fine," *The Survey*, December 1, 1931, p 266

[15] Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation* (New York, 1920), p 291.

[16] *Ibid.*, p 291.

sands of men every year degenerate from steady workers into the unsteady class. Those irregularly employed are not anchored, and the army of the unemployable is increased except in times of unusual demand for labor. Unemployment therefore must be attacked in much more radical and constructive ways than these haphazard methods employed by workers and employers.

Private Employment Offices. Because of this gap between the worker and the job, individuals desiring to make a living have established private commercial employment agencies. About the only successful private employment agencies are those organized to furnish laborers to large construction projects like railways. In addition to such agencies, various organizations like philanthropic societies, charity organization societies, Y. M. C. A.'s and chambers of commerce have established private employment bureaus which usually charge no fees. Moreover, many trade unions and employers' associations have set up employment bureaus to supply workers to particular occupations. The bureaus established by private organizations, especially the philanthropic organizations, have as their task chiefly the supplying of employment to casual laborers. Their aim is to obviate the giving of relief and to do constructive work with the near unemployables. They do, however, also provide work for families under their care which are the victims of sickness or disaster.

The private commercial agencies—about 5,000 in number in 1920[17]—have been subject to certain abuses and limitations which have interfered with their success. They have been charged with misrepresentation of wages and conditions of work, with sending women clients to immoral resorts, with sending applicants to places where they knew there was no work, and with making arrangements with foremen for frequent discharges and then splitting with them the fee they received. Every investigation of private employment agencies has disclosed such serious evils that now many States are regulating such agencies. Usually under this restrictive legislation they have to secure a license from the State, and deposit a bond varying in amount from $100 to $5,000.

In some States the license fee for these private agencies is almost prohibitive. The law may require detailed information concerning the employer; prohibit the location of agencies in saloons, lodging houses, and in restaurants, fix a maximum charge for their services, and provide that a part or all of the fee must be returned if the workman does not soon receive a job or if he is discharged within a certain length of time after employment.[18]

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 292.
[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 293 and 294.

In New York they are required to furnish to the Commissioner of Labor the same information as that supplied by the State Employment Offices. Ontario, Canada, provides that a private agency may not receive a fee from an applicant unless it has in hand a written and dated order from an employer for such a position. So strong has been the feeling that the Trade and Labor Congress of Canada in its meeting in 1913, and the American Association of Public Employment Offices in its convention in 1914, recommended the abolition of private employment bureaus.[19]

In spite, however, of all these regulations, those who have studied the question consider them inadequate to rid the private employment agencies of abuses. Moreover, such regulations cannot do much with those agencies which do an interstate business.

Public Employment Offices. Consciousness of the defects and abuses of private employment agencies and the growing realization of the evils of unemployment and irregular employment have led to the development of public employment offices under various auspices. Ohio was the first American State to provide for public employment offices in 1890. Montana followed in 1895 and New York in 1896. Montana's and New York's original laws were later repealed.[20] When Ohio established her five public employment offices she was a pioneer. Public sentiment made very little demand for them. They were favored by organized labor, but there was little interest on the part of employers.

The public employment office in the United States is not nearly so widely distributed as in several European countries. For example, under the British Labor Exchange Act, passed in 1909, an employment office was set up within five miles of every laborer in England. Without these agencies the State unemployment insurance scheme would not have operated so successfully.

In the United States these public employment agencies usually have a central office in the capital, with local branches scattered about the State.[21] New York and Wisconsin are representative of this type of public employment agency. In New York the bureau is established in the State Depart-

[19] Commons and Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 207.

[21] *Public Employment Offices in United States*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 241 (Washington, 1918), pp. 12, 13. For details as to dates of establishment of various public employment offices, see this bulletin. In fifteen of them the controlling authority was a city, in two the county and city, in sixty the State, in eleven the State and city, in one the State, county, and city, and in seven cases the federal government shared in the work, in two of the seven cooperating with the State and city where located; in two cases with the State alone, in two others with the city only, and in one with the State, county, and city.

ment of Labor and in Wisconsin in the Industrial Commission. Coordination in the work of the local offices is made through the central office and thus surplus in demand for labor in one part of the State is connected with surplus of supply in another part. In some of the States provision is made for joint control of the local office through a representative committee composed of employers and employees, with a chairman agreed upon by a majority.

These State employment offices were a godsend when the country was drawn into the World War in 1917, and the business of the country was forced onto a war basis. Ohio of all the States best showed what can be done with an efficiently managed public employment system. At its outbreak there were 7 city-State employment offices operating rather efficiently in the industrial cities of Ohio. They were turned over to the State Council of Defense. This body divided the State into twenty-one districts, with a local office in each district. The central office through which each of these cleared was at Columbus. So skilfully were these offices managed that when announcement was made that there was to be built at Chillicothe a great soldiers' encampment on a short-time contract, the director made arrangements to supply all the labor, 10,000 men. Within twelve weeks the State employment offices had supplied to the contractors 17,000 men, feeding them into Chillicothe as rapidly as they were required. It saved the contractors money; it secured the men as they were needed, it did not send men who were not prepared for the work to be done; the labor turnover was reduced, and no surplus supply was attracted to the city for the charities to support.[32] During the World War Ohio also attacked with great success the problem of supplying farm labor. Many of the other States which had employment offices under public control did good work under the stimulus of war demands and public interest in securing labor.

Several problems are still unsettled in the conduct of public employment offices. Shall a public employment agency supply strike-breakers? What attitude shall it take towards the placement of children of working age, when it may be a question whether the child should work or go to school? Shall an applicant be refused further help if he refuses to take work at lower wages than he has been receiving, or a different kind of a job than he has been following?

Some of the courts have held that laws relating to public employment offices which forbade the office from receiving applications from employers for workers to fill the places of strikers are unconstitutional. This difficulty

[32] For details, see Leiserson, "The Labor Shortage and the Organization of the Labor Market," *The Survey*, April 20, 1918, pp. 65-68.

has been obviated by publicity. In New York either party to a trade dispute may file a statement or an answer to a statement, both of which are then posted in the employment office. The prospective employee is informed of this statement when he applies. Decision as to whether he will take the position is left with him. In Massachusetts the introduction card given to the employee when he is sent to the employer having a strike is stamped, showing that there is a strike on in the establishment. The refusal of an employee to take a position where there is a strike does not disqualify him for application for another job.

In England and in New York State it is the principle to have children of working age register for work at the schools. The application then goes to a committee composed of employers, workers, and educators appointed by the Advisory Committee of the Public Employment Office. This committee takes into consideration all the circumstances of the child's life and education and, after consideration of the facts, advises whether the child shall be given employment or measures be taken to keep him in school.

Some States provide either through private funds or public moneys a small revolving fund to pay fares of men placed by the office. Some State laws also provide that a man need not take a position offered him if it pays less wages than is paid for the same work in that district. The employment office must endeavor to find him another position.

The municipal and State employment offices are gradually working out plans with employers and labor unions for cooperation in the placement of men.

As the work is new in this country the public employment offices—municipal, State and federal—are not yet adequately meeting the situation. The federal employment service, reorganized under the impact of war, had great possibilities. Up to the present (1932), however, there is only one United States employment office in each State and one in the District of Columbia. The Wagner bill, which would have tied up the present State employment offices with the federal and would have greatly stimulated their growth in numbers, was vetoed by the President.

Public employment offices to succeed must (1) have local branches in industrial localities; (2) have a central clearing office in which information concerning the situation as to unemployment and chances for employment is gathered from the local offices, (3) have provision for informing applicants for employment of the fact that there is a strike on at a plant which has made application for workers; (4) not refuse to try to find employment for a worker who refuses to take a position as a strike-breaker, or who refuses to take a position for which the compensation is less than obtains

in the district for the same work; (5) make careful registration of all applicants Moreover, (6) the public employment offices should have power to compel private employment offices to provide information on request, and (7) should have a working arrangement with the school placement bureaus for the placement of juveniles, and (8) should have at its disposal a fund by which to send men who lack the funds to places where there is a job waiting (9) Further, they should be manned by competent men, not by political job-hunters.

The Use of Public Work to Lessen Unemployment. The solution of unemployment calls not simply for relieving the necessities of those who by reason of lack of a job come to want, but for constructive efforts to check the demoralization which unemployment generally brings in its wake, to restore the fighting spirit of the man and his family who have through unemployment lost hope and courage, and often have forfeited that last anchor of manhood, an independent spirit, and of preventing so far as possible the economic and social conditions which result in unemployment The first three of these belong to philanthropy; the last to legislation and industrial adjustments However, the problem of charity and correction is much more than that of merely caring for those who have become shiftless and criminal through unemployment or personal deficiencies It is, in far greater measure, that of rehabilitating the weak or broken spirit by personal service in helping to restore the social props which hold us all to the straight and narrow path of endeavor for self-support, and that of joining hands with every agency in the community, public or private, to prevent the train of economic circumstances which leads to demoralization.

The problem of unemployment is complicated by the different classes already discussed. At one extreme we have the temporarily unemployed workers who have lost a steady job and are really seeking another, at the other we have the "work-shy." The former need only the providing of work which they are prepared to do. The latter are problems for relief and correction By reason, however, of our inability to distinguish between the two when a stranger presents himself for relief, we must devise methods for their temporary care while we are testing them. Moreover, these methods must be of such a nature that no industrious man will be allowed to suffer.

About *four different methods* have been used in the United States in dealing with those who have wandered into the community and asked for relief on the ground that they are out of a job *First*, we have provided indiscriminate relief either at the back doors of our homes, or at breadlines of missions. We have admitted them to the police station to sleep, or we have started a free lodging-house for such men, providing them a poor meal

to keep them from starving. *Second*, we have treated them all as vagabonds and have sent them to jail. *Third*, we have passed them on to our neighbors either by having the police warn them out of town or by paying their way to the next town. *Fourth*, we have provided them with lodging-houses with a work test, sometimes with an offer to help them find a job.

All of these methods have failed not only to solve the problem in any thorough way, but also to strike at the causes. The first method gives us as many tramps as we are willing to support. The second outrages our sympathies by reason of the fact that there is no discrimination between the honest man hunting work and the hobo. The third is an outrage upon our neighbors and is injustice to the man. The fourth method is expensive and, while the best as a palliative measure, usually results in the city fathers refusing the appropriations necessary to carry it through successfully.

A properly managed lodging-house with skilled social workers in attendance to diagnose the cases and provide the treatment appropriate to each one, with close relations with a good employment agency, is a necessity, if communities are to deal with these men in a manner satisfactory both to the men and the community. Alone, however, it is sure to fail. Unless it is connected with a State farm and State institutions for the care of the mentally incompetent, with hospitals to which the men who need treatment can be sent forcibly, and with a skilled employment service which will not only find men jobs, but jobs suited to their capacities, and with the skilled social service necessary in each case to see that a change in the man's condition is worked out, it will be a disappointing experiment. Careful case work in the placement of the unemployed is very necessary if the workers are not to come back again and again for placement or lose out.[29]

Up to the industrial depression of 1931 every emergency had been met by emergency measures to provide employment and relief to men out of work. Usually when large masses of workers were out of work the community either provided special funds for breadlines, soup kitchens, or emergency work to take the place of relief, and advertised a centralized agency to which the men could apply. The result was such congestion of applications that good placement work and carefully administered relief were impossible. Consequently there resulted a good deal of pauperism through relief and misplacement of men.

In 1930-1932 the unemployment crisis saw the development of different

[29] Odencrantz, "Placing Women Through Public Employment Offices," *The Survey*, September 18, 1915, pp. 560-562. Johnson, "Unemployment From the Angle of Case Work," *The Survey*, November 13, 1915, pp. 161-163.

measures to care for the workless. The whole matter was subjected to a new study. Those who had been through previous unemployment crises recognized at once that old failures must not be repeated. Bundle-lines, breadlines and soup kitchens had failed many times before. Yet, with all the sad experience of the past, many blunders were made. Little had been done during the prosperous years to prepare for the lean ones. Even the lessons of the 1914 crisis were not very well remembered. Some, however, were recalled. The experience of those times had taught some things. Instead of a centralized headquarters the attempt was made to distribute the burden of caring for the unemployed through a great number of agencies scattered over a large city, with registration of the cases at a central office to which inquiry was made to discover whether any other agency had dealt with the case before. Instead of large funds being placed at the disposal of a special committee knowing little about placement and relief methods, steps were taken to induce citizens and private corporations to anticipate their construction needs and thus provide real work instead of made work for the unemployed. Employers were persuaded to keep as many men as possible on half time instead of a fewer number on full time. With many agencies engaged also in relief work, the evils of bundle-lines and breadlines were minimized. For example, in New York City the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor persuaded the Bronx Park Commissioners to allow unemployed men to clear the rough land in that park which would have to be done later and now could be done at less cost and at the same time give the unemployed work.[84]

In 1930-1931 efforts were made (1) to coordinate relief plans with other community efforts to meet the emergency, (2) to strengthen existing agencies, (3) to centralize planning and to decentralize the raising and distribution of relief funds, (4) to make the help given fit the needs of the individual. These efforts were not always successful. The "for-God's-sakers" got busy soon after the number of unemployed became large and suffering was imminent. Large budgets were raised through the community chests by appealing on the basis of the need of "unemployment relief." Cities set up "relief work" measures, borrowed money for relief of the unemployed, sometimes to the extent of bankruptcy. States passed emergency legislation and provided large funds for direct relief and for public works in order to set the jobless at work. In some States, like New York and Wisconsin,

[84] For details of this and other examples, see Matthews, "Wages from Relief Funds," *The Survey*, June 11, 1915.

"Unemployment Problems and Relief Efforts in Seventeen Cities," *The Survey*, January 2, 1915, pp. 348 and 349.

large sums were appropriated by the State to be expended in localities under the supervision of the State body designated for that purpose. In Congress, in 1931–1932, a bill proposing to distribute $375,000,000 to the States for the relief of the unemployed was defeated. Only experience can tell what have been the results of these frantic and large-scale efforts. There are indications that in some States State appropriations have disorganized the whole structure of social work, have led to hopes which cannot be realized and have pauperized large numbers of people. In others careful administration of these funds has used the agencies already existing, turned to account for the people being served the rich experience of these agencies, and conserved the agencies built up in local communities at such great effort.

"Made work" to meet the emergency has been tried in every unemployment crisis. Unless such work is needed and is paid for at rates which will not damage the general scale of wages it will work infinite harm to the workers.[34]

Emergency public work to lessen unemployment at best is only a makeshift. There should be worked out a thoroughgoing program by which public work will be dovetailed into seasons and periods of unemployment. This is not always possible but much more of it is possible than is done at present. If the city authorities will plan their development work years ahead, they can provide a sinking fund to be used in times of industrial depression. Thus will be ironed out the demands for labor in times of great industrial activity and for employment in times of depression.

Stabilization of Industry. Before the problem of unemployment can be finally solved, similar far-reaching plans must be made by the managers of industry. This is a more difficult problem, yet something of that sort can be done. Every movement for the stabilization of industry will help. Certain seasonal trades can be regularized or spread through a larger part of the year.[35]

Unemployment Insurance. All of the efforts so far described will not solve the problem of the unemployed. They need to be supplemented, and the experience of foreign countries offers a promising supplement in the form of unemployment insurance. This does not eliminate unemployment, but it spreads over a larger part of society the burden now borne by workers involuntarily idle. Unemployment insurance will not solve the problem of

[34] Colcord, *Community Planning in Unemployment Emergencies* (New York, 1930).

[35] For the best recent discussion of the problem from the employers' point of view, and some possible solutions, see Lewisohn, Draper, Commons, and Leonhart, *Can Business Prevent Unemployment?* (New York, 1925).

the loafer and the inefficient idle It will, however, keep from destitution the man who is temporarily thrown out of work, and thereby avert individual and family demoralization. As a preventive measure intended to cope with idleness due to social causes, its cost should be borne not only by the man himself and his family, but by the employer, and by the government.

Unemployment insurance grew up in Europe on the basis of voluntary out-of-work benefits provided by labor organizations, on the basis of contributions from the members themselves.

Some unions abroad pay a travel benefit, while others excuse their unemployed men from the payment of dues.

Moreover, so-called Friendly Societies and Fraternal Organizations have provided out-of-work benefits Also in a few countries certain employers have established funds to provide out-of-work payments for their own employees.

This system of optional unemployment benefits through the trade unions has the defect that it does not provide for all of the men even in the unions, and does not touch non-union workers at all In the United States out of the 111 unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, one, the Cigar Makers' Union, has a national system of unemployment benefits Some national unions have certain locals which pay such benefits.[37] Only approximately 18,000 of the more than 11,000,000 industrial wage-earners of the United States are covered by these trade-union plans. Furthermore, since in 1910 only 12 per cent of the total number of gainfully employed persons in the United States were unionized, it is clear that unemployment insurance by unions would cover at best but a small portion of the wage-earners of the country and those the least needy in this respect [38]

In the United States a number of individual establishments have established unemployment funds. One of the first of these was the Dennison Manufacturing Company, of Framingham, Massachusetts This fund was established out of the profits accumulated over a period of approximately five years It is frankly an experiment and Mr. Dennison says that their fund is not a guarantee either of permanent employment or of maintenance of the regular wage-rate The fund is administered by a special committee consisting of two representatives from the employees and two from the management [39] Other establishments which have set up unemployment funds are the Deering, Milliken Company of New York. Among the railroads the

[37] *Ibid*, p 442
[38] *Ibid*, pp 194, 195
[39] For details, see *Ibid*, pp. 195-198.

Delaware and Hudson Company alone has an unemployment insurance guarantee provided without cost to the employees. In addition to these plans there exists in a few industries what is called the "joint agreement market fund." They are created by joint agreement of employers' associations and labor unions in connection with their trade agreement. Two plans have so far been developed in the joint agreement market fund—one the Cleveland agreement set up in May, 1921, and the other the insurance plan of the Chicago Men's Clothing Industry. Under the Cleveland plan the employers set aside 10 per cent of the direct labor payroll for this purpose. Under the Chicago plan the employees contribute one-half per cent of their wages while the employers contribute a like amount. In both cases twelve weeks of unemployment must pass before any benefits are paid from these funds.[30]

Compulsory Unemployment Insurance. Compulsory unemployment insurance goes back for its origin to the city of St. Gall, Switzerland, which introduced the system in 1904. Because of faulty administration it failed there after a trial of two years.

At present compulsory unemployment insurance under public control is in operation in sixteen countries. In two more, Luxemburg and Spain, the legislation has not yet (1932) been put into effect.

In Europe the systems are (1) compulsory, (2) voluntary, or (3) mixed. Where compulsory insurance is in force, certain designated classes of workers must be covered. Where voluntary systems are in effect, the insurance through private organizations is recognized, encouraged, and sometimes subsidized by the state, but such establishment is not obligatory. In nine of these eighteen countries the insurance is compulsory, in eight it is voluntary, and in one—Switzerland—some cantons have the one form and others the other system. Only two of the existing systems antedated the World War.[31]

Unemployment insurance does not go to the root of the conditions producing unemployment, it only spreads the burden over many people instead of allowing it to rest on the workless. So far it is good. However, it usually covers only a short period of unemployment, and it is difficult to operate.

Unemployment Reserves. Recently the question has been raised as to why industries should not, in prosperous times, set aside reserves to protect the workers against unemployment as they do to protect the stock-

[30] Lewisohn, Draper, Commons, and Leacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-210. For additional information on such plans see *Unemployment Benefit Plans in the United States and Unemployment Insurance in Foreign Countries*, Bulletin, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 544, July, 1931.

[31] For details of these European systems see Bulletin U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 544, already referred to, pp. 177 ff.

holders against loss of dividends in times of depression. Theoretically there is no justification for not doing so. Labor is as much concerned in the productive process as capital. It has as much right to protection against the consequences of a slowing down or cessation of industrial activity as those who furnish the capital.

In the United States a number of such plans have been set up. In 1931 the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States found in existence seventy-nine unemployment benefit or employment guarantee plans, covering potentially 116,000 employees. Among these were fifteen company plans established by employers either individually or in groups, sixteen joint-agreement plans between trade unions and employers, and forty-eight trade-union plans mentioned solely by labor organizations either national or local.[83]

Wisconsin, in 1932, passed a law known as the Groves law requiring that after July 1, 1933, every employer be required to set up a reserve, constituted of not more than 2 per cent of his payroll, to provide employment in slack times. Benefits are limited to 50 per cent of the wage with a maximum of $10 per week for ten weeks per year to a company's own employees. This plan is based on the theory that employers have the responsibility of stabilizing employment in their industries. The law leaves open to the employers the possibility of developing other plans, always meeting the minimum standards of this law. Only experience can show how it will work.[84]

Summary. In the treatment of unemployment our survey has indicated that the most hopeful plans are those which prevent unemployment. The problem must be attacked at its source through the stabilization of industry; the dovetailing of one seasonal-industry with another of a different season; a widespread and carefully managed system of employment exchanges, guarded from the sinister influence of politics, manned by experts in labor placement, and closely connected with charitable agencies of the best sort to weed out and properly care for the unemployable. The labor exchanges must be closely tied up with a system of unemployment insurance to tide over those who are desirous of working, and to prevent that personal and family demoralization which inevitably follows inability to find work and consequent lack of income. Our industrial system has the task of so managing the various processes in manufacturing and distributing those articles to supply the needs of the people that waste of capital and labor is as small

[83] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-178.

[84] Benedict, "Wisconsin Tackles Job Security," *The Survey*, December 15, 1932, pp. 295-298.

as possible. The general welfare of all the people is the objective. Industry has accepted the obligation to manage the capital and the men at work efficiently. Upon such management rest both profits and interest upon the invested capital. Also upon it depends the rate of wages and the price of the product. In these respects the capitalistic system does not always function at the maximum, as witness the financial failure of many concerns and the loss of money invested by those not directly concerned with the management. In order to produce more efficiently and profitably, industry often scraps machinery in which large sums are invested and replaces it with more efficient machines. Business absorbs the loss in the hope of subsequent larger gains. The present economic system has not yet recognized its obligation to absorb the loss from the displacement of men by machinery. The men are often turned out in large numbers without absorption by the business with consequent loss in wages to the men While the analogy between discharged men and scrapped machinery is not perfect, there is a growing feeling that the consequences of technological unemployment, *i.e.*, that due to the displacement of workers by machinery, is, in part at least, chargeable to industry. It is also in part chargeable to those who furnish the capital and benefit by the change, and in part to the general public who theoretically can buy goods at lowered prices Likewise implicit in the present system is the obligation so to manage the other factors which affect regularity of industrial activity that capital and labor may be constantly and efficiently employed That duty, within limits, has been acknowledged with respect to a steady return upon borrowed capital, as witness the law relating to mortgages which give the lenders the right to foreclose on the property if the interest promised in the bond is not forthcoming. There is no such provision in most countries guaranteeing a steady income to the employees At any time they may be discharged without any guarantee of income. That imperfections in the very fundamentals of the system give us our serious problem of unemployment due to economic maladjustment is unquestionable.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. In what sense does unemployment represent the most serious economic maladjustment?
2. About what proportion of the working population of the United States is unemployed: (a) in good years, (b) in bad years?
3. How does unemployment in the United States compare with unemployment in other countries?
4. What are the chief classes of the unemployed?
5. Outline the chief causes of unemployment. Discuss each of these briefly.
6. Point out the socially pathological results of unemployment.
7. Outline the most promising measures proposed to deal with unemployment.
8. Discuss the difficulties faced by each of these proposals.
9. What lessons may be learned from the unemployment crisis following the break in the stock market in October, 1929?
10. Compare the relative efficiency in times of unemployment of breadlines, soup kitchens, transient depots, and lodging-houses with unemployment relief administered by trained social workers from public funds.
11. Compare the relative efficiency of work-relief by cities, States, and other public units of government with public unemployment relief.
12. What is meant by the term *unemployment reserves?* Discuss such reserves from the standpoint of economic and social theory, and from the standpoint of practicality.

PART V

THE PATHOLOGY OF CULTURAL RELATIONS

FOREWORD TO PART V

By *cultural relationships* we mean those ties which bind people into a system of organized life concerned not with making a living but with making a life. When Jesus said, "Man does not live by bread alone," he was stressing that segment of social life concerned with the satisfactions of certain fundamental human needs which have often been described as spiritual. These needs seem to be as universal and almost as imperative as the need of food and a mate. Systems of belief, ideals, theories, and philosophies are built up to satisfy these needs. They are not satisfied without man's developing attitudes and activities in connection with them. The system of ideology with the approved pattern of activities forms an organized scheme of relationships which we may call the cultural relationships. Out of this complex of ideas and activities develop religions, magical beliefs and practices, moral and esthetic standards and codes, and a world-outlook. My conception of the term *culture* here is essentially what, as I understand him, MacIver means by the words he uses when contrasting civilization and culture. By civilization he means "the whole mechanism and organization which man has devised in his endeavor to control the conditions of his life." By culture he means "the expression of our nature in our modes of living and of thinking, in our everyday intercourse, in art, in literature, in religion, in recreation and enjoyment."[1] While *civilization* and *culture* are often used synonymously, for our purposes it is better to limit the term *culture* to the organization of those less material aspects of social life. For the purpose of showing how pathological conditions arise in society we may select, out of the many aspects of culture, three illustrations—religion, morals, and crime. In these three areas of social evaluation we see organized into patterns of conduct man's plans to satisfy those yearnings which transcend his merely material needs.

These relationships have a bearing upon the fulfilment of man's other needs. The way in which man organizes his activities to satisfy other cravings, in turn, affects the form he gives to the organization of his cultural relationships. The adjustment between his civilization and his culture means a sense of unity in his endeavors. On the contrary a change in either brings about a sense of discomfort, a maladjustment in his relationship in a total social situation—in short, a social pathology.

[1] MacIver, *Society: Its Structure and Changes* (New York, 1931), p. 116.

CHAPTER 30

THE PATHOLOGY OF RELIGION

Religion in its simple and historical meaning is a *belief in the Unseen*. Some would have the term include any system of beliefs and such movements as involve positive emotional attitudes toward social values even though they lack the supernatural element.[1] Accordingly Ethical Culture and Confucianism would qualify as religions. However, as an actual fact, what has been known as religion thus far in the history of mankind has generally included belief in a supernatural being positively concerned in human affairs.[2]

The term *church* is here used to designate the organization of believers in whatever theories and practices a given religion accepts. It may be applied to groups of people who accept religions as diverse as Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Judaism, and Christianity.

RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

The chief religions of the world are estimated to have the numbers of adherents shown in the table on the following page.

The total number of church members in the United States according to the Bureau of the Census tabulation for 1926 was 54,624,796, divided among 214 denominations.[3] The total expenditures for the year 1926 were $814,371,529 and in the same year the value of church edifices, the total number of which was 131,963, stood at $3,842,577,133.[4] In addition to the churches the Y. M. C. A. reported a total of $210,603,900 in net property and funds and $57,069,600 in operating expenditures for the year 1926. The Y. W. C. A. reported an annual operating budget of approximately $25,000,000.[5]

THE RÔLE OF RELIGION IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Since we are concerned with the pathology of religion we shall merely suggest its socializing function. In the long history of society now open to

[1] Barnes, *The Twilight of Christianity* (New York, 1931), pp. 416 and 417.

[2] For a brief but more detailed discussion see Gillin and Blackmar, *Outlines of Sociology* (New York, 1930), pp. 390-395.

[3] *World Almanac* (1929), pp. 182-84.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 180.

RELIGIOUS MEMBERSHIP OF THE WORLD*

SECT	NORTH AMERICA	SOUTH AMERICA	EUROPE	ASIA	AFRICA	OCEANIA	TOTAL
Christians							
Roman Catholic .	40,000,000	61,000,000	220,000,000	7,000,000	2,000,000	1,500,000	331,500,000
Orthodox Catholic	1,000,000	... .	120,000,000	20,000,000	3,000,000	.... .	144,000,000
Protestants	75,000,000	900,000	115,000,000	7,000,000	3,000,000	6,000,000	206,900,000
Tot. Christians .	116,000,000	61,900,000	455,000,000	34,000,000	8,000,000	7,500,000	681,400,000
Non-Christians .							
Jews	4,000,000	100,000	10,000,000	1,000,000	500,000	30,000	15,630,000
Mohammedans .	20,000	.....	5,000,000	160,000,000	44,000,000	... ..	209,020,000
Buddhists	180,000	.....	. ..	150,000,000	.. .	.....	150,180,000
Hindus	150,000	.....	....	230,000,000	.....	.....	230,150,000
Confucianists, Taoists	600,000	.....	....	350,000,000	.....	.... .	350,600,000
Shintoists		.....	. .	25,000,000	... .	.. . .	25,000,000
Animists	50,000	....	.. .	45,000,000	90,500,000	100,000	135,650,000
Miscellaneous ..	15,000,000	2,000,000	5,000,000	18,000,000	. .	870,000	50,870,000
Total							
Non-Christians .	30,000,000	2,100,000	20,000,000	979,000,000	135,000,000	1,000,000	1,167,100,000
Grand Total ..	146,000,000	64,000,000	475,000,000	1,013,000,000	143,000,000	8,500,000	1,849,500,000

* "Religious Membership of the World," *World Almanac* (1930), p. 443.

us religion has at times played a useful rôle and sometimes has been a costly liability. Religion has served to weld together groups with variant cultures. It has in those cases made for social solidarity. Like war, religion releases, focuses upon definite objects, and usually directs through narrow channels emotions of high voltage. Sometimes those emotions have made for social cohesion, often for strife and division

As a method whereby the safety and preservation of the group were insured, religious rites and ceremonies contributed to the formation of habits of cooperation Once a priesthood had grown up, there was laid the basis of an organization which, with its political connections, its control of the supernatural sanctions, and its alliance with the ruling authority of the group, greatly increased submission to a leading spirit and contributed to social unity. Worship at a common shrine stimulated common feelings and generated common sentiments. The first great artistic impulse finding permanent expression was aroused by religion Temples and shrines growing out of graves were perhaps the world's first architecture As has been indicated before, religion and philosophy to begin with were undifferentiated.

Religion as "the Opiate of the People." The function of religion has varied at different times in the history of society. In its origin it was the child of doubt, of mystery born of a crisis, of hope deferred, and of oppression. The human soul refused to believe that it was destined for defeat either at the hands of men or the forces of nature. Religion has continued to be the handmaid of those whose lot it has been to sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, and of those who had no helper. Its gods have been the helpers summoned by the unconquered human spirit, against the enemy and against those powers of nature which were seen to be hostile. Religion has ever been exercised because it "giveth power to the faint."

As an instrument, armed with which the natural powers of men may prove equal to a need or crisis, it has survived. Otherwise how has it happened that, if religion is a useless thing, if it plays no part in the means whereby survival is secured, it has itself survived the shock of skepticism, the changes of form made necessary by the vicissitudes of social and intellectual readjustments throughout the ages? More and more religion has ceased to be a philosophy of the universe. It ceases to be what it was to primitive man, a means whereby he thought to understand a puzzling world. Science reigns over that sphere. Does religion remain only a means whereby the things science has not yet conquered may be explained? If it remains merely a limbo of the unexplained its task is nearly done, for philosophy and science have not labored in vain.

On the other hand, is its usefulness limited to the softening of the rigors

of continued human oppression? Is it only a solace for the downtrodden in the place of social justice? Is it merely an angel of hope pointing a wistful finger from earth to heaven? If so, again, its task is nearly done. If it is only a poor substitute for social adjustment, what will happen to it when social justice shall have taken the place of oppression, when hungry children no longer shall cry for bread and naked bodies shiver from cold, and when the oppressed of all nations shall have found a way to have their wants satisfied here on earth? True, that glorious state of affairs does not seem to be imminent, but there are those—and they are not a few—who labor in the faith that such a state of things is possible. But when that state comes, where, then, will be the place for religion?

Let us begin by accepting all that science has to teach—certainly scientific people can do no less. Let us confess that religion—the faith that there is "a power not ourselves that makes for righteousness" in the world—is merely the result of man's experience with the world. Even so, can we not say at least that man believes that good will triumph over evil because such a belief has made him better able to survive? Let us say that man believes in a God because such belief had made him better able to bear "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune," better able to survive in a world of brutal and sometimes hostile forces by calling out the exertion of his best efforts in this struggle, by making him invoke not only the cooperation of the higher powers of his nature, but also the help of his fellows.[6]

When faith has ceased to hold out for him any hope of material advantage, it has inspired in him the hope of a nobler personality.[7] After social adjustment of happy chance has made him independent of the help of the gods for material blessings, religion has held out to him the hope of a clean heart and an unselfish life and called him to the useful and inspiring work of building a character. Religion has at least the advantage that it has proved to be a working philosophy of life. Moreover, it has drawn into cooperation by means of the two most powerful social motives, compelling fear and deathless hope, men who could not be moved by conscience and who possessed no ability to secure their survival alone. Without it what would society be? What victories it has won in spurring on the fainting spirit!

In this service of bringing comfort to the oppressed religion contributed to the comfort and survival of the individual. At the same time it gave tacit support to the oppressor. It hushed into silence and acquiescence the

[6] James, "The Powers of Man," *American Magazine*, November, 1907, Vol. 65, pp 58-65

[7] Cf. Ps. xciv, Job xiii.15 with Plato, *The Republic*, Bk. I.

flaming protest or the dumb misery of the oppressed by the promise of a better social order in the next world. Hence, while its teaching often made existence endurable for the individual, it delayed change in the social organization, change calculated to relieve oppression of the individual. Here perhaps is religion's greatest social disservice. In social pathology our interest lies here.

Religion has also produced prophets of protest, reformers of the *status quo*, those flaming evangels of a new social order. The limits of our subject do not permit the discussion of their constructive contributions to social change.

RELIGION AND SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

Religion has at times been a coercive weapon in the hands of reactionaries with vested interests, and has opposed changes which had for their aim the relief of the oppressed. What aspirations of earnest souls struggling to express a newly discovered truth has it not tried to crush! How often have religious institutions been found on the side of privilege in the struggle for freedom! Even in ancient Israel, as Cornill[6] once remarked, the outcome of the Prophetic religion was to crush the free spirit of the common people and to bind upon them the rites and ideas of the religion of the narrow party of Jerusalem. It paved the way for the priestly domination of the following centuries, and had a share in preparing for the narrow spirit of the Pharisee. In early Christian times ecclesiasticism crushed the free spirit of the Montanist, and drove into ecclesiastical exile that early forerunner of untrammeled thought, the Gnostic. Under the leadership of such men as Cyprian and Calixtus the church narrowed to a sect, and was bound with the hard bands of a party domination. It throttled free inquiry in the Middle Ages, making independent thinking a heresy, and laid the foundation of a revolt which has rent the Christian world into hundreds of warring factions. It forced Galileo to recant his carefully established convictions that the earth moves round the sun, retarded the development of science, threw water upon the flaming aspirations of scholars, and stifled the democratic longings of the common people. Clothed with the garments of ecclesiasticism in more recent times men have anathematized scientific truth seekers and belittled God's records written in the rocks and in the bodies of animals and men. Too often through its well-meaning but benighted representatives, religion has mocked the findings of careful and conscientious scholars, stood with the representatives of errant wrong against those who in love of the truth have battled for the rights of the masses.

Moreover, even in solacing the weary, discouraged souls of men, may

[6] Cornill, *The Prophets of Israel*, 1904, pp. 85-90.

religion not have induced lethargy and flight from reality rather than have furnished the inspiration to struggle on and find a better way? How often in its history has religion urged individuals oppressed by the perplexities of life to flee from "the world"? The crowds of Buddhist monks and nuns in Japan living in the quiet sloth of the beautiful temples "far from the madding crowd" testify to the appeal of that aspect of religion to timid souls. The monastic movement in Christianity during the Middle Ages shut away from the disturbed social conditions of that era thousands of the finest spirits the Church possessed. The otherworldliness of some Protestant sects has paralyzed many who might have continued their efforts for the renovation of political life, of the economic system, and of the state of public morals.

The slowness with which a great organization moves in the presence of rapidly changing conditions in a highly dynamic society often makes religion a barrier to progress. A few years ago I stood in a temple in India and watched a great crowd press towards the image of the god of healing. Many had loathsome ulcers upon their bodies These they rubbed upon the image that thereby they might be cured Many years ago I watched a crowd of the sick pass slowly before the altar of a church on the East Side of New York where was exposed a sacred bone of some saint encased in a gold brick. Each kissed it as he passed in order that the virtue of the saint might pass into his body and cure his disease. The germ theory of disease? When he sees such things, one wonders whether it can be true! These things occurred in the twentieth century—in the name of religion! The capacity of humanity to resist information and to cherish ignorance is astonishing!

The apocalyptic message of Christianity in its early days, revived again and again during the twenty centuries of its history, with its teaching that the world must get worse and worse before the return of Christ to establish a new order of things has operated to cut the nerve of social endeavor. The Buddhist doctrine of *nirvana*, that mystical absorption of the soul in the All, obtained by quiet contemplation, smothers any activity to improve the present social organization. Both of these doctrines produce in men quietistic attitudes which seek to escape the evils of life by flight from its hard realities.

Even the Christian doctrine of the infinite value of the individual soul often results in anti-social attitudes Save your own soul and let everyone else do likewise. On that theory one pays no attention to the evils of the social order. He gives alms to beggars, not primarily to help the beggar, but to win merit in heaven. The logic of such a doctrine is to paralyze the attempt to remove poverty. Such a person is not concerned with the cir-

cumstances in which these people live, only with plucking brands from the burning. Such doctrines have often resulted in religion taking an entirely negative attitude to social evil.

Some recent students[9] have pointed out that the emphasis of certain Protestant churches has been upon frugality and industry. The results have been to ally religion with capitalism and to give support to its evils as well as to its positive values. Out of that situation, it is claimed, the lukewarmness of the Protestant churches to labor and their friendliness to capital is to be explained. This attitude of religion has fitted in well with current economics and has prevented the readjustment of the capitalistic system to the human problems involved.

These examples are not exhaustive. They only indicate that the church in some respects has served socially useful purposes, while in others it has been anti-social in its influence.

Religion and the Variant Individual. Religion like all other human institutions operates through individuals. The great mass of a population, we may assume, if plotted upon a curve of distribution for any one or any number of different traits probably would lie between the limits of the lower and the upper ten per cent.

For purposes of illustration let us assume that we have measured by some objective tests the total adult population of the United States with regard to their intelligence and their emotional balance. At the lower or left-hand side of a diagram plot the frequency or numbers of those with low intelligence and lack of emotional balance and at the upper or right-hand side those of the highest intelligence and greatest emotional balance.[10]

Again, let us assume that those at the lower margin with low intelligence and with an unbalanced emotional make-up respond to an established social order selfishly, seeking to gain advantage for themselves by means of religion. Let us also assume that those at the upper margin are men of vision beyond their fellows and of such an emotional balance that they will respond unselfishly to a social situation. They will use religion to bring about a better adjustment of social arrangements to each individual and to inspire individuals to adjust themselves more perfectly to a system of social relationships intended to give satisfaction to the largest number of people.

Now, theoretically the total social situation, including religion, stimulates these two classes to different reactions. An individual of the one class re-

[9] Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York, 1926), and Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York, 1930).

[10] As a practical matter statisticians would not combine the diagram of two such traits. Moreover, we are assuming for purposes of theory that we could measure these traits.

spends by using religion to exploit his fellows for his own aggrandisement, while one from the other class uses religion to bring about a better adjustment between men and their total situation. In short, this illustration is intended to suggest the hypothesis that religion in times of crisis stirs the emotions and selects as its most active adherents individuals of two classes. One of these is the emotionally unbalanced, the other the religious genius.

The Degenerate and Religion. The first suffers from some psychosis centering around his own ego He is craving relief from some fear or anxiety, or trying to compensate for some felt inferiority. He may be of any degree of intelligence Examples of this class are St. Louis of Gonzaga, Margaret Mary Alacoque, both of feeble intellect, but of a devout, saintly life devoted to what in this age seem trivialities; or St. Theresa with an able mind, whose idea of religion, says James, "seems to have been that of an endless amatory flirtation—if one may say so without irreverence—between the devotee and the deity" Degenerates of another type are represented by such scoundrels as John David Jons, a Baptist of Delft in the sixteenth century whom Moeller described as "a man who all his life was unable to master the difference between highly unnatural ecstatics, mystical piety, and the mazes of unbridled sensuality," and by Rasputin, the "Holy Devil" of Russia in the early years of the present century. Such variant individuals often give tone to a religion. Frequently in the past they have been the instruments whereby religion has become divorced from the scheme of social relationships, and has become a non-socializing or even a de-socializing agency In the one case, religion loses all contact with the vital question of adjustment of individuals to the social order and with the reorganization of the scheme of human relationships in the interest of the satisfaction of the individual. In the other, religion becomes an active agency, bringing about maladjustment between the individual and his group.

Religious Change and Social Pathology. Any alteration of relations between groups—whether due to individuals, to war, to new discoveries, to new inventions, or to new methods of organizing men in groups—puts a strain upon old relationships. Individuals sense the disturbance of their accustomed ways. They are not comfortable in the presence of great alterations. Great economic changes make necessary all sorts of rearrangements of the workers and the managers. So a new religion breaks up the wonted ways of doing one's religious duty New conceptions challenge the old, new beliefs vie with the former for the allegiance of people New methods of worship supplant those to which pious people have been accustomed from childhood Individuals respond to these new stimuli according to their natural or acquired attitudes toward change.

The great writing prophets of Israel—Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah—arose in a time of great economic and social upheaval. An old order was passing. An agricultural and pastoral people with a system of economic and social relationships suited to their needs was being subjected to the pressure of a new commercial régime. A system of relationships based upon tribal bonds was disintegrating under the pressure of an Oriental, despotic type of civil government. Chaldea to the east, Damascus to the north, and Egypt to the west were diffusing their despotic-commercial-military complex over the pastoral-agricultural-tribal complex of Israel. Between these giant millstones Israel was being ground to powder. These prophets attempted to suggest fundamental changes in social relationships which would, they thought, enable Israel to secure her solidarity in the face of impending danger and adapt her organization to the new situation. While the prophets failed in the immediate crisis, they gave Judea a religion which has made the survival of the Jews one of the wonders of history. Besides out of it has developed two of the other great historic religions.

Mohammed appeared at a critical juncture in the development of the Arabs. As Wellhausen pointed out long ago, at that time Arabic "heathenism was a dead thing." The gods of the Arabs had lost their hold on the living sympathies of men. Furthermore, the old tribal bonds were weakening before the growing commercialism and the widening social contacts. Feuds based on blood relationships were preventing the development of a larger group necessary to meet the situation. The time was ripe for a revolution. Mohammed, with his consciousness of a divine call and with his astute understanding of the political situation, was well qualified to simplify the muddled condition of affairs. With his fanatic emphasis upon one god, Allah, already known by name to the Arabs, Mohammed was able to unify the divisive religious loyalties. The result of such religious unity upon the social bonds is well indicated by Wellhausen in these words: "Up till that time blood-relationship had been the foundation of all political and social relations in Arabia, upon such a foundation it was impossible to raise any enduring edifice, for blood dissociates as much as it unites. But now, religion entered upon the scene as a much more energetic agent in building the social structure; it ruthlessly broke up the old associations, in order to cement the thus disintegrated elements into a new and much more stable system. The very hearts of men were changed, the sanctity of the old relationships faded away in the presence of Allah; brother would have slain brother, had Mohammed willed it."[21]

The forceful variant, whether a degenerate or a genius, disturbs the estab-

[21] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth ed., "Mohammedanism."

lished order. In the long run the degenerate sets up an attitude destructive of well-integrated social relationships, the genius, an attitude and ideals conducive to relationships adjusted to secure the survival of the group and the larger satisfaction of the needs of the individual. The one produces pathological relationships; the other a sound social order.

The conservative resists the appeal of the new religion; the facile, volatile individual welcomes the new and becomes its ardent advocate Again and again radical religious changes have divided families, disrupted business concerns, turned bosom friends into enemies, and split kingdoms During the period of disturbance all social relationships undergo severe strain Witness the profound social disturbances which followed the preaching of the eighth century Hebrew prophets, the introduction of Christianity into the decadent Roman Empire, and the development of the Protestant Revolt in Europe. Religious change, for a time, unsettles all relationships and produces pathological conditions in the group. This is true in spite of the fact that often religion may be the catalytic agent which produces a new stable, social situation Whether religion aids in producing such new adjustment depends on whether it is adapted to the other factors in the changing situation During the Middle Ages Christianity became more and more adjusted to the feudal system which grew up among the barbarians on the ruins of the Roman Empire Mohammedanism for a time served as a social reagent in the amorphous social situation of Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, India, and Northern Africa.

Ogburn in his *Social Change* has pointed out that the social process in a changing society is often marked by the lag of one or more elements of culture. The economic pattern changes rapidly. The whole conception of the nature of the universe has undergone a revolution from the time of, let us say, Copernicus to the present. Modern science has given us an entirely new set of mental furniture. Religion has lagged somewhat behind in its fundamental concepts, its philosophy, and its attitudes

The "decay" of religion in Western civilization to-day, so often mentioned by writers, is evidence of the failure of religion to adjust itself to the changes in industrial life and intellectual affairs which characterize our age. Religion is geared to a rapidly passing culture-complex. It represents a cultural lag. Its ideology, the framework of some of its adventitious dogmas, its theories of the duty of a religious person perhaps may be adjusted to the new conditions of to-day. Then it may serve felt social needs as it did at the time of its introduction into Roman society, or as it did in the times of Thomas Aquinas. There are numerous signs that to-day, in Western society, Christianity and Judaism are trying to make that adjust-

ment. What else mean Christian Science, reformed Judaism and modernism in Christianity? How successfully these and other similar religious changes may prove to be, only time can tell.

THE CHURCH IN A CHANGING WORLD

In view of the situation briefly sketched what adjustments may religion make in its attitudes toward social relationships, toward the problems indicative of strain in our social structure? Let us suggest a possible answer with reference to a few situations.

Granted that the Church influences public opinion because of its contact with large groups of people, the question arises as to how it is to hold and influence these groups now that its communicants no longer feel it to be the direct intermediary between them and God. For a growing number of communicants reference to the Bible, for instance, is becoming less effective as a coercive to action. The traditional emotionalism of the Church no longer appeals to the average educated man who has become interested in science, one of the most coldly intellectual, non-emotional entities in the world. The uneducated and those who do not do their own thinking are apt to follow the lead of the "enlightened," or to fall into indifference because they find no appeal in the old religious attitudes.

It is obvious, then, that the Church has a hard row to hoe if it is to keep its following, and without its following the Church is of little importance from the social point of view. The present wisdom for the Church would seem to lie in retaining the interest of the people by maintaining close contact with the developments of modern life and at the same time emphasizing social idealism. Happiness still consists in the adjustment of the individual to his material environment and to his fellows. While science may help to solve the former, in the solution of the latter problem there is a place for the enlightened idealism of religion that no individual questing for happiness can afford to overlook.

The spoken prophetic word has not lost its power. It can still cast down the mighty from their seats and it can exalt the humble. The churches in their doctrines of sin and repentance have an instrument unequaled in power to enforce social behavior. In their press the churches have an educational force that cannot be excelled for sanctioning "right" social arrangements. The fear of hell and the hope of heaven do not move as many people as they once did; nevertheless, these sanctions are still in the hands of the Church. It has power to stir the social emotions of man. Its appeals for sympathy, justice, brotherhood, righteousness, truth, fairness—all these carry

emotional content long established. In a word, the social idealism of the Christian Church is a power beyond computation.

Limitations to be Recognized by the Church. It is not contended that the Church has all the knowledge necessary for solving each social problem. It must take notice of the facts and principles revealed by each of the social sciences. We can go further and say that the Church in its attempt to solve the problems of society, must take into account all knowledge that every science may contribute. It must heed the economist, the sociologist, the psychologist, the biologist, the political scientist, and the educator. Its contribution must be social ideals, motives, and sanctions. To it is committed the responsibility of developing in the individual a social attitude and of seeking in every way to realize in social relationships the ideals of brotherhood, of kindness, of justice, and equality of opportunity. The scientist contributes his knowledge of the way in which things operate. The Church contributes its ideals of a righteous society and supplies the motives for the realization of these ideals.

Furthermore, it must recognize that its method is *educational*. It will secure social changes in the direction of the realization of its ideals by slowly and patiently teaching those ideals and endeavoring to find ways by which they may be attained in accordance with the findings of science. It will not be satisfied until these ideals are incarnated in the customs, folkways, laws, administrative agencies, and public opinion of the community.

Health and Disease. Professor Patten of the University of Pennsylvania once asked the members of a seminar to write on pieces of paper what they thought was the chief criterion by which to judge the efficiency and fruitfulness of a church. The different members handed in their replies. Some said that the criterion was the amount of money invested in the church building; others the number of people attending the services, still others, the number received into the church; and others again, the kind of preaching that was to be heard from the pulpit. Professor Patten, after reading each of these replies and asking why the writer had chosen that particular one, said that he did not agree with any of them. In his judgment, he said, the chief criterion was the death-rate and the morbidity-rate of the community. Naturally, the members of the seminar were very much perturbed by this reply, and wanted to know his reasons. In answer he said that the chief concern of every one was to live and to live well. He argued that if you had the death-rate and the morbidity-rate you had the basis for judging the attitude of the employers toward the employees, the standard of living of the community, regard for childhood and womanhood, the attitude of the community toward vice and crime, the attention paid to sanitation, and the

attitude of the church toward these problems, because, said he, in any community the church can modify these things if it will. The astonishment of the members of this seminar shows how little we have connected some of the most vital affairs of life with religion. Some day it will be considered as sinful to sell dirty milk as to commit adultery, to work people in places that induce tuberculosis and rheumatism as to forge a check, or to steal a neighbor's wash, to exploit one's employees as to hold slaves; to break quarantine as to break into a house, to live in a city with a high death-rate as to live in Sodom and Gomorrah. Why is it not so now? Because we have not connected the Church with this vital matter of life and death. If Irving Fisher is right, the progress of any people depends upon its state of health. Inventions grow out of abounding vitality.[13] Health is a business asset that has much to do with the economic independence of people.[14] Says Dr. Wilbur:

"Our information at the present time, due to the studies of research workers all over the world, is such that we can say that if any well-situated community of fifty thousand people would adopt and put into practical every-day use all that we now know of medicine and science, and all that we have been actually using in the control of many soldiers in war, there would be such an increase in human happiness and effectiveness, and such a decrease in sadness and inefficiency, that in ten years it would make that city the wonder of the world."[15]

From the purely religious viewpoint there is morality in good health and the social practices necessary to promote it. By pointing this out and by leading its facilities for reaching and influencing large numbers of people the Church can become a vital part of this important social movement and make religion a living force in community life.

The Relations of Capital and Labor. Another problem with which the Church is face to face is that of the relations of labor and capital, or the employer and the employed. The problem is not new, but it is more pressing just now than ever before. It is at least as old as the New Testament. The problem finds its prototype in the relations between master and slave in the Roman Empire. The early Christian Church had to face that problem. The Christian solution is indicated by St. Paul as follows.

". . . not in the way of eye service, as men-pleasers, but as servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, with good will doing service, as unto the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that whatsoever good thing

[13] Fisher, *National Vitality*.

[14] Wilbur, "Health: A Business Asset," *Survey*, March 13, 1926, p. 678.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 679.

each one doeth, the same shall he receive again from the Lord, whether he be bond or free And, ye, masters, do the same things unto them, and forbear threatening; knowing that he who is both their Master and yours is in heaven, and there is no respect of persons with him "[16]

Moreover, at least one writer of the early Christian Church faced frankly the relations between the hired laborer and his employer:

"Behold, the hire of the laborers who mowed your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth out The cries of them that reap have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth "[18]

In spite of dismal departures on the part of the Church and its leaders from these high principles through the ages of Christian history, there is no question that religion has now and again, both by word and by action, championed the cause of the oppressed against the oppressor, has urged the dignity of labor upon the worker, and the imperative necessity of treating the poor with justice and kindness In spite of the increasing secularization of the Church after the time of Constantine, again and again the spirit of Christianity burst out against the exploitation of the poor and in favor of the oppressed classes Many of the early Church Fathers saw the danger in monopoly and private property In the Middle Ages the Church forbade interest-taking, it condemned monopoly profit, and taught the doctrine of a fair price and a just reward to the laborer

Moreover, many of the monasteries emphasized the sacredness of labor and all of them provided a refuge from the inequalities and iniquities of secular society All distinctions of rank were obliterated in the common term "brother", all became equally poor

Even the Protestant sects of Reformation and post-Reformation times emphasized the protest against the exploitation of the poor by the rich, and preached a kind of fraternity of rich and poor in the Church [17]

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that with the breakdown of the medieval domestic economy and the rise of the modern factory system, religion underwent a severe trial. The theological controversies of the post-Reformation period absorbed the energies of the Church to such an extent that it failed to give consideration to the pressing social problems of the day When almost two centuries later the Industrial Revolution burst upon Western Europe, the Christian Church was still so intent upon its factional fights that it could not tackle the problems of the day. Yet here and there arose

[16] *Ephesians*, VI 6-9
[18] *James*, V 4
[17] Rauschenbush, *Christianity and the Social Order* (New York, 1912), pp 318-321.

noble Christian souls who played their part in the protest against the evils of the new industrialism The Earl of Shaftesbury found the expression of his own religious life in attacks upon child labor and the exploitation of women and children in the mines and factories of Great Britain. He started the movement for the regulation of hours and conditions of labor in that country On the whole, however, it must be admitted that from the time of the Industrial Revolution until recently, the Church has expressed very little interest in the strained relations between employers and employees. Supported largely by the employers, the leaders of the Church have too often been blind to the sufferings of the poor, with the result that the working classes in industrial centers have largely been alienated from the Church Too often the Church has counseled patience to the workman, has promised reward in another world for the miseries of this, without attempting to face the conditions that produce the misery and take a stand against unjust circumstances in our social and economic life

The consequence of this attitude of the Church has been that false standards of sin have been established Some day it will be considered as sinful to exploit workers as to swear or to neglect your "religious duties," as sinful to "soldier" or do poor work on a job, as to get drunk Perhaps some time we shall all go to confession because we have bought a garment that has been made under unfair conditions It was cheap because it was made by exploited labor in a sweat shop In the fight between labor and capital in the industrial conflict of the present day, too frequently the churches have felt that the strikers were dangerous people without taking the pains to try to understand why people would throw up their jobs for a principle, or why good, earnest men, members of the churches, looked upon these strikers as vicious and pestiferous persons who must be shown their places Too often the churches have followed a policy of hands-off in any such struggle. As the self-confessed repository of the Gospel of Jesus the Christian Church has plenty of warrant in His words to bring to bear upon these vexed relationships between men a gospel of brotherhood, kindliness, and justice that would go far to settle the struggle between capital and labor.

War. It requires no long exposition to impress upon the minds of those of us who lived through the World War the terribleness of international conflict. It is a social problem that affects every phase of our existence. It destroyed ten million of the young men of the world; other millions it left crippled for life, it disturbed economic conditions throughout the entire world. Three hundred and fifty billion dollars' worth of property went into its maw of destruction. For a century the people of the world will live under a burden of taxation such as has never been seen before. Myriads of widows

and children have been left helpless. Multitudes of men seek employment that is not to be found. Provisions for the education of youth are limited and cramped because the war debts must be paid. Every night millions of little children go to bed hungry partly, at least, because of the World War. They will grow up with stunted bodies and uneducated minds because of it. All standards have been uprooted, social life dislocated, and religion brought into question.

In the early days of Christianity the attitude of Christians was hostile to military service. For a long time no one could be a member of the Christian Church in good standing and be a soldier. With the change in the attitude of the Roman State to the Church under Constantine, and later with the dominance of the Church over the nascent nations of Europe, a great change came about in the attitude of Christians toward war. After the union of Church and State the latter became the secular arm whereby the decrees of the Church were carried out, especially with reference to heretics. The result was that the Church became apologist for the warrior, and the warlike state. With the growth of nationalism national churches were recognized. The result was that the position of the Church in its early days became compromised and war was looked upon as a laudable activity, especially if it was in accordance with the aims of the Church. The only exceptions were such Protestant sects as the Quakers, Mennonites, and Dunkers.

During the World War, while a number of the leaders of the Christian churches had begun to look upon war as a great evil, the churches as a whole, both Jewish and Christian, actively upheld the aims of their respective nations. They were used as foci of propaganda for the aims and purposes of each nation. The Germans, led by propaganda to believe that their cause was just, felt that God was on their side, the Allies, believing that Germany had broken faith with little Belgium and was carrying on a war of aggression, felt that a just God could not feel otherwise about it than they themselves. Both prayed to the same God for victory. One could not but wonder what an All-wise God thought about the situation.

We know now that propaganda in any country is so well organized that the Church cannot always tell which cause is just. The only safe Christian policy is to stand for settlement of international disputes by calm deliberation and arbitration. In the case of one nation suffering apparent injustice from another, the Church can still counsel efforts at understanding and love. It cannot teach hate and be true to its founder.

Practically the only religious body that came out of the World War with its standards untarnished was the Quakers. They refused to be drawn into

the maelstrom of hate, they decided to minister to the needy on both sides of the conflict They sent commissions not only to France to help the suffering there, but also to Germany and Russia Often misunderstood, they nevertheless persevered in bringing to the suffering non-combatants their ministrations of help They consistently refused to fight but earnestly proposed to help those who were in need [18]

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Define. (a) religion; (b) the church.
2. Give some facts which show at least the nominal hold of religion on people.
3. Discuss the various ways in which the origin and development of religion has been conditioned
4. Point out the chief points in the rôle played by religion in social development
5. What are some of the important anti-social results of religion?
6. Discuss the rôle played by religion in the activities of the variant individuals, both the degenerate and the genius
7. Show the influence of these two classes of variant individuals on the origin and development of religious phenomena.
8. What is meant by the statement that religion is a part of the social complex?
9. Under what conditions has religion contributed to social pathology?
10. What part has religious change played in social pathology?
11. What constructive activities may religion contribute to the adjustment of social conditions?
12. In what fields may religion assist in bringing about social readjustment?
13. What limitations should the church recognize in its efforts to deal with social readjustment?

[18] Jones, *The Quakers in Action* (New York, 1929)

CHAPTER 51

THE BREAKDOWN OF MORAL STANDARDS

By moral standards we mean those more or less accepted norms of conduct which involve ethical relationships between individuals The term does not include the conventions, such as good manners, which prevail in one's relations with others in the ordinary contacts of life. The difference between morals and good manners is the difference between what Sumner has called the folkways and the mores The folkways are the habitual ways a people have of carrying on the ordinary activities of living together The mores are those folkways which, conceived of as having a bearing upon the welfare of the group, have social pressure behind them

The Origin of Moral Standards. As nearly as we can infer from the situation in primitive societies moral standards arise from taboos, i.e., negative injunctions with reference to persons or things supposedly carrying some potency dangerous to one who violates the taboo, and sometimes to his group Moral standards also arise as positive duties from a rationalization of dangerous situations that have resulted from the neglect of such acts The primitive man follows the logic of *post hoc ergo propter hoc* (i.e., this event follows that, hence this is the consequence of that) Such a belief was then enjoined upon others by some person in a position of leadership or authority Use and tradition then made it into a folkway, or, if it was conceived as having a relation to the welfare of the group, into a *mos* (plural, *mores*). The mores are really moral standards imposed upon every member of the group. Often these standards are sanctioned not only by custom and tradition, but by religion and philosophy As Sumner has said, "The morality of a group at a time is a sum of the taboos and prescriptions in the folkways by which right conduct is defined Therefore morals can never be intuitive. They are historical, institutional, and empirical." [1] They are the outgrowth of man's experience with life, interpreted on the basis of his general conception of the nature of things At a time when he believes that all nature is filled with a potency which he understands only on the postulation of a Dread Something, or on a theory of the awe-full-ness of spirits of the dead, he sets up a code of conduct intended to ward off evil and to bring him benefits.

[1] Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1907), p. 29.

Why Moral Standards Change. Produced by experiences in a world in which the individual must adjust to conditions in order to survive, moral standards must change as conditions change,—conditions such as the physical environment, the economic order, relations between groups, etc., and knowledge concerning the nature of the world and of man's relation to it. The moral standards of a tribe adjusted to a desert environment and to a nomadic, pastoral economic system may not fit the life-conditions of a people settled in a fertile agricultural region, or of a people making their living by commerce or manufacturing. The moral standards suited to a group possessing a theory of ghosts, a system of magical practices closely related to making a living, undergo a great change among a people with a modern scientific ideology. Or, take a modern instance in a different field. The moral standards with respect to the sanctity of property change, when a group of well-behaved young men, who never thought of stealing in their home communities, are sent to war and steal the property of another army unit.

Moreover, any crisis in the life of a group precipitates a readjustment of its mores, and a revaluation of the basis of moral standards. For example, when the Hebrews settled in Canaan they had a code of moral standards based upon the group solidarity of a kinship organization, developed in a pastoral economy of desert tribes. Every man in a blood-bound group was a brother of every other member. He was a potential enemy of the member of any other group. He was forced by his customs and traditions to be hospitable to any stranger within his tent. He must help any kindred member who was in trouble. Within the group there were no classes based upon different methods of getting wealth or prestige. Through long ages relationships had been adjusted by a trial and error method until they worked smoothly. The regulation of these relationships had become customary and were handed down by tradition from generation to generation. They were given additional sanction by being conceived of as approved by the tribal god, Jahveh. Customary taboos had become His prohibitions.

However, when the Hebrews moved into Canaan, they found themselves face to face with people who had a somewhat different moral code and other gods. The Hebrews gradually became settled agriculturists instead of nomadic shepherds. Jahveh was not an agricultural god. His place of abode had been Mt. Sinai in the desert. The land on which they settled was controlled by an agricultural divinity or divinities, Baal or the Baalim. The Baalim required different rites of worship. The customs, moral as well as other, were different. The Hebrews gradually assimilated the moral patterns of the Canaanites. Such departure, however, from the old customs

created a crisis which is reflected in the books of the Bible known as I *Judges*, II *Samuel*, and I *Kings*. There the picture of the crisis is painted as "forsaking Jahovah," since these moral standards were looked upon as religious duties.

The height of the crisis was reached, however, when in the eighth century B. C. commerce was added to agriculture as an activity of the Hebrews. Here, then, another set of conditions were met by the originally pastoral mores. Trade created a wealthy class. Rich and poor became class terms. The old brotherhood-bonds of the desert and agricultural tribe were broken. Exploitation of some Hebrews by others took the place of mutual aid. Injustice between man and man became apparent. The old moral standards were threatened. Religion was no longer a supporter of social welfare, but became the ally of the extortionist, the bribe-taker, and the exploiter. Such a crisis was reached that the ancient moral standards seemed threatened, and religion became a byword and a scoffing. Fortunately in this crisis there arose a few individual thinkers who saw what was needed. They are known to us from their writings as the Hebrew prophets, among them Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah.* They were fundamentally social reformers on a religious and moral basis. They cried out against the rank economic and social injustice rampant in Israel. They reinterpreted the old moral codes and the old religion in the light of the new situation. God became in their words "a god of justice," one who loved righteousness. By justice they meant social justice, by righteousness they designated kindness for the widow, sympathy for the poor, right relations between man and man, observance of the sex taboos on which rested the solidarity of family life. Morals in their hands became an adaptation of the old mores to the new conditions of life. Out of that crisis developed a set of moral standards which through Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism have become of commanding influence for the Western World. These standards were modified through the centuries in response to new conditions. They illustrate through their whole later career, however, the way in which morals are conditioned by the social experience of people.

The illustration just given enables us to appreciate another factor in the origin and development of morals, *the moral genius*. Out of the moral consciousness of some man or woman comes the fructifying ideal which lifts a race or a nation. Who can say what spark sets aflame that choice spirit with a new thought destined to lift a world? What challenge of physical environment to the soul of man stirs to inspiration his slumbering thought—

* It will pay the student to read the writings of these prophets in the Bible. See also Cornill, *The Prophets of Israel*.

what desert solitude, or burning sky, or awe-inspiring firmament or crashing storm? Or is it contact with perverse circumstance of life—the death of a loved one wringing the elemental emotions, or destiny turning the promise of joyous victory to the certainty of bitter defeat? Or, again, is it the strife of conflict with other human beings, perhaps depraved, immoral, flaunting the established decencies of society? Who can analyze the subtle influences which stir the soul of an Amos to that white heat of moral enthusiasm into which the dross of sensuality and perfunctory offerings to God are cast, to come forth again as an ideal new to the world—the ideal of a God of social righteousness who desires justice rolling down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream rather than burnt offerings, meal offerings, and peace offerings, rather than songs of praise and the music of viols?* The soul of the genius wrought upon by the influences of Nature and Man creates the ideal, the conscience of the individual ashamed to acknowledge his own preference for a lower standard sanctions it, and convention, sympathy, custom, and tradition establish it.

The standards of right, the ideals of man and society, and the social choices perpetually change in the progress of social life. There has been an evolution of morality People feel differently and act differently toward each other from generation to generation. The notions of right and wrong change from time to time There are varying standards of morality, not only in different races, but in the same race, from age to age The morality of the Sioux Indians is far different from the morality of the French. In the former, in order to preserve the tribe, instruction is given in the art of killing The young brave is not worthy of the esteem of his fellows until he wears one or more scalps in his belt In the latter, legislation and civil justice, backed by education and religion, are the means of preservation, and the ideal type is the man of letters and diplomacy However, if we were to follow the history of the French people from the time of the Gauls to the present, we should find a constantly changing standard of morality, and especially a constant change in moral practice.

Thus, change in the life conditions and in the ideology of a people make for alteration of the moral standards. In a crisis in the life of a people, whatever the cause, the moral genius interprets the situation in terms of new norms.

Morality and Ethics. One other matter must be taken up before we are ready to consider the pathological phenomena growing out of changing moral standards. Reference has been made above to influence of the moral genius and to the effect of changing conditions on the moral standards. To

* Amos, V : 23.

make the relationship clearer we should consider the difference between morals and ethics. These terms are often used loosely and as interchangeable. They are not synonymous. The term *morals* is used to designate the code of commands and prohibitions which have grown up out of customary conduct approved by tradition. The term *ethics* is used by scholars to indicate the body of principles on which conduct should rest. Morals deals with concrete actions; ethics with the psychological and philosophical bases by which the quality of concrete actions is tested. Morals is the product of group attitudes and evaluations, congealing into customary patterns of conduct, sanctioned by tradition and often by religion and controlled by social ostracism. Ethics on the other hand is the result of the individual thinker reflecting upon the fundamental basis of conduct in the light of the nature and needs of man living in relationships with others. The importance of this distinction lies in the fact that ethics provides a medium for the operation of the moral genius. Moreover, the changes in moral standards suggested by those vast rearrangements in social organization, economic processes, and knowledge concerning the universe and man himself, work themselves out into norms of conduct only through individuals. Ethics gives the basis on which reconstruction should proceed. Amos and Hosea provided a theoretical basis for the reconstruction of the moral standards of Israel in the face of a crisis, the one by the theory of justice implied in the covenant between Jahveh, the god of Israel, and his people, the other on that theory supplemented by an additional element of forgiving love implied in that relationship. In the long run those theories, and others developed later, determined the shape taken by the re-formed moral standards of Judaism.

Demoralization. When fundamental changes shake the foundations of established forms of conduct, individuals who have no theories with which to reshape social relationships and standards find it easy to break away from the old standards. Some, whose interests are served by exploiting those they had formerly succored, find opportunity in the situation. Others who had yielded grudging obedience to the behest of hoary custom break away. Those whose passions had been restrained under the rigid control of elders or superiors find the old sanctions weakened, and pursue their own desires. There also are the young who in every age revolt against the dominance of the aged. Finally, there are always in any population a small proportion of individuals who intellectually are questioners of the established. They, like Socrates, insist on asking disturbing questions. Far from taking things on authority, they demand reasons for the practice or the belief. If they chance also to be emotionally earnest, they demand change. Men of the

latter type often become the leaders of revolt, while some take the lead in reconstruction.

Because all departure from accepted modes of conduct is contrary to the standards held by the great majority or enforced by a dominant minority, such challenging by any considerable number breaks the solidarity of customary action and creates all kinds of disturbance The fact that these variant individuals do not conform to the accepted mores leads the adherents and upholders of the established order to speak of them as demoralized. The original meaning of that term is "departure from the moral pattern accepted by the group in which one lives " It may be applied to the moral innovator, moved by the highest social purpose, or to the selfish egotist, seeking the expression of his own desires and passions no matter what the effect on others In either case such conduct threatens the interests of the pillars of a given social order and the stability of society.

THE SOCIAL PATHOLOGY ARISING FROM CHANGES IN THE MORAL STANDARDS

The Breakdown of Individual Moral Standards. As we have seen, any sudden change in the life circumstances of a people—such as the method of government, the ways of making a living, the family relationship, or profound changes in ideology, in the conception of the nature of the universe, and of man's relation to it—brings about profound changes in men's attitudes toward the universe and toward each other The results of all such changes on men's emotional stability vary according to the individual's constitution and habits Because the individual's relationship to his fellows depends upon his attitude toward life in general, let us consider first the effects of these changes upon the individual

Modern psychology has given us the conception, scientifically established, and more completely analyzed than ever before, of individual differences. The reactions of different individuals to a given stimulus vary from quick and complete response to feeble and slow reaction For example certain individuals will adapt themselves quickly and efficiently to a change in the methods of producing goods Others will find great difficulty in making the change When Copernicus and Galileo presented a conception of the relationship of the earth to the other heavenly bodies which was at variance with the accepted notions, individuals responded to that conception according to their natures and their experiences Some accepted the new theory with alacrity, others with great hesitation. Still others rejected it, clinging desperately to the previous theory Centuries elapsed before the bulk of people had turned away from the old conceptions which had the authority of age and the prestige of the Church and of scholarship and

accepted the new theory. When war brings about the conquest of one people by another and the conquerors impose their culture upon the conquered, at first there is terrific disturbance in the minds of most of the conquered. Here, again, individuals vary greatly in their respective capacities to take over new elements of culture.

Now what happens to those individuals who find it difficult to adjust to a new situation? There is set up a feeling of strain, unrest, irritation at the new. They are likely to rail at these new things and to call them all kinds of opprobrious names. The advocates of the new system, whatever be its nature, are looked upon as disturbers of society and sometimes as enemies of mankind. Let us not think, however, that these firm adherents to the older order do not suffer. Often they are paralyzed by fear, and always they are extremely irritated by the necessity of making adjustments to a new situation when they were already so comfortably adjusted to the old.

Consider, however, another class. Think of the strain endured by those who are convinced of the improvement represented by the proposed change. Contemplate how their loyalties are divided, what perturbations of spirit they must suffer in their personal relationships with the adherents of the old order. Convinced of the excellence of the new way, the "progressives" strive to convince the "conservatives." The relationships of the two classes are seriously strained. The "progressives" suffer as much by this break in social harmony as the "conservatives."

And then there is the third great group in between the "conservatives" and the "progressives." Here are people who perhaps do not have any decided opinion with reference to the respective merits of the new and the old. Had the changes not come along they would have been fairly comfortable as they were. As a mass they move slowly. They adjust themselves more rapidly than the most conservative, and less rapidly than the most progressive. Nevertheless, simply because they do not have strong convictions in either direction, they are oftentimes divided in their loyalties between people on both sides and they consequently undergo emotional disturbance.

Now, out of such a situation certain people are selected by their innate characteristics and their previous experiences for more or less serious emotional disturbance with resultant deviations in conduct. It is at such times that insanity increases and the defective comes to the surface. Besides these seriously disturbed cases denominated insane, feeble-minded, or epileptic, there is a much larger number of any given population who are shaken loose from their old habits. They either strike out on new lines of conduct

because sanctions for the old types of conduct have been destroyed or loosened, or else follow the leadership of the more intelligent and radical members of society The conduct of this group varies in numerous directions and in different degrees from the pattern which has obtained before the changes in economic and social organization and in the concomitant system of ideas had disturbed the moral standards This is the group which is most significant for social pathology by reason of the breakdown of moral standards So much for the effect of great changes upon the individual Let us turn next to a consideration of the disturbance of social relationships and the standards which govern them in different spheres of life.

In Economic Relationships. Under any given system of industrial activity, such as the pastoral phase, the hoe-and-spade agriculture, or the household industrial economy, certain ways of doing things come to be accepted and approved They were taught by the old to the rising generation and certain sanctions were attached by which they were kept in existence In India, for example, the missionaries trying to introduce certain American agricultural implements have encountered great resistance. The old hoe and spade were the implements used by the forefathers and superstitious sanctions require that their use be continued Such usages are not really in the realm of morals, but the principles governing them are very similar

Consider the conception of property rights and duties. In a given stage of economic development like the pastoral economy, for example, certain conceptions of the rights of each individual become established and prevail over long periods of time In a dry, grazing country, the individual or the clan which opens up a well or spring of water has prior rights to it Among the Arabs, while every stranger was a potential enemy, hospitality was necessary even to an enemy who wandered into camp Likewise when agriculture developed it was necessary to mark off the division between one man's field and another's Gradually the sacredness of the landmark became established and it was contrary to the established order of things for any man to remove his neighbor's landmark In frontier communities it is considered quite all right for a man passing along the road to enter a field and take a few ears of corn, or to enter an orchard and take some fruit. However, for one to enter into a vineyard or an orchard in California is deemed as truly theft as to take things from a grocery front or a peddler's cart in a large city.

The relationships between master and man, employer and employee, alter with the system of industry. In the old household economy, the master and his apprentice or journeyman worked together and lived in the same house.

By much close personal association, mutual obligations of kindliness and consideration for each other's welfare naturally developed and carried over as moral standards into the factory system. However, in the factory system, the relationship between the workers and the employer is very much more remote and the standards of relationships between these two classes tend to break down. The employer does not identify himself so closely with the welfare of his employees and the employee tends to build up a class consciousness and a set of interests quite at variance with those of the master. The result is class friction during the period between the breakdown of the old concept of duties and rights and the building of a new code

Reflect upon what happens when the employer is no longer an individual but becomes a corporation. The individual master had his personal relationships to all of those employed by him The corporation, however, is made up of a large number of owners, scattered perhaps all over the country, or perhaps in different lands How can all of the owners of a great corporation take a personal interest in every one of the thousand employees of that corporation? Consequently, a new code of standards must develop, regulating the relationships of the employer and the employed.

Under an economic system in which individuals dealt directly with each other there grew up a code of right relationships adapted to that particular situation. One individual must not take the goods of another without compensation. Many a man who would not steal from an individual feels no compunction in beating a railroad out of the price of a ride or stealing the railroad company's coal. The old standards no longer obtain because the individual cannot conceive of the corporation as a person It has no soul, one sees no individual person who is injured by the filching, either directly or indirectly, hence, the old moral standards that regulated one's relationship to an individual fellow-man breaks down in the presence of corporate organization

Consider also the difference between our attitude toward our own individual property or a friend's property and that which we take toward public property, in university buildings for example. Individual students will treat the walls and the furniture of the university as they would not think of treating their own house or the house of a friend Witness the way in which the chairs are carved and disfigured in any university class room Witness also the marks of shoe soles on the walls of the corridor where men stand around

In Family Relationships. Under a given system of industry and social organization there grows up a certain form of family relationships

which varies from age to age according to the changes in the mode of living. In the days of the Hebrew patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, etc., polygamy was an accepted practice. There were certain inherent difficulties in this system of family relationships, but once those relationships were established in the mores of a people the difficulties which we see were not so apparent. The time came, however, when polygamy was interdicted, the old sanctions for it gave way. During that period of change grave difficulty arose in social relationships. Part of the individuals in society held to the practice of having a number of wives, while others thought it was entirely wrong. Naturally relations in such a situation were strained.

Furthermore, the pattern of relationships between children and parents varies from time to time. Under the patriarchal family the father was the head of the family and his word was law. There has always been rebellion of children against the father. Consider, however, what happens in a time when the patriarchal pattern of family life is giving way under the impact of factory industrialism, when children no longer work immediately with their parents. The old norms of submission on the part of the children and of dominance on the part of the parents disintegrate under an industrial system which takes children out of their homes for a large part of the day. The school has displaced the home as an educational institution for children over the age of six or seven and the factory is no longer in the dooryard but at some place distant from the dwelling. Diverse interests obtain as between children and parents, and all, or nearly all, the old ties which held parents and children together into a social unit disintegrate. Is it any wonder that to-day parents complain that children do not obey as of yore and are worried about their relationships? It is not less difficult for the children. They have been brought up to believe that a certain set of standards with reference to the relationship between parent and child is the proper one. The conditions of life, however, make them want to disregard this pattern. The old pattern has disintegrated, and a new system is only gradually growing up in the mores of modern society. Pathological relations between many parents and their children are, therefore, a characteristic feature in this day of the disintegration of the old family mores.

Similarly the accepted mold of the duties of parents to children is undergoing enormous change at the present time. Under the impact of an industrial and commercial age the ancient standards of control of a parent over his child have been very greatly modified. Once the child was the parent's property. He could beat him as he pleased. He could neglect him when he was sick. He could work him as he saw fit. To-day the State interferes, forcing the parent to send the child to school a certain proportion

of the year, taking action if a parent abuses or neglects the child There is growing up a new pattern of obligations on the part of the parent toward the child During this period of change great strain is placed upon many parents as well as upon their children.

A similar situation exists with reference to the relations between husband and wife. Once she was his property. The bride-price is well known in many cultures Even under the patriarchal system of more modern days the husband had large control over the person and the liberty of his wife With the great changes which have taken place in the Western world since the sixteenth century that old pattern of relationships has been seriously shattered The woman's movement has changed the whole fundamental basis of marital relationships One can see best how maladjustment takes place if he observes the perturbation which occurs when immigrants come from a culture in which the former moral standards with relation to husband and wife obtain, and attempt to live in an industrialized city of the United States Thomas and Znaniecki, in *The Polish Peasant,* have pointed out the serious disorganization of family relationships which occur by reason of this change

In Sex Relationships. Consider the disorganization and demoralization which occur in the premarital sex standards in a modern, rapidly changing society The older people of the present day are exclaiming on every hand and wondering "what we are coming to" The young people do not seem to be greatly disturbed by the situation, although in many cases the conflict between their elders and themselves leads to strain and hostility In the chapter on "Prostitution" I have discussed the causes of such a situation in this generation and I shall not repeat that discussion The only point I wish to make here is that, due to these vast changes in external conditions of life as well as in the ideology of the modern day, you have the breakdown of the old moral standards of the relation of the sexes and the growth of pathological conditions in these relationships These conditions will continue until a new moral code is built up on the basis of modern knowledge

In general, these illustrations will make clear the only point I have in mind to present Due to changes in the fundamental modes of making a living and the whole concept of the nature of the universe and of man's relation to it, a breakdown of the moral standards occurs This breakdown profoundly disturbs those who hold to the sanctity of the old standards and produces irritation toward those who do not conform The same situation generates in those who do not see the importance of conforming to the old standards, a more or less profound disturbance, irritability, and weakening

of the social ties The consequence is that in all the relationships of life there are unsettledness and insecurity. Different standards of conduct clash in the persons of their respective adherents During the transition from one period to another many individuals become so demoralized and desocialized that they lose status, and find refuge in such flights from reality as one sees in *dementia praecox*, hysteria, paranoia, and manic-depressive insanity. Intellects on the lower capacity levels are unable to adjust themselves to this confused situation A larger number go through a period of perplexity, distress, and rebellion, and finally work out a mode of life more or less conformable to the requirements of society. Thus they obtain status and become the conservatives of the next generation Such breakdown of old standards is inevitable in the transition from one mode of life to another The evils of such demoralization during the process of remoralization can be very much lessened if people will analyze the situation carefully and apply science and common sense to the whole matter. If parents will remember that standards inevitably change in the face of changed conditions of life, perhaps they will be more tolerant toward the vagaries of their children If young people will remember the same thing, perhaps they will be more understanding and tolerant of their elders

"That is ethics 'from below' The ethics 'from above' are a very different story There Someone exhorts or obliges us to suppress our wishes, and if we observe Someone a bit carefully we shall all too often find that He busies Himself with suppressing the facts Ethics from above come indeed from above, from the man or institution 'higher up' and for this there is a very frail and human reason, which no-one need go very far to discover. According to the ethics from below, the one assuming ethics of the dust, facts are the sole moral sanction and facts impose the most inexorable moral penalties." [4]

This quotation brings out clearly the distinction between ethics and morality to which we have referred above It also explains why pathological conditions in the individual, and pathological relationships between the individual and the group or between groups arise when morality is imposed from without rather than growing from within Adjustment is necessary between ethics and morality if moral strain is to disappear.

[4] Holt, *The Freudian Wish and its Place in Ethics* (New York, 1915), pp. 131 and 133.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Define. (a) moral standards, (b) mores, (c) folkways.
2. How do moral standards arise?
3. Explain change in moral standards. Illustrate by historic examples.
4. What is the difference between morality and ethics?
5. What is meant by the term "demoralization"?
6. Explain how breakdown of moral standards affects the individual
7. Discuss the demoralization of the age-old standards of conduct in economic relationships due to a changed economic system
8. How do changes in the economic system affect the relationships in the family? Why?
9. Explain why changes in economic organization, in the sanctions of conduct, and in religion affect the standards of sex relationships
10. Why is the transition period between the well-established moral standards of a society and the new system of relationships which develops in response to new conditions of such serious import to society?
11. What part does the strain incident to the conflict between two systems of moral standards play in the demoralization of the individual?
12. What effect does such strain have upon the social relationships in a given society?

CHAPTER 32

DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

The pathology of social relationships registers itself most strikingly in delinquency and crime. Most other forms of social disorganization strike the popular mind as the results of circumstances beyond the control of the individual. The historic attitude of society toward the criminal has been very much more personal than that toward the unemployed, the dependent, the divorced or the unmarried. In society's attitude toward the criminal personal responsibility has been emphasized. The criminal is looked upon as a depraved sort of human being. Modern science has shown that there is just enough truth in the theory of individual differences to make that theory last a very long time. The law has recognized this fact in its theory of personal responsibility so far as the criminal is concerned. He is a rebel against society and thus appeals to feelings and interests in a peculiar way.

It must be said, however, that the modern study of the criminal has opened to question the age-old assumption that the criminal is personally responsible for his anti-social conduct. The studies initiated by the Italian school of criminology threw doubt upon the ancient dogma of individual responsibility. They emphasized the variant character of the criminal, and tried to make out a case for the physical difference of the criminal from non-criminal people. Modern study has greatly widened this conception until now the criminal is looked upon as a variant not only in physical characteristics but in mental make-up, in emotional balance, and in social experience.

DEFINITION OF A CRIMINAL AND A DELINQUENT

In practice the distinction between what we now call the criminal and the delinquent is as old as the common law. Yet in actual treatment history shows that the child was often treated as an adult criminal, in total ignorance of the humane provisions of the common law. In England down to a very recent date children were confined in prison with adults and occasionally, in some parts of our country, children are still found in the county jails. However, a little over a century ago some people in this country began to be conscious of the difference between the criminal and the delinquent. In 1815, in New York City, Thomas Eddy, a New York Quaker, and some of

his friends began to discuss the importance of erecting a juvenile reformatory so that the children could be taken out of the common prisons.[1] It took a hundred years before all of the States but three provided juvenile reformatories for their delinquents.

In this sense of the term, then, the distinction between the term *criminal* and *delinquent* in the law is a matter of age. It was so in the old common law. Any child below the age of seven was not considered capable of committing a crime. The reason for this was that it was believed that the knowledge of the difference between right and wrong was necessary to commit crime. Upon this distinction between right and wrong rested the theory of responsibility. Hence, in legal practice, the criminal in most of our States is an adult above the age of eighteen, while below that age he is a delinquent. A criminal, according to our legal notions, may be punished; a delinquent is taken in charge by the court for his protection.

The criterion of age will no longer hold as the mark of distinction between the criminal and the delinquent. What about the feeble-minded person forty years old, but with the intelligence of a seven-year-old child? Is he a criminal or a delinquent? What shall we say about the adult insane person guilty of a crime? As a matter of fact, the legal distinction between the criminal and the delinquent is sociologically unsound. *Sociologically either a criminal or a juvenile delinquent is one who is guilty of acts believed, by a group that has the power to enforce its belief, to be injurious to society and therefore prohibited.* The only sound sociological grounds for society's taking from the individual his liberty and subjecting him to a course of treatment are: (1) the *protection of society*, and (2) *reformation*, or training of the individual so that he may be a useful member of society rather than a menace. As a by-product of the measures necessary to secure these two purposes such treatment of the delinquent and the criminal may result in *deterring* others from the same or similar socially proscribed acts. From the standpoint of the social purposes of punishment it makes no difference whether these acts are committed by a juvenile or by an adult. It is fortunate, however, in view of the attitude taken toward the punishment of criminals, that the distinction between the criminal and the delinquent has been made. Such distinction has made possible under our ancient theory the introduction of sociological methods of treating the delinquent and suggesting changes in the treatment of the adult criminal.

[1] Flexner and Oppenheimer, *The Legal Aspect of the Juvenile Court*, Federal Children's Bureau Publication No. 94 (1922), pp. 7, 8. Ives, *A History of Penal Methods* (London, 1914), pp. 116, 130, 179, 180, 234. Gillin, *Criminology and Penology* (New York, 1926), pp. 582, 590, 591.

Here, again, a little child has led us Perhaps some day observation of the results of the treatment of juveniles will suggest sensible treatment of adults.

EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

How criminal are we? How can we find out? What does it cost to take care of our criminals and delinquents? Unfortunately, we cannot answer with exactitude any of these questions. In the United States from official figures we cannot do better than to say how many were committed to institutions for criminals and delinquents in a given census year. These figures, of course, do not tell us the amount of crime They reveal only the numbers who have been convicted and sent to an institution Besides these, very many have been charged with crime but not convicted In addition to these, some were charged with crime and convicted, but were put on probation or had sentence suspended In addition to all these many who committed acts contrary to law were dismissed because of insufficient evidence or for other legal reasons In addition other large numbers of perpetrators of criminal acts were not even discovered Consequently these figures of commitments to institutions for delinquency and crime give us no adequate measure of the number of criminal acts committed in any year, nor of the number of individuals involved

However, it comes to one with somewhat of a shock to learn that in 1910, 1 out of every 200 of our population was committed to some correctional or penal Institution. Fortunately in 1923 this number had dropped to 1 in 325

However, we ought not to be too much perturbed by these figures, since, in 1910, 91 per cent, and, in 1923, 89 5 per cent, were sent to county and municipal institutions while only 9 per cent in 1910 and 10.5 per cent in 1923 were sent to what we may call the higher correctional institutions. Furthermore, it must be remembered that, in 1910, practically half of those sent to county and municipal penal and correctional institutions were sent because of inability to pay a fine. We still have imprisonment for debt to the court.[1] Nevertheless, is it not ominous that so many of our citizens get into difficulty with the law one way or another in any given year? Homicide in our large cities has shown an increase since 1910, being 8.1 per 100,000 of population in 1911, 8.5 in 1916 to 1920, 9 3 in 1921, 11 3 in 1924, and 10.1 in 1929. One out of every 11,000 people in the United States is murdered, whereas in Great Britain only one murder occurs to every 634,635 of the population.[2]

[1] Gillin, op cit, pp. 25, 26.
[2] Ibid, p 25.

As an example of the contrast between this country and Great Britain, it is interesting to notice that, considering the population in each, in 1916 Chicago had thirty-six times as many murders per 100,000 of population as London; Cleveland, Ohio, thirty times as many as London, while Cleveland had more robberies and assaults to rob than all England, Scotland, and Wales put together. Moreover, our neighbor Canada had in 1921 no more prisoners than the single State penitentiary of Illinois.

The Cost of Crime in the United States. Various estimates have been made of the cost of crime in the United States None of these pretends to any great degree of accuracy The estimates range all the way from $3,000,000,000 to $10,000,000,000 On the basis of a study in Massachusetts, Mr Spaulding, in 1910, estimated that one tenth of all the money raised for taxation purposes goes to the struggle with crime Wisconsin in 1911 to 1912 spent between five and six cents out of every dollar raised by taxation in an effort to control the criminal [4]

Whatever be the cost of our struggle with crime, there is no question that it is a heavy burden upon the taxpayer and thus diverts money from other uses, such as health and education.

The Proportion of Each Class of Crime. In England about the year 1920, 8 per cent of the offenses were against the person, 18 5 per cent against property, and 73 5 per cent other offenses In the United States more than one third of the convictions in 1910 were for drunkenness, almost one fifth for disorderly conduct, and about one tenth for vagrancy These three offenses in the aggregate accounted for 63 4 per cent or nearly two thirds of the total Larceny accounted for 8.6 per cent and assaults for 4.6 per cent [5]

Is Crime Increasing or Decreasing? It is very difficult to be certain whether crime in this country, and in other countries also, is increasing or decreasing Since the World War a great furore has been raised concerning the increase of crime This has been chiefly newspaper talk and there are but few adequate statistics that throw light upon the question Except for the homicide death-rate the federal Bureau of the Census does not afford us very much material Miss Abbott has shown that the statistics in Chicago are so inadequate that no clear tendency can be made out [6] Mr. Fosdick, comparing the first quarter of each year from 1917 to 1920, and these results with the first quarter of 1921, believes that there has been a slight

[4] Gillin, *op cit*, p 29
[5] *Ibid*, pp 38 and 39
[6] Abbott, "Recent Statistics relating to Crime in Chicago," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. 13 (November, 1922), pp 322, 334, 335, and 343

decrease in the crimes of robbery and assaults to rob, burglary and larceny, and murder, while there has been an increase of the number of automobiles driven away.[1] We get used to crimes with which we are familiar. Their commission does not make an impression upon our imagination. However, new crimes impress us to such an extent that we feel there must be an increase of crime. Furthermore, the newspapers, in seeking for the new and the sensational, convey to the reader the impression that there is a great increase in crime. However, if one looks back over newspaper discussion and comment in other periods, he will find that every so often there has been a "crime wave." So far as one can tell from the figures, it has been largely psychological. The general impression is that a crime wave follows every war. That may be true. However, statistics are inadequate to prove it even for this recent period. In spite of the statistics quoted by the sensation-mongers, the careful scholar has to admit that except for a few crimes there is very little evidence one way or the other.

Repeaters in Crime. One of the purposes of criminal justice and of the punishment of the criminal is to prevent a man who has once been convicted of crime from repeating his act. We call our institutions "correctional" institutions. How well do they "correct"? Let us see.

In Massachusetts in 1921 of all prisoners sent to the various institutions, 51.3 per cent, and in 1922, 55.1 per cent, were repeaters. In Wisconsin in 1920, of the inmates of the State prison 45 per cent, of the Milwaukee House of Correction 53.5 per cent, had been convicted of crime before. About the same time in the West Virginia State prison 51 per cent, and in the Georgia State prison 42 per cent, were "repeating the course." In Detroit about the year 1920, of 1,800 unselected misdemeanants, 55.4 had had previous contact with the police or the court. These figures represent an enormous failure. Practically half of these men have been in difficulty before. What a comment upon our methods of treating the criminal! What would happen if our high schools flunked half of their pupils in the course each year? When our universities send home every year from 2 to 8 per cent of the students enrolled because they have "flunked out," sometimes a great cry is raised against the failure of our school system. What if the high schools and the universities flunked half of their students? And yet that is what these figures of recidivism really mean. Half of the criminals in our correctional institutions have "flunked the course" once or more.

Every study of recidivism shows that repetition of crime increases as the average mentality lowers. That has been found in a study of repeaters at Joliet, and by Goring in his study of English convicts in Parkhurst

[1] Fosdick, *Criminal Justice in Cleveland*, 1922, p. 4.

Prison." What this means is that we are sending to our correctional institutions the failures of our schools and of our communities, and expecting those institutions to do what the schools and the playgrounds, the homes, and the probation officials have failed to do. Naturally into our prisons will gravitate those who have failed to respond to every other influence to make them good citizens. No more serious criticism should, therefore, lie against the authorities in correctional institutions for the failure of these cases than is made against the community for the failure to keep them from going there. On the other hand, however, these institutions should not let criminals out when they well know that they will fail again, yet in most of our States the criminal law provides for the ultimate termination of the sentence, in most cases at a very definite period, whether the man has reformed or not. This is a great mistake, and accounts for a part of the repetition of criminality among the inmates of our institutions. Back they come again and again in spite of the fact that there is no hope of another term's doing them any good These are custodial cases who ought to be kept indefinitely within an institution

In summary, then, the situation may be expressed as follows: (1) In 1923 and 1924 in normal schools and teachers' colleges there were enrolled 273,107; in colleges, universities, and professional schools 726,124; in all higher institutions of learning a total of 999,231. In 1923 there were committed to penal and correctional institutions of the United States 357,493. That is, over a third as many were committed to these institutions as were in all the institutions of high learning (2) We spend more on our struggle with criminals than on any other object of government except education and good roads. Hence, it must be one of our major social problems. (3) We do not know whether crime is increasing or decreasing, except such serious crimes as homicide, which seems to be on the increase (4) Approximately 50 per cent of those in our penal and correctional institutions are "repeating the course."*

FACTORS IN THE MAKING OF THE CRIMINAL AND THE DELINQUENT

The conduct of every man, including the criminal, is the result, in general terms, of two sets of factors: (1) The native characteristics of the individual handed down to him by heredity from his ancestors, and (2) the various external influences that play upon him during the period of his development. In order to make more precise the analysis of the factors producing the criminal, we may divide these two general classes

* Ordahl, "A Study of Fifty-Three Male Convicts," *Journal of Delinquency*, Vol I, p. 23 (March, 1916) Goring, *The English Convict* (1913). p 272.

into the following sections: (1) physical environment; (2) physical and mental characteristics of the individual, (3) hereditary characteristics—thus giving special emphasis to the physical and mental characteristics that are inherited in contrast with those which are developed on the basis of heredity through the influence of the environment; (4) economic factors; (5) social factors

The Physical Factors; the Physical Environment. Early in the scientific study of crime and the criminal it was noticed that *crimes vary with geography, the climate, the seasons, and the weather.* Lombroso believed that he had discovered that in crimes against the person the minimum number occurred in the level parts of France, a slightly greater portion in the parts that were hilly, and the maximum number in the mountainous districts On the other hand, his statistics seem to indicate that rape was more common in the level country than in the mountains and hills Furthermore, he found that the districts of Italy most subject to malaria showed the maximum number of crimes against property. On the other hand, those parts of France and Italy where goiter, resulting in cretinism, prevailed, had less than the average number of homicides, thefts, and sexual offenses

Moreover, it was observed by certain students that countries with a warm *climate* have a higher rate of criminality against the person, while those in cool climates have a comparatively high rate of crimes against property Again crimes vary with the *seasons* In winter crimes against property prevail, while in summer the peak is reached in the crimes against the person This variation of different kinds of crime according to the seasons led to Lacassagne's so-called "criminal calendar" According to this calendar infanticide holds first place in the months of January, February, March, and April, homicide and assaults in July, parricides in January and October, rapes upon children in May, July, and August, with the minimum in December, rapes on adults reached their maximum in June and the minimum in November; while crimes against property seemed to reach the maximum in December and January.

As the result of the discussions which have grown out of these statistical findings it is now generally agreed that *the effects of these physical factors are indirect rather than direct;* i e, it is not that cold induces sluggishness, which lessens crime against the person, but that the crimes against the person in cold regions and in the cold season are fewer because human contacts are less numerous during those periods and in those countries. Furthermore, crime against property increases in the cold climates and in the cold seasons because of the greater distress.

More recently some attention has been given to the relationship of the

changes in *the weather* to criminality. Mr. Dexter studied the matter somewhat carefully and found that the number of arrests varied quite regularly with the temperature in any given place. He found that as the barometer fell the number of arrests rose. He thinks that air pressure directly affects the nervous condition of people He found that assaults vary inversely with the degree of humidity. He explains this on the basis of the depressing effect of a high degree of moisture in the atmosphere He discovered that on the days when the winds are mild, that is, between a hundred and fifty and two hundred miles per day, there is a high pugnacity-rate. During the days of calm and days of high winds, the number of arrests were less. He found that cloudy days showed the fewest number of personal encounters such as attract the attention of police. Very much more careful investigations will have to be made, however, before these conclusions can be accepted at their face value Here, too, it is probable that the weather affects conduct, on the whole, indirectly rather than directly. In general, then, we may hold, tentatively, that the physical environment affects man's conduct largely through its influence on his ways of getting a living, the form of occupation that the climate makes possible, the unemployment and, therefore, the pressure of need due to seasonal occupations, and through the ease or difficulty with which a living is obtained, due to the richness or poverty of the natural resources and the ease with which the resources can be exploited *

The Physical and Mental Characteristics of the Individual. Man in his physical and mental make-up is very much more complicated than any other animal. He has a depth and a breadth of emotional expression impossible to the lower animals. His intellect enables him to discriminate, weigh, and decide a course of conduct in a very much more complex environment than that of the lower animals His conduct, therefore, more largely than in the case of animals, is the result of his physical, emotional, and intellectual nature. His conduct is not so instinctively determined; his emotions are subject to control by his intellect, and consequently find expression in much more devious and complicated ways.

What are the chief physical and mental factors that seem to have unusual weight in the production of delinquents?

Consider first the *physical characteristics of the individual*. Society has set up certain standards in its requirements of a human being, which can be met only by a fairly well developed physique. His physical organism must function in certain specific ways in order to meet these requirements. For example, he must have fairly good health, he must be physically well

* For a more thorough discussion of the factors of the physical environment see Gillin, *op. cit.*, 1926, Ch. V.

formed and capable of certain economic activities, and his physical appearance within certain limits must make a pleasant impression upon those by whom he is surrounded in order to get along well economically and personally. If he is not strong enough to work at an occupation that will yield him a livelihood, he is handicapped on the economic side. If he has suffered disablement, either by disease or by accident, it may be impossible for him to hold a job, or he may hold one that pays a very small wage. Economic pressure may become too great and he may, by reason of this fact, develop into a thief. Goring's study of the criminals in Parkhurst Prison, England, showed that the inmates were, as a whole, physically inferior to the general population of the same age. With the exception of those convicted of fraud, they were shorter in height and lighter in weight than non-criminals and those convicted of violence to the person. The latter were stronger and had greater constitutional soundness than the free members of the community. Thieves and burglars, who constituted 90 per cent of the criminals, and the incendiaries were the smallest and lightest of the various criminal classes.[10] Similar studies in the United States have shown the same situation. Dr. Sleyster made a study of the convicts in the State prison of Wisconsin and found that they averaged 1.4 inches shorter than the stature of the average freshman at the University of Wisconsin, and 2 inches shorter than the average Harvard student. The Wisconsin convict lacked 1.3 inches of the height of the men and boys who enlisted in the Civil War, and was 3 inches shorter than the fellows of the Royal Society of England and English professional men.[11] Moreover, numerous studies of convicts have shown an unusual number of physical defects and diseases.

On the other hand, studies by Dr. Healy among juvenile delinquents in Chicago showed that 13 per cent had some abnormality of development as one of the probable causes of delinquency. From 50 to 64 per cent of the 2,000 juvenile recidivists in Chicago and from 72 to 73 per cent of the females among them were overdeveloped physically.[12] In juveniles physical overdevelopment seems to result in sexual maturity before judgment and self-control have developed equally, and, therefore, leads to sex delinquency.

Recent studies on the endocrine glands, or the glands of internal secretion, seem to promise light upon the relationship of the functioning of these glands to crime. Research has not gone far enough yet, however, to

[10] Goring, *op. cit.* (1913), pp. 196, 197.

[11] Sleyster, "The Physical Bases of Crime as Observed by a Prison Physician," in *Physical Bases of Crime, A Symposium* (1924), pp. 115 and 116.

[12] Healy, *The Individual Delinquent* (1915), pp. 135, 136 and Book II, Ch. 4.

make certain that the lack of the proper functioning of these glands leads to criminality.

The chief mental defects and characteristics that seem to have a bearing upon the making of the criminal are epilepsy, the insanities, and certain emotional disturbances which seem partly the result of inherent tendencies and partly the result of the individual's reaction to his life's experiences.

Mental defect, or feeble-mindedness, as a characteristic of delinquents and criminals has received marked attention in recent years. The figures differ with the examiner and with different parts of the country as well as with the type of crime. Goring in his study of 948 convicts found that the largest percentage of mental defects appeared among those guilty of setting fire to stocks (52.9 per cent). Then the percentages decrease for arson (16.7 per cent), rape on the child (15.8 per cent), robbery and violence (15.6 per cent), unnatural sexual offenses (14.3 per cent), blackmail (14.3 per cent), while burglary was very much less (10 per cent). Among those guilty of counterfeiting it was practically negligible (3.3 per cent). In the United States figures vary from prison to prison, one of the most conservative findings being that of Dr. Anderson in the correctional and penal institutions of Wisconsin. In the Wisconsin State prison only 12 per cent were feeble-minded, in seventeen county jails 16 per cent were clearly mentally defective, 8.8 per cent of the boys in the industrial school, 10 per cent of the inmates of the Milwaukee House of Correction, and 10.5 per cent of the inmates of the Girls' Industrial School were definitely feeble-minded. We shall not be far off if we say that at least 12 per cent of all criminals in institutions are mentally defective. Since only about 3 per 1,000 of the population are feeble-minded, it is easy to see that either feeble-mindedness has been a potent factor in making the criminal, or else the criminals studied have been caught because of their condition. A study of cases, however, indicates that the feeble-minded person who is not properly supervised is not capable of ordering his conduct in accordance with the standards of society and, therefore, is more likely than the ordinary person to come under the influence of those who will induce antisocial conduct in him.

Epilepsy, probably because of our neglect of epileptics, seems to furnish an unusually large number of criminals and delinquents. Dr. Healy in Chicago, in a study of 1,000 young repeaters, found 7 per cent that were known to be definitely epileptic.

The *insanities*, thirty-odd varieties of which have now been recognized, have come to be known as decisively important in the production of criminals and delinquents. Sometimes they lead to quarrelsomeness and

the starting of lawsuits The person concerned feels that he is unjustly treated, has delusions of persecution, and easily becomes a fraudulent person, or even a criminal of violence Among these insanities *dementia praecox* has been recently discovered in large numbers, especially among the younger offenders. Dr Healy found 25 cases among his 1,000 young recidivists in Chicago Dr Hixon, of the Municipal Court Psychopathic Laboratory of that city, believes that *dementia praecox* plays a very important role in the production of criminals. Criminological literature is full of cases of insane offenders.

Perhaps even more important are the *emotional disturbances* that result from unhappy life experiences in the young We have no definite statistics on the number of cases in a given criminal population who have been started on their career of delinquency by reason of these emotional disturbances Recent studies, however, have shown that a great many of the young delinquents are suffering from mental conflicts which have resulted from unpleasant experiences in their lives These emotional upsets may result from severe repression at home, lack of appreciation by schoolmates, a shock from premature sexual experiences, or from the conflict that may arise between natural curiosity and the moral standards of society. Recent studies in both juvenile courts and schools have shown that many problem children are suffering from such emotional disturbances.[13]

Heredity and Crime. The beginner will often meet the expression "hereditary crime." Naturally the question arises, Can crime be inherited? To speak of crime as "hereditary crime" is a loose usage of terms Crime is a social manifestation in conduct, while heredity is a biological matter Crime cannot be inherited in any scientific sense of the term What is meant by those who discuss heredity in connection with criminality is that certain physical and mental characteristics may be inherited that under the right environment result in crime It is fairly evident that certain physical and mental characteristics can be inherited that may have an important influence on conduct Among these are the inheritance of early sexual maturity with a lag in mental and emotional maturity, nervous instability, and mental defect. Healy found in his study of 1,000 juvenile delinquent repeaters in Chicago, of which 668 provided adequate family histories, that epilepsy or some grade of mental defect was present in 245 of the families, and 152 cases showed criminal individuals in the ancestry.

[13] For a detailed discussion of these points see Healy, *op cit*, Bk II, Ch 10 Sayles and Nudd, *The Problem Child in School* (1925), and *Three Problem Children* (1924). Glueck, *Mental Disorder and the Criminal Law* (1925), pp 287, 315, 317-318 Van Waters, *Youth in Conflict* (1925) Hoag and Williams, *Crime, Abnormal Minds and the Law* (1923), Ch 13 *Judge Baker Case Studies*, Ser 1

In 61 per cent of 823 cases he found distinct defects in the family.[14] There is no question that the evidence at hand strongly suggests that certain traits can be inherited that have a decided influence on the conduct of the individual. Often these traits need to have the proper environmental media in order to develop them, while under other conditions they remain dormant.

Economic Factors. Many writers have called attention to the fact that most of the delinquents belong to the poorer classes, that crimes increase with economic depression and unemployment, and that crimes against property increase in a capitalistic organization of society. There can be no question as to these facts. The problem is as to the interpretation of their meaning. Do men steal because they are hungry? Do girls enter a life of prostitution because of need? In both cases the question can be answered by both yes and no. Some men steal because they are hungry or because their families are in need. Some girls enter a life of prostitution, or that course of conduct which may lead to prostitution, by reason of the pressure of necessity. On the other hand, however, some people in the very deepest distress do not commit crime, and some girls in the direst need do not stray from the path of virtue. It is clear, therefore, that in most cases economic factors act indirectly rather than directly. Need becomes a circumstance to which a certain type of individual responds by antisocial conduct. The business cycles bring unemployment and distress to many lives and doubtless put upon some individuals a strain that it is impossible for them to sustain. Whether, therefore, the economic factors be direct or indirect in their operation, they provide the environment under which certain natures give way and break over the standards set by society for normal social living. Statistics on crime and child labor show that there is a very close correlation between the two. Moreover, certain trades show themselves to be extrahazardous in their moral results. Street trades especially are dangerous to children. Night work in factories provides circumstances that are a menace to the morals of girls and young women. Working boys provide a delinquent-rate from two to ten times as high as that of those who are not working. Boys employed in messenger service seem to be especially liable to delinquency. Compelled to enter all kinds of resorts at all hours of the day and night, they become habituated to scenes of vice and lawlessness that break down any moral standards they may have, and this often results in disaster. Waitresses in hotels and restaurants, on the one hand are living on the smallest wages, perhaps rooming in some cheerless room, denied ordinary recreation, and on the other hand, are sub-

[14] Healy, op. cit., pp. 153-57.

jected to the solicitations of conscienceless men. In a recent study 62 per cent of the waitresses in hotels and restaurants were without normal homes.

In 1914, during the time of high unemployment, 30 per cent measured the increase of burglary over 1912 Vagrancy increased 51 per cent, robbery 64 per cent, and mendicancy 105 per cent Divorce and suicide-rates likewise increased. In 1920 of the men in the Wisconsin State prison 42 5 per cent had never been regularly employed, but were drifters. On the whole, then, we can say that the economic factors act upon the individual and if he is weak, break down his resistance The fragmentary figures available at present (1932) indicate that the present depression will confirm these findings.

Social Factors. The social circumstances of life affect one's conduct. Like the economic, they form the medium in which personality develops If the social circumstances are of such a nature as to bring out the inherent qualities of the individual that are adapted to social life, and to inhibit those characteristics which lead to antisocial conduct, experience leads us to believe that the individual will develop conduct in accordance with the standards of society We must always remember that conduct is the outcome of a double set of conditions, viz, the inherent characteristics of the individual himself stimulated to expression or repression by the circumstances in which he lives

In our civilization there are many social conditions that are inimical to the development of social personality. Maladjustments of the conditions to the proper development of personality are frequent. These social factors in a broad general way may be classified as follows: (1) the factors connected with the home; (2) the playground; (3) the school; (4) community influences, (5) customs and beliefs current in a given society, (6) antisocial companions, (7) class hatred; (8) religion, (9) the courts and prisons, (10) the fundamental elements in a given civilization Consider in this connection our discussion of attitudes, group patterns of conduct, and the way in which the conduct patterns of different groups come into conflict in the experience of many persons. In the study of the problem child and the delinquent child, and of the criminal man and woman, the results of these clashing standards upon the allegiance of the individual come clearly to view. Nowhere else is the process clearer or its frequently disastrous consequences for the boy or girl struggling to adjust his inborn propensities to the social order more vivid.

The *home* as the fundamental social institution has an enormous influence upon the development of the personality of the children. Consider the home of the immigrant in this country. Many times the immigrant settles

in a great city, the parents have to adjust themselves to strange conditions, both in their economic and in their social life. Old ties have been broken; they have brought standards and traditions quite different from those of the country to which they have come, often they are peasants who for the first time have been forced into industry, and frequently the father and the mother are both away from home, leaving the children to their own devices. In addition to these factors, often it occurs that the children become Americanized more rapidly than their parents, and thus a great gulf becomes fixed between the social habits and traditions of the children and those of their parents. Frequently the immigrant home is poverty-stricken and this condition has a decided effect upon the delinquency of the children. A study by Healy and Bronner in Chicago showed that one fourth of the cases in their new series of studies were from homes so poor that poverty was a factor in the delinquency.[24] The broken home is decidedly dangerous for juveniles. In a study of 2,000 cases in Chicago nearly a third of the juvenile delinquents had one or more parents dead. From 21 to 30 per cent had parents separated, while from 48 to 55 per cent of the children had both parents living at home. In these latter cases, however, they might almost as well have been broken homes because of the bad conditions that prevailed there. When the home is immoral perhaps the situation is worse for the child than if he were separated entirely from his parents, or than if they were dead. The fundamental importance of a good home in the prevention of delinquency is well recognized everywhere. Frequently bad home conditions are made worse by the presence of drunken, immoral, epileptic, insane, or feeble-minded parents. Too often the home itself is the source of demoralization. In Chicago in 1903 and 1904 out of 584 boys who appeared in the courts, 107 had habitual drunkenness in their families. Of 157 girls from Chicago in the Illinois State Training School, 31 were daughters of drunken fathers, at least 10 had drunken mothers, 27 had vicious fathers; 16 had vicious, immoral, or criminal mothers, and 12 were from families in which other members than the parents were vicious or criminal. Healy and Bronner found that from 20 to 28 per cent of the homes from which these children had come were cursed with alcoholism, immorality, or criminalism.

Many of these homes are so crowded that decency is impossible. The child from his earliest years becomes habituated to scenes from which he should be protected. Breckinridge and Abbott, studying 584 delinquent boys and 157 delinquent girls in Chicago, found that 47 per cent of the boys were from families with six or more children, and 21 per cent from families

[24] Healy and Bronner, *American Journal of Sociology*, XXII, 50 and 51 (July, 1916).

with eight or more children. Among the girls 34 per cent were from families with six or more children, and 13 per cent from families with eight or more children.

Moreover, even where the families are not broken, lack of parental management is to be seen in many cases of delinquents. Healy and Bronner found that extreme lack of parental control ranged from 23 per cent of the cases in the first series to 46 per cent in the second Extreme parental neglect was found by them in 16 per cent of the second series of 1,000 Of this 1,000 in the second series they studied, only 5 per cent of the homes were very good.

The lack of *wholesome recreation* in a great city is one of the most potent causes of juvenile delinquency Undirected use of leisure time is a peril to a child Mr Thurston found in his study in Cleveland that over 50 per cent of his delinquents spent their leisure time in desultory unguided pursuits. In my study of 160 wholesome citizens I found that only .07 per cent spent their leisure time in such pursuits No community can afford to neglect playground facilities with proper guidance for its children

The relationship of *education* to crime has often been studied. Very few college graduates are found in our prisons and reformatories This may mean either that education results in a course of conduct which does not end in a prison, or it may mean that only those who are able to graduate from educational institutions do not get caught There are, however, a number of reasons why the ignorant have a higher crime-rate, other things being equal The uneducated man usually has greater difficulty in making a living. He has to take the less well paid employment, usually he does not have as wide a range of employment open to him, he is less likely to have a varied use of his leisure time and therefore may easily drift into bad companionship.

However, it must be admitted that education in the simple elementary subjects has only an indirect bearing upon the prevention of criminality. It has been found that the type of crime varies with the degree of education Crimes of violence are more frequently committed by the uneducated, while crimes of skill and cunning, such as embezzlement and forgery, are the crimes of the educated.

Furthermore, it has been discovered that children who do not get along well in school are likely to become truant and to wind up in the juvenile court. Evidently our schools are not yet perfectly adjusted to maintaining the interest of all the children who come to them. Too often the schools are built to fit the average student and too little attention is given to the variant child. More and more attention is being given to suiting the school system and the curriculum to the needs of the individual child. At the

present time, however, too frequently the children drop out of school from lack of interest and go to work at the first opportunity, and, as we have seen, working children are under special hazard. Consequently it must be said in all fairness that the school must shoulder the responsibility for making some delinquents. The teacher, loaded with forty pupils, some of whom present special problems, cannot be charged fairly with this result. Some schools are introducing rooms for special classes of students, guidance clinics, and visiting teachers whose business it is to follow up the child who is not doing well in school, or who presents special problems, to see that adjustments are made in that child's life, and that the school adapts itself to his individual capacities and peculiarities, in order to produce a wholesome personality. Too many times the teachers are interested only in earning their salaries, although there are some glorious exceptions who follow children into their homes and into their community life in order to assist in the adjustment of the child to the circumstances of school and community.

Moreover, it is being recognized that the chief business of the school is to form social personality. Mere formal education will not always accomplish that.

The influences in *the community* have a great deal to do with the development of conduct. Young children especially, and adolescents also, are subject to the attitudes and opinions of the community. How often when a delinquent is brought to court the story is told of how he had a good family, came from good stock, and yet had gone astray because of the untoward influences in the community in the midst of which he lives! Sometimes the influences of the community are positively demoralizing. Consider the difficulty that well-intentioned parents have in stemming the influence upon their children of evil influences in the congested district of a great city. The influence of the home is neutralized by the tide of immorality that flows out of saloons, dance-halls, vicious resorts, and the uncontrolled life of the gang in the alleys, back yards, railroad tracks, and docks which characterize that part of a city. Even when the home is of the best, it has great difficulty in fighting against such influences. This is especially difficult for the foreign-born family whose ideals and traditions seem old-fogyism to those children who have more rapidly become Americanized in the new environment in which they live.

Moreover, consider the influence of *customs, beliefs and conduct patterns* that are at variance with the customs, beliefs, traditions, standards, and ideals of the society in the midst of which a new group of citizens may live. Contemplate the foreign-born family, coming with a set of social standards and traditions from another country, yet subject to the standards,

beliefs, ideals, and traditions that have grown up upon American soil. Their culture is a different one in many respects, their customs are quite at variance with many of those they find in this country, their ideals are frequently different. For example, think of the Italian child or adolescent who, with his parents, has come from a country where the tradition of wine-drinking is universal He settles with his parents in an American city, where prohibition is established, at least in theory They see no reason why they should not drink wine. In fact, they find in the appetites of Americans who are not in accordance with the prohibition law an opportunity for easy money Why should they not make wine and sell it, since it provides an opportunity for sudden opulence? Or consider the contrast between the sex morals of an immigrant from an eastern or southeastern European country and those which are tolerated in an American community. Struggling with poverty in a great American city, the foreign family sees no reason why it should not take in numerous boarders. Every available space is occupied, perhaps the boarder sleeps with some of the children, what we call immoral relations are often established, and the child is haled into court. The group mores that held matters in hand in the old country have weakened and the families have not yet adopted the standards of the new country. The drinking habits of many people are a fertile source of delinquency and crime. Numerous studies show that of the serious crimes of violence from 33 per cent to as high as 67 4 per cent are due to drunkenness.

Moreover, many beliefs become current among certain classes and groups of society that are at variance with the established standard of conduct Confirmed criminals are usually cynical and bitter They see no reason why they should be punished for acts that are similar to other acts which are within the law. Open assault on a rich man seems less ignoble than the cautious combinations of fraud sometimes practised by respectable citizens. The criminal is subject to the public opinion of his own class rather than to that of the general society of which he is a member. Furthermore, consider the results of the custom of taking apples from a tree in the country, when such a custom is carried out in the city by taking fruit from the fruit-vendor's stand Or what happens to the frugal foreigner who keeps chickens and goats as he was accustomed to do in the old country?

With the social and economic development of a population, classes inevitably arise, both social and economic, and *class hatreds* are likely to develop unless the adjustments between these classes are very carefully regulated. In every period of social and industrial unrest, of political or economic oppression, class hatreds are bound to arise. Out of these hatreds develop beliefs and standards of action that frequently lead to violation

of law. There occurs to one's mind such examples as the violence that often breaks out in industrial strikes, the so-called "race conflicts" between the Negroes and whites in some of our great cities, and between Orientals and the whites on the Pacific Coast. In Europe even the different religious groups sometimes come into conflict. A special example of this is the anti-Semitic pogroms in certain European countries. Certain other class hatreds, arising chiefly from the industrial struggle, are exemplified by the clashes between the I.W.W. and the employers, and between certain groups of Communists and those who believe that Communism means the overthrow of our present government.

Religion is another social factor that has been considered in connection with crime. One would suppose that a religion which has for its doctrine the love of one's fellow-men would prevent clashes, would produce tolerance, and would make for peace and good conduct. Curiously enough, however, even Christianity has not always been characterized by such results. Wars have been fought over religious questions, and it has been discovered by a careful study of prison statistics that religion does not always have the effect of curbing the antisocial propensities of men. A study made by Aschaffenburg in Germany has shown that in certain countries of Europe Catholics have a higher criminal rate than Protestants, both of them a higher one than Jews, and these three religions rate higher than those professing no religion whatsoever. It ought to be pointed out, however, that Aschaffenburg cites the fact that it is probably the economic conditions of the people rather than their religion which accounts for this curious situation. But it must be confessed that religion does not always curb the evil propensities of men. If religion is chiefly of a ceremonial rather than of a social nature it should not be expected that it would have very much influence upon conduct. The only religion that seems to have any bearing upon the problem of crime is a socialized religion, *viz.*, a religion devoted to social ends and purposes.

The courts are the instruments of justice set up by the State to protect the citizens and to bring offenders to justice. On the whole they serve that purpose well. However, it must be admitted that there is sufficient evidence to warrant the conclusion that certain practices of the court make criminals instead of curing them. Consider the effect of bringing before a court, charged with an offense, a man who is poor and cannot hire a lawyer, but has to take whatever lawyer the court sees fit to appoint to defend him. Whether he is correct in his conclusion or not, is he not likely to believe, when he sees rich men defended by very capable lawyers and himself defended by a novice, that justice is not even-handed? Frequently also the

delay in bringing to trial the accused, who perhaps cannot get bail and must be in jail in contact with hardened criminals, corrupts a young offender. Furthermore, consider the numerous technicalities on which skilful lawyers may cheat justice in the case of influential criminals, in contrast with the speedy hearing and the swift punishment meted out to the poor or uninfluential man. Again, what must be the effect upon many individuals under our theory that no matter what the difference in the persons of different criminals, the same crime merits the same punishment? While extenuating circumstances are permissible in our courts for the consideration of the jury, and while the judge may in the imposition of sentence consider such circumstances, nevertheless any careful study of the sentences imposed for crimes shows that even-handed justice is quite impossible under our system. The effect upon the minds of men who feel that they have been discriminated against may be easily imagined. Put yourself in the place of the man who has received a sentence of ten years for a certain crime, when he knows that another man just as guilty of the same crime receives two or five. The whole theory on which our system of justice is based, namely, that a certain act merits a given amount of punishment, cannot be administered in strict justice. The psychological effect upon the minds of those who feel that they have been unjustly treated is the development of a grudge against society which sometimes results in making a criminal.

In many of our States even our *prisons* are conceived to be institutions for the reformation of the criminal. In other States the theory is that the prison is for the purpose of punishing the criminal and thus making him expiate his crime. When the expiation is accomplished he is turned out into society again. If the theory followed by the prison officials is that of expiation, then the purpose of the prison is to make the punishment as disagreeable as possible so as to make certain that the prisoner is punished as much as he made others or society suffer. Under that theory he will go out feeling that he has been mistreated and that he has a right to exact vengeance of a society which has taught him the doctrine of vengeance. On the other theory that the prison is for the reformation of its inmates, what must be the effect upon the prisoner's mind when, instead of being treated so as to cure him of his malady, he is treated so that he feels that society, instead of trying to reform him, is brutally punishing him? Moreover, in every prison first offenders are thrown into contact with hardened criminals and the prison becomes a school of crime. Innumerable cases might be cited that show just such results from a prison experience.[14]

[14] If the student is interested in reading examples of such a case, let him consult Lawes, *My Life in Prison* (1912).

Civilization itself, in one sense of the term, accounts for some of the criminality. Our social relationships are growing ever more complex. They are most complex in our great cities. Such a civilization requires nice adjustment on the part of the individual. Consider then the individual who by nature perhaps is defective or unbalanced, and finds difficulty in adjusting himself to new conditions. Unless civilization throws protecting arms about him and guides him in circumstances in which he is unable to direct his own conduct, civilization itself may be fairly charged with accountability for his delinquency. Again, consider the man who has been brought up in the simple relationships of the country, has formed habits of living there, adjusting himself to the simple conditions of the countryside, and then finds himself in middle or late life endeavoring to live in a city. Often he finds the adjustment quite difficult. If in addition to that he is by nature limited in capacity, his difficulty is doubly great. Or again, contemplate the foreigner habituated to norms of conduct in another country, with different standards from ours, who comes to this country in middle life and attempts to adjust himself to the complex conditions of one of our great cities. Here, again, if civilization does not throw guidance about him, the very complexity of the life in the midst of which he lives will be too much for him. Or, again, consider the foreigner who in his own country has never had a chance to vote, a simple peasant man, who worked hard and had to be content to have some one else govern him. He comes to this country and finds after a few years that the vote is put into his hands. Too often instead of the patriotic citizens of the country guiding him, teaching him the spirit of our institutions, and preparing him for good citizenship, some political boss in a great city helps him get his naturalization papers, and then through money or influence controls his vote. One such man wrote back to his friend in the old country that this was a great country, a land of great opportunity. A man could get $1 for his vote on Election Day! This man was not a criminal in any true sense of the word; he was simply an uninstructed citizen, much less culpable than the man who bought his vote.

When we consider all these conditions surrounding every one of us from childhood to old age, and when we stop to recognize that a considerable number of our population is somewhat defective in brains, others lacking in education, and that our civilization is so organized that there are great gulfs between the opportunities of different groups; when we remember how our economic life puts upon us stresses that only good brains can meet and bear successfully, and only good training in adjustment to these complex conditions can face as a good citizen should, we decide that it is remark-

able that no more become criminal. The marvel is that so few fall by the wayside, considering the few and bungling arrangements made by society to help the individual in that great adventure of adjustment to the requirements of social life. Let us now turn to consider some of the methods that society has devised to deal with the delinquent and to prevent maladjustment.

METHODS OF DEALING WITH THE DELINQUENT AND THE CRIMINAL

The Police. The officers of the peace are the first persons who deal with the criminal. Their chief functions are to preserve the peace, and to arrest offenders and bring them to trial. In this country we have very few police schools and consequently most of the men are untrained, except for what training they get on the job. I suppose that not one policeman in a million has had any special training such as the doctor gets for his profession. The policeman is often appointed because of his friendship with some politician, or if a sheriff, he is elected by popular vote. If a town constable, he may be appointed by the mayor, or elected by the city council or the town board. So long as our civilization was a rural or semirural civilization, almost any man could be a good peace officer. With the growth of our large cities, however, the responsibilities of the policeman have very greatly multiplied. If he is to fulfil his responsibilities, he must be a very much higher type of man, he must be trained for very difficult duties, and should be selected with the greatest care. The office of policeman is not looked upon with great favor. I know of very few college men who have been looking forward to a career in the police. The office is looked down upon because of the kind of men who have been appointed to it in the past. The policeman is the butt of all the jokesters and is a favorite theme for the cartoonist. He is usually pictured as quite stupid, large of person, and fat of head, yet in this man's hand lies the protection of the person and property of the people of our cities. He must know the law and the court decisions as to what a policeman may do and what he may not do. He may be the bogeyman with which to scare children, or he may be a constructive force among the childhood and youth of his beat. He may be the one to turn the erring feet of youth into the paths of good conduct, or through his bungling and lack of understanding of human nature he may be the means whereby a reckless youth is turned to destruction. He must not only arrest offenders, but he must also discover evidence on which a trial can be based. He must understand criminals and their ways, but he must also understand the psychology of the non-criminal population.

A new day is dawning for the policeman. We have just begun to appre-

ciate the great opportunities and responsibilities he has. Some day we shall begin to train him and we shall select him with much greater care; perhaps then we shall look upon him with as much regard as we give the school-teacher or the banker. It has been charged that at the present time the policemen make as many criminals as they catch. There is no question that most of them do not know how to handle juveniles and they are often charged with not understanding how to get along with adults. When the policeman comes into his own and measures up to the opportunities that are his, he will be one of society's finest agents for the prevention of crime as well as for its detection and punishment.

The Courts. After a man is arrested he is either placed in jail to await trial or is let out on bond. In due time he comes before the court for his trial. He either pleads guilty or pleads not guilty: if the latter, he stands trial for the charge against him. As our courts are organized at the present time in this country, the trial is a legal battle between the prosecutor and the defender. The judge is pretty much an umpire in a game. He conducts the game according to rules of procedure that have been developed over a long history, many of which seem to be quite outworn. The statute covering the offense tells the judge within what limits he may sentence the man if he is found guilty. The jury hears the evidence and in some States judges even of the law as well as of the facts of the case. The jury decides whether the man is guilty or not guilty, and in some States decides the punishment. In other States the judge pronounces sentence and metes out the punishment. In case the man is acquitted, the whole matter is ended, but in case he is convicted, the law provides for appeals on the part of his attorney to the higher court, on the theory that every chance should be given to the man to prove himself to be innocent. However, in the course of time so many technicalities in regard to the rules of evidence have been developed that it is very difficult to convict a man accused of crime if that man is able to hire good lawyers. A recent study in St. Louis County, Missouri, shows the difficulty that the court experienced in convicting men charged with crime. Out of 443 for whom warrants were issued, 163 were finally sentenced. Out of the 163, if the pleas of guilty by 137 are deducted, only 26 persons were finally incarcerated. That is, out of the 443 charged with a felony in the two-year period from October 1, 1922, to October 1, 1924, in St. Louis County, only 163 were punished.[17]

In Cleveland, in 1919, the mortality of felony cases in the Common Pleas Court was very much greater than that in the St. Louis court. Of 3,236 felony cases in that court, only 9.5 per cent were convicted of felony, al-

[17] *The Missouri Crime Survey* (1926), pp. 154, 158.

though 13.38 per cent plead guilty of the offense charged, and 17 per cent more who had plead not guilty finally changed the plea to guilty of offense as charged. Thus a trifle under 40 per cent were either convicted or plead guilty, while over 60 per cent were disposed of in another manner, 5½ per cent being dismissed on a *nolle prosequi*.[14] Of the number convicted or pleading guilty, 78 11 were punished as sentenced, while 21 89 per cent had their sentences suspended.

Space will not permit further discussion of the failure of the courts to handle effectively those who are brought to them for trial Could we study the number of appeals and the disposition of the cases on appeal, and could we look into the minds of those who escaped punishment, as well as of those who were punished, we should have a more adequate picture of the failure of the courts in the administration of criminal justice Then we should be prepared to appreciate the late ex-President Taft's statement that the administration of criminal justice in the United States is a disgrace.

Here and there, however, States are making improvements in the criminal procedure which give promise of making these instruments for the treatment of the delinquent and the criminal more adequate to their social purposes. Here and there courts are making use of clinics in order to study the individual who is on trial. At Sing Sing in New York a great laboratory is being started to determine how to classify the convicts, and how they shall be treated in order to fit the treatment more perfectly to the needs of each individual. In Boston and in Chicago the juvenile courts have the services of expert psychologists and psychiatrists to aid them in determining what to do with the juveniles who come before these courts. Thus, step by step, science is being introduced into the determination of the nature of the offender in order that the institutions provided by society for his treatment may better perform their duty.

Probation is another device to mitigate the maladjustment of criminal justice to the needs of the individual We keep the old theory that the lawmaker should say just what treatment should be handed out to each individual who contravenes a certain law. However, that has worked so unjustly that we have invented a device known as *probation*, by which the judge is empowered in certain cases to use his discretion as to whether he will send a convicted man to an institution, or whether, in view of all his characteristics and the circumstances surrounding the commission of the act, he might not better suspend sentence and put the man in charge of some one who will give him careful supervision. If probation is carefully

[14] Fosdick, *op cit.*, p. 95.

used and applied only to those who give promise of doing well at liberty under supervision, and if those under whom the judge places those convicted of crime are properly qualified persons who will take an active, sympathetic, and wise interest in the person committed to their charge, probation is a most beneficial contrivance. The man is saved the stigma of a prison sentence, is put to work, and his earnings are devoted to his family or saved for himself; moreover, he himself may be reformed.

Juvenile reformatories were devised to remove from prison juvenile offenders. They are now usually called "industrial schools." The history of these institutions has not been reassuring. Too often those in charge of them have been men and women without special qualifications for their difficult tasks. As a consequence, they have been largely juvenile prisons. In a study made by Dr. Miriam Van Waters a number of years ago of some twenty-eight girl's industrial schools in the United States, she found only six that were doing constructive work. In all these six cases the schools were manned by people who understood children and youth. Under such circumstances they are valuable institutions, because there are some children who have failed on probation and who do need an institution in which they may be trained for good citizenship. On the basis of experience we may say that unless a State places in charge of these institutions trained men and women who understand young people, who know how to arrange matters in the institution so as to bring a new viewpoint on life into the minds of the youngsters, how to awaken idealism, and how to get the juveniles to form habits of conduct in accordance with the standards of society, they are worthless.

Adult reformatories were started in this country with the establishment of the Elmira Reformatory for Men in New York State in 1876. This was an experiment in the attempt to apply reformatory methods to young men. It was limited in its original intention to first offenders who had committed certain offenses. Those who had received life sentences were not eligible for admission. Schools were established to teach these boys the elements of an education and certain trades. At one time thirty odd trades were taught. In addition, the attempt was made through military drill and physical exercise, medical service, religious services, and certain classes in citizenship and ethics, to bring before the young man new ideals, to establish new habits, and to prepare them to go out into the world to live as useful citizens. Elmira was copied in a large number of States, in most places with somewhat indifferent success. With a few rather notable exceptions these institutions have turned out to be merely young men's prisons. Here, as in the case of the industrial schools, the difficulty was that those

in charge of them were persons not fitted by native endowment or by training to handle these difficult problem cases.

Another method that has been devised to adjust treatment to the individual offender is *the indeterminate sentence*. Unfortunately, the term is a misnomer. In all of our States it is not absolutely indeterminate, but is limited by statute to the length of time for which the offender would have been sentenced had he not been sentenced under the indeterminate sentence. Therefore, it is a limited indeterminate sentence, that is, limited by the penalty set down in the law for that particular offense and to those who commit only certain types of crime. It must be admitted, however, that it has meant the retention of men in prison longer than had they been under a definite sentence. Therefore, even the limited indeterminate sentence means some social advance. What is needed is that the sentence should be absolutely indeterminate, that is, that determination of the sentence should depend not upon the limitations in the statute, but upon the judgment of those who know the man best and are best qualified to determine when he is fit to go back into society with the prospect of successful conduct.

Closely connected with the indeterminate sentence is *parole*, another method of individualizing the treatment of offenders. While probation means putting the man under control of some supervision before he is sent to an institution, parole means that after a man has spent a certain length of time within an institution, and has shown by good conduct the possibility of his doing well on the outside, then he is released under supervision of certain officials. Here again, inefficient officers have been the rule. Without special training for their tasks, they have frequently not understood how to handle the men under their supervision, and they have been too few in number to have frequent contact with those paroled. Often men have been paroled who should never have been admitted to parole outside the institution, and as a consequence this method has not had the hoped-for success. The legal limits on parole, such as that a man may not be paroled until he shall have served half of a definite sentence or the minimum of an indefinite, has hampered its usefulness. In spite of all these drawbacks, however, parole as a method of individualizing treatment has great possibilities under an adequate number of well-trained officers, and may send many men back into free society to support their families, and to relieve the State of the expense of their keep, who without this device would have been kept in the prison. No one knows how large a percentage of those paroled have done well. Originally the estimates were as high as 85 per cent. The tendency in recent years has been to reduce that number as more careful study has been made of these men. But even if 50 per cent, or even a

third, of the men do well on parole, it probably has justified itself. With carefully selected men for parole, with good officers and plenty of them, parole would be one of our most promising devices for the redemption of offenders.

Our highest penal correctional institution is the *prison*. To this institution are committed those convicted of the more serious crimes and those above a certain age who are not eligible to the reformatory. Its history has been a sad one. Only from the standpoint of the protection of society from the depredations of criminals can it be partially justified. Usually it is run under the strictest discipline, the rule of silence between the men usually prevails, and frequently it is officered by men who have no special qualifications for the task, either by nature or by training. From the standpoint of reforming men and restoring them to society as good citizens, it has been a colossal failure. Even the highest officer in a prison, the warden, usually has had no special educational background for his work. The lesser officials are even less adequately prepared. Hired for a wage that will not attract many capable men, the guards for the most part are uninspiring, repressive automatons. We shall not have different prisons until we pay as high salaries to a warden as we pay to a university president, and select him as carefully. Perhaps we should not expect that the same standards would be applied to guards as to college and university professors. Nevertheless it is probable that until we pick these lesser prison officials with as great care as we select university teachers, or at least high-school teachers, we shall not get far in making our prisons really reformatory institutions.

The consequence of our blundering methods of handling delinquents is shown in such a statement as the following. In a study made in the Wisconsin State prison in 1919 by the National Mental Hygiene Committee, it was found that 45 per cent of the men there were repeaters. Our prisons go on year after year failing to reform half, or even more, of the men in them, and nothing is said. Too often the history of a man is that he has come first into the juvenile court, where he has been put on probation. Failing on probation, he is sent to the industrial school for boys. After release there he finds his way to the reformatory for men, and finally he winds up in the prison. After a certain number of years he can go out into society again, in some of our States at least, even if he has been sentenced for life, provided he has a history of good behavior in the institution. It must be recognized that in the prison we have two general classes of men: (1) those who ought to be subject to custodial care as long as they live, and ought never to be permitted outside, and (2) a class of young men who have seen the error of their ways and have decided to reform.

These men ought to be let out into society as soon as they are fit to return Every effort within the institution should be bent to prepare these promising offenders for social life

Perhaps the day will come when we shall apply science to discover which of our offenders are such by reason of their native incapacity, or by warps in their nature These we should treat as such and use our best efforts to retrain them for normal life on the outside. Those who cannot thus be retrained should be kept as custodial cases during their lives Another class of offenders is the professional one Under our laws usually these can get out in a certain length of time They have not been reformed, they look forward to following their criminal career when they are released, and ought never to be released until it is certain that they have reformed

As we look back carefully over the whole history of the treatment of the criminal, we see that here society has made one of its most dismal failures. It fails in its trial of the offender, it fails in his detention before trial. That failure is repeated when he is sent to an institution that is not properly equipped to exert society's pressure to change his way of life We fail in the equipment and the manning of the institutions to which these persons are committed We fail in the application of science in their treatment We often fail by putting the wrong person on probation Again we fail by letting the wrong persons out on parole and giving improper supervision to those who are released We fail in that we have the definite sentence for a great many offenders under our law, and must release them whether they are fit to go back into society or not We fail in not applying good educational measures and principles to the treatment of these men whom we are trying to reform If we applied the same ingenuity and science to the treatment of criminals that we do to the breeding and training of horses and dogs, we might get farther

After all, the place to begin on this problem of crime is at the beginning Here the old saying is true that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. If our study of the matter has shown that the lack of playgrounds makes for criminality, if slums produce offenders against society, if we learn that the school is failing to set the feet of young people upon the right path, if our study shows that even the Church is failing in the great task of directing young people into the paths of social righteousness, If our economic system is such that it sometimes provides the occasion that drives men into crime, and if our political system is such that it promotes criminality rather than prevents it, our study indicates the points at which the attack on the problem of crime should be made. Steadily year by year, as we obtain better knowledge, we must apply this knowledge which we have in

psychology, in sociology, in education, in religion, in politics, in economics, to adjusting the conditions of life to the capacities of each person so as to enable him to function in the very best possible way according to his natural capacity.

From the doctrine of heredity we should learn that there are certain people born into the world who are unable to function under the present organization of our social life. Eugenics suggests that certain of these people should be selected for non-propagation If we applied as much good sense and science to the production of our human population as we do to our animals we should solve this aspect of the problem in a very short time The feeble-minded, certain classes of the insane, epileptics, the mentally abnormal, and other defectives challenge us to give our attention to this problem of the racial stock. Some people are less capable of adapting themselves to the social requirements of life than others Either we must eliminate those incapable of making adjustments, or we should throw about them the protecting arms of society, that is, adjust society's requirements to them rather than make demands upon them that they are incapable of meeting.

THE SOCIAL PATHOLOGY OF CRIMINALITY

Effects upon the Family. Consider the disorganization in social relationships brought about by the conviction of the delinquent and the criminal. Think first of the effects upon the family If the delinquent is a child the prestige of the family is sadly injured, his parents feel that they are disgraced, his brothers and sisters are looked down upon by the community. The family is harrowed because of this change in its status in the community and its morale is often seriously damaged

If the one convicted is a bread-earner upon whom others are dependent, the *economic status* of the family is very seriously affected. Consider the situation in which a wife and mother is left with a family of children, whose father is sent to a penal or correctional institution. In but a few States is there any provision for a mother's pension to care for the prisoner's family. Unless the family has independent means it becomes dependent upon public or private agencies for relief The husband and father, whatever crucifixion of spirit he may experience, is assured food, clothing, and housing. Frequently the family, however, has to undergo severe privation. The man lives among those of his kind, sharers of a common fate His wife and *family are socially isolated and frequently shunned.* The frequency with which divorce is secured by women whose husbands are sent to prison testifies to the terrific strain placed upon the marital relationships by the conviction of the spouse.

One convict has written of this situation as follows

"They have taken him to prison, but she has no place to go—
A grave alone could hide and hold the fearsomeness I saw;
Of wide strange eyes and tight-clenched hands!
Hands clean and white as snow,
Tight-clenched on thorned eternity, condemned by life and law
The prison doors are high and wide, and farther in is gloom,
And men go by these iron doors to rest within the shade;
His sin is taken to a place where it may find a tomb—
Her heart must bear the shadow—and the thing will not be laid" [29]

Stand, as I have stood, in the lobby of a State prison just before Christmas or Easter, watch the crowds of people coming to bring to their sons, husbands, and fathers some gift for the occasion You behold that spectacle. What tragedies lie back of it! What lonely hours, what shrinking from public gaze, what shame! What sacrifices have been made by those left on the outside in order to bring some light and hope to members of the family hidden behind the grim walls!

Demoralization of the Prisoner. Reflect upon what occurs, by reason of his *loss of status*, to the spirit of the man or boy sent to prison or reformatory. Here is a society the spirit of which is altogether different from that on the outside They are beings apart, treated as no other group of men in all the world Frequently the laws of the State forbid the officers and guards to have any conversation with the prisoners except upon necessary business Isolated in cells through many hours of the day and night, forbidden, in many places, to have intercourse with their fellow beings, they have impressed upon them the loss of their status An individual without status is not a person

They are *bound together with their fellow prisoners* by the consciousness of likeness in disaster, by being shut away from the outside world, and by never being allowed to forget that they are creatures different from their fellowmen Deprived of liberty, they have few rights which need be respected Conscious of the loss of status in "the great society" they struggle to obtain standing among their fellow-prisoners Hence, the self-glorification by describing their criminal exploits and by hating the "screws" (guards) and the "bulls" (police), the representatives of non-criminal society. They build up, therefore, attitudes essentially non-social and frequently anti-social. They come out under the stigma of disgrace and habituated to social reactions which are quite other than those they will need for successful

[29] Stell and Null, *Convict Verse* (Fort Madison, Iowa, 1908), p. 43.

contact with men on the outside. No wonder prisoners have grave difficulty in readjusting themselves to social life.

Shut away for years from the economic struggle, without the operation of the economic motive, frequently not permitted to do a hard day's work, physically degenerated by long confinement and inactivity, they come out into a world of competitive struggle *unfitted for economic life* in a free world. They have been sheltered, fed, and clothed without thought or effort on their part such as they would experience on the outside. Then people wonder why prisoners do not make good!

Furthermore, the psychical effects of their incarceration has oftentimes been the destruction of that spirit which is needed in the world outside. Long hours they have brooded upon their troubles. *Their initiative has been stifled.* They have become more or less automatons. Ambition has been crushed. Hope, long deferred, has made the heart sick. They come out not only enfeebled in body but deteriorated in mind. In too many cases they are unable to meet the perplexities of life.

Can any one doubt that crime involves tremendous cost to all normal social relationships, both in the family of the man concerned and in the man himself? Did we desire to cripple for life the physical and social capabilities of men, we could hardly devise a better system.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why has personal responsibility been more emphasized in the case of the criminal than in the case of the pauper, the unemployed, and the person involved in family difficulties?
2. What school of criminology contributed to overthrow the ancient theory of the individual responsibility of the criminal?

3. Define (a) a criminal, (b) a delinquent
4. On what grounds may society deprive an individual of his liberty through the criminal courts?
5. What proportion of our population each year experiences a penal or correctional institution?
6. What proportion of them are sentenced to jails? To the "higher" penal and correctional institutions?
7. Compare the United States and England with respect to serious crimes
8. Does any one know the cost of crime to the people of the United States? Why?
9. What truth is there in the widely held notion that there are crime waves?
10. Do the statistics on repeaters indicate that we are doing a good job in our attempts to correct criminals?
11. Outline the chief factors in the making of the criminal.
12. Discuss the way in which each of these factors contribute to the making of the delinquent and criminal
13. Describe the various agencies dealing with the detection, arrest, trial, and punishment of criminals
14. What light do the methods employed by these various agencies throw upon our failure to correct delinquency and crime?
15. Point out the chief pathological results of criminality.

CHAPTER 33

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Social pathology is a function (in the mathematical sense) of two great efforts on the part of human beings—(1) the struggle to bring nature under control for the satisfaction of their needs, and (2) the attempt to bring other human beings under control. From the time man built crude shelters, domesticated animals, practised magic to enable him to succeed in the chase, chipped flint the better to kill or capture animals for food, made flint axes to provide firewood for his comfort, and hewed out logs in order to transport himself over rivers and lakes, down to the modern invention of machines to spin and to weave his fabrics, dig his ditches, and transport himself and his goods, he has been engaged in the titanic struggle to bend nature to his purposes From the time of his first crude taboos to modern codes of law, ceremonies, propaganda, and rationalization he has striven to bend other men to his will Government, conventions, customs, fashions, vogues and ideals are but means to regulate the relationships between individuals and groups, usually in the interest of some individual or some group of individuals.

With every change in fundamental ways of doing things readjustments were necessary. With rapid changes, strains in relationships arose With the mechanization of agriculture, agricultural workers were displaced and forced to look elsewhere for employment When factories using power machinery displaced hand work in the home or shop the amount of output greatly increased, and the cost of each article was so diminished that more people could exist on a given standard of living These workers were absorbed in the factories and in commerce. The demand of the factories for workers thus took up the slack in the demand for workers on the farms However, during the period of change from hand- to machine-production both on the farm and in the industries old workers could not adapt themselves easily to the new régime, wage-standards had to be worked out on an entirely new basis, and terrible was the difficulty of adjustment. The new economic relationships had to be divided so there was much individual suffering among both the workers and the employers So great was the change that it has been justly called a revolution—the Industrial Revolution. Turn back once

more to the chapter on "Urban Disorganization" and consider the social effects of the great changes there pictured. They show us some of the fundamental underlying factors of disturbance in social relationships caused by the Industrial Revolution and the rearrangement of human society in consequence of the introduction of machinery and the change in the whole mode of making a living. Having done that, think of the disorganization which has occurred in all the other phases of human existence which we have pictured in the preceding chapters. Consider also how almost every phase of human life has been altered in consequence of the new flood of knowledge concerning the nature of things, the new ways of doing things, the complexities growing out of the enormously enlarged population of the world and the possibility of communication which inventions for transportation and the communication of thought have brought about. Consider what happens to the tough fabric of custom and tradition fitted to conditions of life now passed or passing. Reflect upon the fact that human nature has been selected with reference to its adaptability to those customs and traditions over long periods of time. Consider the significance of the fact that people, conditioned through all their early experience by folkways, mores, and an ideology which belongs to a certain mode of life rapidly disintegrating under the changes of the present day, have to adjust themselves to these new conditions. Then think of what has happened as the result of the mighty conflict known as the World War. In the face of all these things one has some inkling of why the modern world seems like an old ship in a stormy sea, trembling and creaking at every joint. These sudden changes have made it necessary for individuals to learn to live together under new conditions. In all too many cases this readjustment is a task too great for the individual's powers. The result is confusion, uncertainty, and worry of serious nature. There is failure in the economic and social responsibilities of life. Moreover, nice adjustment between different social institutions undergoes terrific strain. The Church finds itself no longer fitted to the economic system. The economic system itself is unfitted to the needs of the individual. The family has serious strains put upon it by reason of the changes in the other relationships of life. The system of morality, adapted to a different set of conditions, breaks down.

With the radical changes in the economic relationships go changes in many of the social relationships. The home will serve as an illustration of what happens in a social institution when great changes are introduced into economic relationships. Under the old system of home industry the members of the family worked together. The children were brought up with the parents and were always under their influence. That system of economic

life was perfectly adapted to producing the finest adjustment of the children to the values cherished by that form of the family. It gave not only an economic but also a social unity to the family. Under the new industrial order all these ways of life are changed. The home has become, as some facetious person has remarked, "a roosting place and a filling station." The social solidarity of the home is shaken. Its task has been made very much more difficult. Relationships between children and parents and between husband and wife are much more likely to be strained.

Is it not clear, then, that to correct socially pathological conditions it is necessary to readjust the attitude of the individual to his fellows and to the institutions in which he lives and moves and has his being, and to modify the institutions so that they harmonize with each other in meeting the needs of the individual? As we have seen, the difficulties seem to grow out of the fact that one set of social institutions, such as the methods of making a living, or the pattern of notions about the nature of the universe, change, while there is a lag in adjusting the others in accordance with the changes. In other words, one or two variables in a total social situation change, while the others remain constant, or change more slowly. Such a condition is ideal for scientific experiment, but creates difficulties for human beings entangled in what may be called the experiment. Society's methods of social control, adequate under former conditions, fail because they are not fitted to the new. The results are pathological because the individual experiences emotional disturbance in trying to adjust himself to a changed system of relationships. They are secondarily pathological in the sense that the patterns of conduct in one set of relationships in which an individual is involved are not harmoniously adjusted to the pattern required in another set of relationships involving the participation of the same individual. The example given above of the harmony between the system of relationships involved in getting a living in the handicraft stage illustrates the situation. Change the system of industry and that harmony is disturbed. On the other hand, with the change in the theory of the origin and nature of the physical universe, or in the theory of how the monogamous family came to be established as the approved form, the harmony between the various systems of relationships to which the human race has become habituated over long periods of time is destroyed.

To sum up, social pathology may be explained on the following theory:

(1) Human beings vary one from the other in inherited traits, in their habits, beliefs, and patterns of conduct, owing to heredity and early conditioning.

(2) Groups have built up norms of responding to life situations which are called "folkways," and "mores."

(3) These norms of social life grow out of a total life-situation, hence the norms in one field of relationships (e.g., the religious, or the domestic) are fitted to the economic patterns of conduct and *vice versa*

(4) These norms after long periods become hardened into customs, buttressed with all kinds of taboos, traditions, and rationalizations.

(5) Change in one phase of life (e.g., the economic) often occurs without directly affecting another (e.g., the religious).

(6) The socially approved relationships in one field become less reasonable or beneficent than they were, owing to changed conditions in another field.

(7) Since these social norms interlock from one field to another, a lag in change of norms in one field of social life creates disharmony with those of another field

(8) Conflict between the habitual norms and the requirements of new life-situations leaves the individual confused and disturbed

(9) While a part of the public supports the old pattern, and another part supports the emergent code, ill-intentioned individuals and even well-intentioned "cranks" are less controlled and freer to behave as they please, to the detriment of their fellows

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL

So far as we can see from this analysis any endeavor to correct the maladjustments in social life must take into account the inherent character of the individual and the character which he has acquired by the response of his inherent nature to the various life experiences However, we should also clearly understand the rôle played by disharmony between one set of relationships and another set, in both of which the individual must live. Let us consider first what we can do by way of modifying the individual response to his relationships.

After a child is born no one, as far as we know, can modify the inherent biological make-up of that child While he is plastic in response to his environment he is so only within limits Every one is born with a certain set of innate capacities for response. Within limits the responses possible to any child are variable. For example, while the mentally defective child has not such a range of response to all kinds of stimuli as has the child of higher mental capacity, to a degree his response to social stimulation can be developed, as is shown by experiments in the education of the mentally defective. Beyond a certain point, however, in certain lines he has no capacity

to grow. So with other qualities. Some people come into the world endowed with a weak muscular organization. Such people cannot become football players, rowers, long-distance runners, or show capacity in any line where great strength is required They can, however, be trained to use their weak muscular organization in the performance of certain tasks which require skill, quickness, and a minimum of muscular power, and thus adapt themselves to the requirements of life. Our educational system, therefore, is intended to ascertain the differing capacities of individuals and develop them to their utmost usefulness. Within the limits made possible by the inherited constitution, education modifies the individual in accordance with the demands of the civilization in which he lives

Since most of us after maturity have a pattern of conduct in our relationships with other individuals, resulting chiefly from habits which we have formed, some attention ought to be given to the rôle of habit in the adjustment of the individual to the relationships of life.

In order to see clearly the picture of the process, we should remember that each one of us is born into a society with an already more or less fixed system of relationships From the immemorial past have come down to us ways of getting a living and approved patterns of social intercourse within the family, with the neighbors, and with strangers If these patterns have been long in existence they have become tough and more or less fixed by custom and tradition They are preserved by all kinds of sanctions and are impressed upon the developing child as the proper ways of conduct.

A social psychologist has analyzed for us in detail the process by which this conditioning of the child's conduct goes on Suffice at this point to say that from the moment the child is born, and perhaps even before, the ways in which he responds are determined by his inherent make-up, but also the way in which other individuals stimulate him.[1] By responding again and again to the same set of factors he forms a habit of responding when these conditions are present If these habitual methods of response are in accordance with the pattern approved by society, the individual is said to be socialized. Formerly it was assumed that conformity to the approved pattern set-up, no matter how bad, was the social desideratum. By careful study, however, social psychology has shown that if the individual conforms merely through fear, or for any reason in which his own interest and personal satisfactions are not involved, the conformity is only an apparent one and often results in injury to the integrity of the individual personality With the development of a better understanding of the nature of human emotions and their relation to conduct, we are better prepared to

[1] For details see Young, *Social Psychology* (New York, 1931).

secure the conformity of the child to an habitual mode of response in keeping with the social mores, not on the basis of compulsion through fear, nor even to please the parents, but for the fulfilment of the individual's own wishes and needs From that point of view it is possible—again within limits—to habituate the individual to a mode of response to his social environment conforming to the pattern approved by society As a matter of fact, most of us do conform to the customs and patterns provided for in the traditional and customary method of living without great trouble to ourselves or to any one else But the variant individuals must be handled in a more understanding way Modern knowledge concerning the guidance of children, the handling of problem children, and proper methods of conditioning the early responses of children give promise of enabling the older generation to habituate the developing child and youth to a course of conduct satisfying to the child's own wishes, yet suited to the demands of the social order

By such methods as these, and others which growing knowledge suggests, society can mold the individual to the demands of social life to a much greater degree than is now being done. It is by such understanding and such technique that the individual may be brought to happy adjustment with his social environment and the maladjustment now felt by individuals in our rapidly changing social order can be resolved It is in this sense that the reconstruction of the individual may take place It is possible thus within certain limits to adjust the growing individual to the social patterns and forms of conduct imposed upon him by society with the least possible disturbance of his emotional make-up and without the inevitable consequences of forced compliance to a certain pattern.

However, for certain individuals with varying capacity to adjust to the demands of social life—from the low-grade imbecile or the person inheriting a very unstable nervous organization or the person inheriting certain tendencies which result in variant conduct—the limits within which we can modify behavior are, with present knowledge, rather narrow For such persons the social order must be adjusted to his particular incapacities or his lack of social adaptability.

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

From the analysis made in the previous chapter which changes and adaptations of the social order seem to be required, in order that the pathological conditions we have described may not occur? How may society adjust its requirements to the unusual individuals so that they may live in society with the least possible friction, with as great as possible a degree of satisfaction

of their felt needs as is consistent with the welfare of the group, and so that society may not suffer by reason of their non-conformity to the patterns of conduct established by the group? Furthermore, on what principle should society adjust its demands to the great group of the population who are fairly adjustable and possess plasticity enough to conform to the ordinary demands of society but who suffer immensely during periods of great social change, who find the social universe a source of a good deal of unpleasantness, and who fail to make the greatest contribution possible to the aims and purpose of the group?

Let us notice briefly first the adaptations which seem to be indicated on the part of the larger group to those variant individuals who find it difficult to conform to standards of conduct in many realms of life, even though great social changes are not in process. The most static societies as well as the most dynamic have such individuals. They constitute a part of those classes which we have already discussed—the mentally deficient, the mentally disturbed, many of those afflicted with various diseases, the blind, the deaf, the disabled, a certain percentage of those of unusual capacities, and some of those of ordinary capacities who, either by heredity or by early conditioning, have antisocial habits. The efforts which society is making in the education of various classes are promising experiments in the adaptation of social pressures to these variant individuals. The special rooms in the schools take care of those of less than average capacity and also meet the needs of the exceptional student of high intelligence. The classes for crippled children and for the hard-of-hearing, special schools for the blind, special institutions for mentally defective, child guidance clinics for the problem child, psychiatric institutes for the study and diagnosis of those who find it difficult to get along in society, hospitals for the mentally disturbed, colonies for the epileptics, institutions for the education of the deaf, and custodial colonies for those of more serious danger to the community, probation and parole for delinquents, the placing of children without formal family relationships in family homes, and a thousand other such devices which have risen in modern society for the adjustment of the social demands to the particular characteristics of the individual are illustrations of some of the things society has been attempting to do in adjusting itself to these peculiar individuals.

Back of most of these institutions and methods of dealing with variant individuals, however, lie a changed ideology and philosophy of the ends and purposes of society. Before many of the maladjustments which now arise can be prevented great changes in public opinion and public attitude towards various kinds of conduct are necessary. For example, some change

has already taken place in the attitude of the public toward the mother of the illegitimate child, and a greater change has come about in the attitude toward the illegitimate himself. Increasingly an attitude of sympathy and helpfulness for the illegitimate is displacing the old attitude of repulsion, contempt, and hatred. Moreover, even toward the mother of the illegitimate child a new attitude is rising. Witness the new laws respecting the mother of the illegitimate child in some of the Scandinavian countries where greater consideration is given to the mother of the illegitimate than was once the case. This represents the change in public attitude of the most hopeful sort.

Another illustration of how a social standard once entrenched in the mores of a people may gradually yield to another is the change which has come about in the last fifty years in society's attitude towards the criminal. Once it was held to be indisputable that every law-breaker offended of his own free will and, therefore, was responsible for his acts. Every law-breaker was equally responsible with every other. Experience with that theory gradually modified it in practice. Extenuating circumstances were taken into account. Insanity and childhood came to be looked upon as conditions in which full responsibility was not possible. Hence, some individuals were only partially responsible and, therefore, should be punished less severely than those with full responsibility. More recently still another change has begun to come over our attitude toward the criminal. Once our social norms were that punishment somehow balanced up the injury done to society by the wrong deeds of the law-breaker. Thanks to the work of the Italian school of criminology such an attitude is being modified. At the present time there is a growing feeling among the intelligent and informed people that social treatment must be adapted to the particular individual concerned. Measures must be taken, it is true, to protect society from his depredations. But in handling him consideration must be given to his innate characteristics, his early conditioning, to his physical and mental ability, and to every circumstance that enters into the making of his particular character.

These illustrations are sufficient to indicate that society's attitude toward some of its variant individuals is modified on the basis of knowledge or belief. As the knowledge and the belief change, the attitude changes. What are the processes then by which such changes may come about in the standards of conduct and relationship just cited? The dissemination among a large body of the population of certain beliefs or ideas effect such changes. Sometimes this process is called the education of the public, and sometimes it is denominated propaganda. This is not the place to go

into the mechanism of propaganda.[3] Back of the propaganda there lies either carefully sifted knowledge concerning the results of the former attitude or ignorant belief in a certain pattern. To-day, with our emphasis upon science and carefully ascertained facts, the sociologist depends more largely upon careful investigation of the facts. If careful investigation reveals a large degree of maladjustment, due to the endeavor to carry out a policy held necessary by the great majority of a group, the presentation of such facts, reiterated again and again until they become a part of the ideology of large numbers of people, inevitably undermines the old opinions and attitude and substitutes new ones based upon the facts ascertained. For example, it was once held that the proper place for an orphan child was in an institution. There he could be given proper care and training, brought up under the most careful supervision, and his whole attitude toward life properly formed. After many years of trial of that method careful investigation showed that the death-rate of small children in institutions was abnormally high. Moreover, it was learned that they became institutionalized and unfitted for life in free society. Such facts widely disseminated among thoughtful people brought about a change in the type of care to be given to dependent children. As a result of experiment and careful study of the results, these children, except when they are physically or mentally incapacitated or are serious conduct problems, are now found homes in normal families.

From the standpoint of adjustment of the social demands upon individuals the most difficult problem arises in connection with the vast social changes in economic, political, or social institutions and revolution in the field of knowledge. We have indicated above that pathological conditions arise by reason of the lack of harmony between the pattern of relationships in one phase of human life and that prevailing in another. As a result of great changes in the one and a lag in the corresponding change in the other, such pathology in the relationships of individuals is much more difficult to handle effectively than that which we have just discussed. When, for example, the industrial revolutionist has changed the whole pattern of relationships in the making of a living, the effects of those changes are felt in another field of life, such as the relationships between the members of the family. Since, however, the family relationships have sanctions attached to them not directly related to the way of making a living, change in that field is slower. How can society hasten the reconstruction of the family structure which will bring it rapidly into harmony with the

[3] For a brief but satisfactory treatment of the subject, see Young, *op. cit.*, Ch. XXVII.

change in the family as an industrial unit? Up to the present time social science can give no answer to that question. It can only describe what is happening. The relationships within the home must be based not chiefly upon the economic function of the family but rather upon its social functions. No a priori theory will help us in the situation. We are now in the stages of experimenting with the home and family in an industrial age and probably shall find some method of handling the family relationships in accordance with the facts of the situation.

A similar situation exists with respect to religion. The religion of the Middle Ages was geared to a political situation An economic system and a cosmology all fairly well harmonized in their interrelationships bearing upon the conduct of the individual Then the order changed Out of the feudal system developed nations with their kings and the other grades of society based partly upon the feudal system With the discovery of America came great changes in the former arrangement of the economic order and enormous enhancements of national power, represented in the building up of Spain and England as great exploiting nations Along with the broadening of knowledge due to the Renaissance, the disturbance of the old classical notions, new knowledge which came from exploration of the earth itself, and a reinvestigation of the heavens, the old cosmology began to totter. Out of this complex situation arose the Protestant revolt which seriously disturbed the religious system in Europe Then with the coming of the Industrial Revolution another disturbing element was introduced It is not difficult to see from these few citations the highly dynamic situation which has existed in Western civilization for the last five hundred years. The task of harmonizing the pattern of relationships demanded of the individual in one sphere of his living with those in another sphere, is a slow and difficult process. Given time enough that harmony seems to come about. In the meantime, however, many adjustments have to be made by the individual who wishes to live in comparative peace with his fellows and with himself. One will meet the situation by having one attitude toward his relationships in one field, for example, while an entirely different attitude governs his relationships to his fellow-men in, let us say, the economic field. Thus we get those "water-tight compartments" in the mind which have often been noticed as characteristic of certain individuals A man may hold a religion, the fundamental pre-suppositions of which are directly contrary to the pre-suppositions of his business or of his knowledge of the universe. He may act upon one set of principles in his business and upon entirely another set of principles in his relationships to the opposite sex. He may take one kind of an attitude toward his fellow-men in his business

relationships and quite another in his relationships with his boys and girls. Some persons are able thus to departmentalize their conduct without any personal difficulty. Others, however, are distinctly disturbed by such dissociation in their schemes of thinking and of conduct. The results are registered in those dissociated personalities so frequently seen in abnormal psychology.

Until the psychology of social relations has given us light on all these disharmonies between the various fields of conduct as they touch the individual personality, so that they may be harmonized without the present difficulties, we can only wait and let the process go on as it may. At the present time the only constructive suggestion that seems possible is that those individuals who think about these matters, and who see the inconsistency between the different planes of conduct should think clearly what they can do to remove it. If possible they should not allow themselves to worry too much about it. In the meantime, the results of research can be spread abroad to the people and new patterns of conduct can thus more rapidly displace the old.

These suggestions seem very meager and hesitant, and may require a long time to accomplish. Some will be disheartened in the process. Some others—the "for-God's-sakers"—will cry out against a science of social relationships which cannot reveal a short cut to Utopia and offer a panacea for all the ills of human relationships. The serious student will not be perturbed by the difficulties which face him in the field of social relationships. He will seek to understand, since in the end only understanding will offer a way out. He will not be impatient. From his knowledge of the past and of the intricate relationships of the present he will take hope that in the long run things will adjust themselves. He will know that human beings can hasten that adjustment only by proceeding on the basis of extended knowledge concerning the nature of the social process, the mechanics upon which such things as social codes, standards of conduct, and patterns of behavior come into being and the way they function. In the face of all those who propose super-panaceas for this complicated problem he will have only distrust. For the cynics who declare that human beings can do nothing he can have only pity. To those who have lost the faith and hope perhaps he can supply a more solid foundation. As one who shares the spirit of the modern scientist, he will seek to understand the complex world of nature, including man's relationships to his fellows, knowing that only understanding can suggest ways by which change can be safely hastened and a new structure built in place of the old. Perhaps he may also solace himself that the peoples of the world for the most part seem to adjust

fairly well in the face of the most discouraging situations. He will know that humankind has fought its way up from the old stone age when man was in a much more precarious position in competition with the beasts of the field and the other powers of nature than he is to-day It has not perished from the face of the earth, but has multiplied and possessed it That species which in the course of millennia has to a fair degree wrought out its conquest over nature ought to be able to conquer the universe of social relationships Whether it will or not depends partly, at least, upon its understanding social relationships by the same method and to the same degree as it understands the processes of the natural universe.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Show how rapid changes in conditions of living create strains in social relationships Illustrate.
2. Why should changes in economic organization affect such a social institution as the family?
3. What is meant by harmonizing one institution with another in order to relieve social strain?
4. Suggest ways by which we may adjust the individual to the changing

conditions under which he may be living. For example, suggest how the transition of the individual from childhood to adulthood may be made without disaster.

5. If the mores are rapidly changing, is the transition from the childhood pattern of conduct to the patterns of adulthood more or less difficult? Why?
6. Is the transition from childhood to adulthood more or less difficult, if the patterns of adult conduct are undergoing change than if they are agreed to by all adults?
7. What difficulties in adjustment occur in a rapidly changing society for those with deficient or distorted mentality? How may the adjustment for such be more easily accomplished?
8. What difficulties may those of unusual mental capacity experience in adjusting to life conditions: (a) in a society with few and slow changes; (b) in a rapidly changing society?
9. What devices has society invented to adjust its organization to variant individuals?
10. What changes in society's attitudes are necessary in order to make it easier for physically and mentally handicapped individuals to find a satisfactory status in society? For example, the illegitimate child, the mother of the illegitimate, the child or youth who has varied from the approved pattern of conduct, the adult criminal?
11. Suggest how the spread of scientific knowledge concerning inheritance, the nature of mental defect, the results of the present methods of treating sex, of handling the delinquent, and of the mechanism of repression, shame, praise, phantasy, and rationalization may correct the attitudes of society which now produce personal disorganization.
12. What changes in the family seem to be necessary in order to adjust it to the machine-age?

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